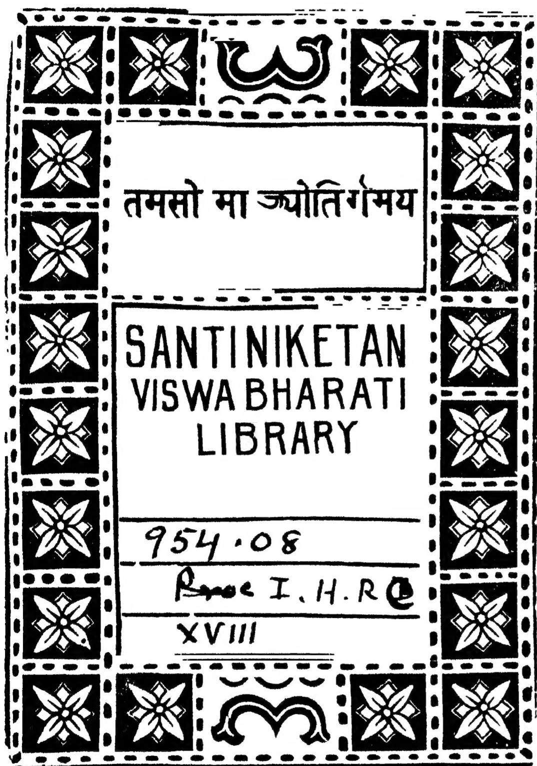

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XVIII


INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XVIII

EIGHTEENTH MEETING HELD AT MYSORE

January 1942



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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

Eighteenth Session, Mysore, 21st January 1942.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING.

21st January 1942.

Eighteenth Session.

Jagan Mohan Palace Hall, Mysore.

The Public Meeting of the eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Jagan Mohan Palace Hall, Mysore on the 21st January, 1942. In the unavoidable absence of the Honourable Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands and *Ex-officio* President of the Commission Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands and *Ex-officio* Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee presided over the meetings.

The members under the new constitution are classified under three heads, *viz.*, Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding. The names of the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members who attended the meeting will be found on pages 10—14.

His Highness Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore arrived at the Palace entrance at 10-30 A.M. His Highness was received by the Chairman and the Secretary at the palace gate and the members of the Commission were introduced to him. The members then followed His Highness in procession to the eastern wing of the Hall and a group photograph was taken there. The procession then returned to the Hall. The Chairman welcomed His Highness and invited him to inaugurate the eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Speech of Mr. John Sargent, Chairman.

I regard it as a great privilege to have the pleasure of expressing on your behalf and in particular on behalf of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission, our very sincere gratification and gratitude that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore should have done us the honour of inaugurating our eighteenth Session today. We shall no doubt take the occasion, before we leave Mysore, of recording formally our thanks to His Highness, to his Government and to the University for all the abundant hospitality which they have been good enough to offer us. But apart from its hospitality for which the State of Mysore is as famous as it is for its natural beauties. I can think of nothing more pleasant or more appropriate than that a learned society like ours whose primary concern is with man as a social unit should be able to meet in a place where the glories of the past, the achievements of the present and hopes for the future are so happily united. Much history has been made and unmade in this part of India, states have waxed and waned, great men have had their hour and gone their way, I like however to think that the aspect of local history to which future historians will pay the greatest attention will not be "old unhappy far off things and battles long ago", nor even "sad stories of the death of kings" but that record of a persistent, enlightened and constructive effort for bettering the living conditions of ordinary men and women which made the reign of Your Highness' predecessor so illustrious and will we have every reason to believe be no less characteristic of your own.

My only regret today, as I am sure it will be yours, is that ill-health has prevented the President of the Commission—the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Sarker—being with us. Even in the short time which has elapsed since he took up his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, he has shown a keen interest in the work of this body and particularly in the reconstitution which has recently taken place.

I must not stand too long between you and His Highness but I feel I ought to say a few words about the main objects which have led the Government of India to reconstitute the Commission

I wish to assure you in the first place that the changes which have recently taken place were not the outcome of any feeling of dissatisfaction with the achievements of the old Commission They arose, indeed as often happens in human affairs, from the fact that a stage had been reached when it was essential to consolidate the work which had been accomplished and to prepare the ground for a future advance. The first need was to ensure continuity of policy

No one has had better reason than myself to appreciate the fact that the mills of the Government of India grind slowly Inspite, however, of the difficult financial situation created by the war there has been a growing recognition at headquarters of the function which the Imperial Records Office ought to play in facilitating and stimulating historical research. During his short tenure of office our President has been successful in securing funds which will do something towards enabling the Keeper of the Records to make available to students the great historical riches which have been committed to his charge It is recognised, however, that in making these riches and the even larger stores which are available in the Record Offices, or vaults of Provincial Governments and States available to students an agreed policy of co-operation is essential and it is hoped that the Commission in its new form will be able to ensure this.

But vast as the resources of Governments and States are, there is reason to suppose that even greater historical treasures lie hidden in the archives of private institutions, families and individuals. We all know the difficulty of securing access to these treasures Conservatism, sentiment, in many cases a feeling of reverence which we must all respect, deter the owners from exposing to the eyes of outsiders what they regard as personal and intimate memorials. If we are to obtain access to these treasuries we can hardly look to Government action to secure this for us. It can only be done by tact and persuasion and it is to be hoped that this work will be undertaken by the local bodies which it will be one of the main functions of the reconstituted Commission to establish.

While the Government of India aims at making the Imperial Records Office a centre of study and research and at placing the services of its staff at the disposal of all Provincial Governments, States, Universities and learned societies which may desire to make use of them, it recognises that the Central Office in its turn can only work effectively if it enjoys the whole-hearted co-operation of provincial historians and historical societies. Given the full co-operation of all interested in preserving and publishing the materials of history, which this vast country possesses probably in greater abundance than almost any other, I cannot help feeling that the contribution which this Commission is capable of making towards historical learning and research can hardly be exaggerated.

It is now my privilege to request His Highness to address you.



Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E.

Speech delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me very great pleasure to welcome to Mysore so distinguished a body of ladies and gentlemen of letters and seekers after truth. Many years ago, Bolingbroke declared, "Anything but history, for history must be false." You, ladies and gentlemen, represent one of several societies that have devoted their lives to ensuring, so far as is humanly possible, that history shall tell nothing but the truth. Carlyle, again, divided historians into artizans and artists—the miners, as it were, who dig out the quartz and bring it to the surface, who remove the gold from the dross and cast it into ingots; and the artists who shape it into jewellery, adding the precious gems of their method, their style and their wit. You, ladies and gentlemen, represent a body of artists who have undertaken also the work of artizans in order to ensure that your jewellery be made only with the purest metal.

It is now twenty-one years since you have been engaged on this task, and some of you, I believe, have been members of the Commission since its commencement. You have met in every important province in India, and this is the third time that you meet in an Indian State. In addition to the usual programme of reading of papers and exchange of views, you undertake the further function of finding out what quarries there are in the places which you visit of the precious metal which you wish to refine, and of stimulating those who live in the neighbourhood to work them to their full capacity.

A French historian of the year 1800 declared that the plains of Mysore were the most beautiful habitation that nature could offer to men on the face of the earth. They are rich in precious metals also, and in consequence in history and historical lore. To quote one of our archæological reports, "It (that is, Mysore) has been in intimate connection with some of the greatest figures in history from Chandragupta and Asoka to Napoleon Bonaparte and the great Duke of Wellington". But I am afraid you will also find that much of the historical wealth, like the gold, has passed out of the country. I understand that the period of history in which you interest yourselves reaches from the Battle of Panipat, 1526, to 1880. In Mysore history, we might put it from the establishment of the capital of the present dynasty in the City of Mysore in the early part of the 16th Century, to the Rendition of the State to my grandfather by the British Government in 1881. This period divides itself into four minor periods: from 1526 to 1761, when Hyder Ali first assumed the practical control of the country; from 1761 to 1799, the end of the Fourth Mysore War; from 1799 to 1831, which was the commencement of the British Commission; and from 1831 to 1881, the date of the Rendition.

For the first of these periods, we have many documents in the wider sense—in stones and monuments, mutts and temples. But we have comparatively little in the way of documents in our archives. It is recorded that there were once many chronicles collected by my ancestors, but they all disappeared in the troubled period of our history. There is some matter still to be explored in the collections in the Oriental Library, and there are a few documents in the Secretariat records. There are also, I believe, a great number to be found in the possession of the mutts and temples and in the archives of our leading families.

For the second period, from 1761 to 1799, the great bulk of the records have been removed. There are large quantities of them in the India Office, others in the Government of India Records, others again in those of the Government of Fort St. George and in the Mackenzie Collection. Others are to be found in many parts of the world,—in France, in the Dutch East Indies, in Goa and in Hyderabad. Others again were burnt when the Saraswathi Bhandar was destroyed in the great Palace Fire of 1897. We have a certain number left, including some original letters of the great Duke of Wellington, and the Residency have some more, of which they have been good enough to lend a collection for your exhibition.

The records of the third and fourth periods are also distributed, but a considerable number of those for the period of the British Commission have been transferred to our records, where they await examination, and we have a good deal of matter of our own.

As regards the work that has been done on this material, we may perhaps begin with the Epigraphia Carnatica, although most of that work relates to a period before 1526. The initiation of this we owe to Mr. Rice, to whom Mysore owes such a debt of gratitude for his work on her history. Twelve volumes were published by him and by *Praktana Vimarshavichakshana Rao Bahadur* Mr. R. Narasimhachar, and another six volumes are under preparation. Meanwhile, the series is being continued through means of the Archæological Reports. There have been added to these a series of reproductions of documents in the Oriental Library, which includes the *Kantirava Narasaraja Vijaya*, and a volume of extracts from important papers preserved by the Sringeri Mutt.

Coming to more recent times, we have a volume of letters and despatches of the Duke of Wellington from 1799 to 1805, another of select letters of Tipu Sultan, a copy of Wilks's report on the internal conditions of Mysore as in 1801-02, a report by the Commission of 1833 on the disturbances in Mysore, a Precis of Correspondence relating to the affairs of Mysore from 1799 to 1878 by Mr. T. C. Plowden, some printed collections of papers in the Office of the Mysore Commissioner, and four volumes of Selections from Mysore State Papers published by *Rajakaryaprasakta* Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao in 1920. There is also much matter relating to Mysore in the printed collections of records of the Government of India and of the Government of Fort St. George.

Meanwhile, there have been published a large number of histories of Mysore, many of which contain copies or extracts of important historical documents. The most important of these is Colonel Wilks's history, which has recently been reprinted with annotations by Sir Murray Hammick and published by my Government. We know that this is based in great measure on ancient documents, including a Persian translation of Nagar Puttaiya's *History of the Mysore Kings* and Tipu Sultan's *King of Histories*. There are some twenty to thirty books dealing with the days of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and the Mysore Wars. There are half a dozen or more dealing with the third of our four periods and a dozen or more dealing with Sir Mark Cubbon and his times and with the making of modern Mysore. We are also rich in gazetteers, which contain very valuable historical chapters, beginning with that of Garrett, going on to that of Mr. Rice and concluding with the five large volumes of *Rajacharitavisharada Rao Bahadur* Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, who has no doubt anticipated therein much of the complete history of Mysore which he now has in hand.



His Highness Maharaja Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

In spite of all this formidable array, I feel that I am speaking for my Government when I say that we fully recognize that there is a vast amount to be done in the discovery, preservation, translation and publication of valuable records that are to be found in the headquarter offices, in district offices, in mutts and temples, in places of business and in private houses.

There is now, I understand, a project afoot for the development of a historical museum of Mysore. If money and time were unlimited, I should like to see added to this a record office, specially designed for the purpose in accordance with the latest scientific arrangements, in which there should be preserved all the public records of your period, just as the older records are preserved in the Oriental Library. I would even go further and add to it something in the nature of a safe custody deposit, in which mutts and temples and private individuals could deposit their ancient records and have them preserved in accordance with the latest methods.

But these, ladies and gentlemen, are dreams for the piping times of peace. For the moment we want all our men and all our money in order to devote every effort of which we are capable to the conquest of the enemies of freedom and the right. When we have achieved that end, we can turn our attention to the extermination of the enemies of the raw material of history.

Meanwhile, I trust you will find something to interest you in the collection of historical matter in the Jagan Mohan Palace and of engravings relating to the history of Mysore both there and in Government House and Lalitha Mahal, as well as in the exhibition which Dr. Sen has been so good as to arrange. I hope also that you will not confine yourselves to dry-as-dust records, but will spend some of your time in visiting the historical records in the larger sense that are to be found in the many places in and around Mysore where the drama of history has been enacted.

I wish you all, ladies and gentlemen, a most successful session, and I may add that I look forward to it as a source of inspiration and instruction to my officers and myself.

At this stage His Highness left the meeting escorted by the Chairman and the Secretary.

The Chairman resumed his seat and then asked the Secretary to read a letter from the Honourable Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, President of the Commission regretting his inability to attend the meeting.

The Secretary read the following letter:

"I have received your letter of the 10th. You know how much I wanted to come and had I been well, I would have been only too happy to attend. This could also have given me an opportunity to meet H. H. the Maharaja. But as I am yet unwell, you will, all certainly understand that it is not possible for me to undertake the strain of this long journey. That I am unable to come is indeed a real disappointment to me. With best wishes."

The following message from the Honourable President was received after lunch and was read by the Chairman:

"It is a matter of great disappointment to me that, owing to reasons of health, I am unable to personally welcome the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. I had been eagerly looking forward to the pleasure of being personally acquainted with members of the Commission but unfortunately that is not to be. I am, however, happy in the thought that Mr. Sargent, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, will be presiding over your deliberations and I am confident that his wise guidance will ensure a successful conclusion of your Conference.

Mysore, the venue of your Commission, is not only one of the most progressive of the Indian States, but also a place which has a rich history. Its selection for the holding of your deliberations was, therefore, a very happy choice. The Mysore State and its distinguished Ruler are not only noted for their progressive outlook but also for their enlightened interest in scholars and scholarships.

The Historical Records Commission is not a very ostentatious body, although it is engaged in work of great national significance. It does not work with much flourish. But it believes in solid achievement. It started as a very small and mainly official body, but has greatly expanded its scope of activities and the process of expansion, I am happy to say, is still continuing.

The importance of the Commission's work cannot be exaggerated. To quote from what my predecessor in office said—"The Commission is designed to discover, to collect, to preserve records of historical importance to India, to catalogue, collate and edit them, in brief. to make them available for the use of students of history." This is a formidable list of tasks whose accomplishment bristles with many difficulties. What the work of the Commission means to historians can be well imagined.

The collection and preservation of historical documents and records, particularly in a condition as would enable research students to utilise them, is a task of stupendous magnitude. The Government are fully conscious of the magnitude of the task. I am happy to say that the new constitution of the Commission is designed, even in these abnormal conditions, to expand the publication programme of the Imperial Record Department and Provincial Record Rooms and also to organise regional survey with a view to unearthing manuscript records now lying unnoticed and uncared for in private custody. Ample provision has been made in the new constitution for the adequate representation of the Indian Universities and learned societies. I do hope and trust that official efforts will be supplemented by private enterprise and that public co-operation will always be offered in a generous measure.

I may say a word about the Imperial Record Department. The Department offers special facilities for research and technical training. I do hope that the services it offers would be fully exploited by an ever-increasing number of research students. Further, the services of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India may be availed of by Provincial or State Governments for organising their Records Office and for advice for the proper maintenance of records.

While expressing my sincere disappointment and regret for my absence from to-day's meeting, I wish every success to the deliberations of your Commission."

The Secretary read out telegraphic messages from the Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, Osmania University, the representative of the United Provinces Historical Research Society, and the Secretary, Mythic Society, wishing the Commission every success and offering full co-operation with regard to the Research and Publication programme.

The Chairman then invited Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyanger to speak on his paper entitled, "Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodayar of Mysore and the last Emperor of Vijayanagar".

35 out of 57 papers were read and discussed.

The meeting continued upto 4-30 P.M. with an interval for lunch from 12 Noon to 2 P.M. At the close of the meeting the Secretary moved a vote of thanks on behalf of the Commission to Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Local Secretary, Mr. R. R. Bhombore, the Special Duty Officer, the various Local Committees and the Boys' Scouts for the hard work they had put in to make the Commission a success.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar seconded the Resolution which was supported by Dr. R. K Mookherji.

In the evening the members were entertained by the Mysore University at an "At Home" party.

The remaining work of the meeting was concluded next day in the afternoon. The members were then taken round the Mysore city and they visited all the places of interest. On the 23rd after lunch, members were taken by motor buses to Seringapatam and Krishnaraja Sagar and were entertained there with tea

A Historical Exhibition was organised in connection with the Commission in the Jagan Mohan Palace which was opened by the Rajamantrapravina N. Madhava Rau, B.A., B.L., the Dewan of Mysore. The Proceedings and the list of exhibits will be found in Appendix G.

Personnel of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

1. The Honourable Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* President.

2. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee.

3. The Keeper of the Records, of the Government of India, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* Secretary.

Ordinary Members.

**Did not attend the Mysore Session.*

Government of India—

*1. Lt.-Colonel H. Bullock, I.A., Deputy Judge Advocate General, North-Western Circuit, Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi.

2. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, 180 Shanwar Peth, Poona.

*3. Professor Mohammad Habib, B.A.Hons.(Oxon.), Bar. at-Law, Professor of History, Aligarh University, Aligarh.

4. Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

5. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dacca.

Provincial Governments—

6. Dr. B. S. Baliga, Ph.D.(Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office, Madras (Chittor).

7. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A.(Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, Bombay.

8. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta.

9. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

Indian States—

10. Mr. M. Nasiruddin Khan, Director of Daftar-e-Diwani and Mal, Hyderabad-Deccan.

11. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, State Record Office, Baroda.

*12. Sir Manubhai N. Mehta, Kt., C.S.I., Foreign and Political Minister, Gwalior Darbar.

*13. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A.(Oxon.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

14. Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Prime Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.

15. Pt. Bisheshwarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

16. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., State Archæologist Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.

17. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.

18 Major K. M. Panikkar, Foreign and Political Minister and Minister for Public Health and Education, Bikaner.

*19. Lala Raj Kanwar, M.A., P.C.S., (Retd.), Chief Minister, Patna State, Bolangir, *via* Sambalpur.

*20. Mr. V. K. Khadikar, Chief Revenue Officer, Sangli State, Sangli.

21. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A. L.T., Headmaster, College High School and Manual Officer, Pudukkottai.

Associate Members.

Provincial Governments—

1. Dr. B. S. Baliga, Ph.D.(Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office, Madras.

2. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A.(Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

3. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta.

4. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

*5. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt, Professor of History, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

6. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.

7. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History Morris College, Nagpur.

*8. Pandit Lingaraj Misra, B.O.L., Principal of the Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi, Orissa.

Indian States—

9. Mr. M. Nasiruddin Khan, Director of Daftar-e-Diwani and Mal, Hyderabad-Deccan.

10. Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office (Retd.), Dandia Bazar, Baroda.

11. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.

12. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.

*13. Mr. V. K. R. Menon, B.A. (Hons.), M.Sc. (Lond.), Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin, Cochin.

14. Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Prime Minister, Mewar State, Mewar.

15. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Economics, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

16. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu. Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

17. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, College High School, and Manual Officer, Pudukkottai.

*18. Babu Purna Chandra Rath, B.A., D.Ed., Superintendent of Archæology, Patna States, Patna.

*19. Pt. Nagendra Nath Mahapatra, Assistant Teacher, High English School, Dhenkanal.

*20. Mr. B. C. Chakravarty, M.A., Tripura State, Agartala.

*21. Mr. V. K. Khadilkar, Chief Revenue Officer, Sangli State, Sangli.

Universities—

22. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

23. Reverend Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay I.

24. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, (47-A, Ekdalia Road, Ballygunge), Calcutta.

25. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, Dacca.

*26. Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil., Principal Kayastha Pathshala University College, Allahabad.

27. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

28. Mr. J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor St. John's College, Agra.

*29. Mr. S. V. Puntambekar, M.A.(Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

*30. Mr. Mohammad Habib, B.A.(Hons.) (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

*31. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

32. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.

*33. Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab.), Reader in History, University of Delhi, (St. Stephen's College), Delhi.

*34. Mr. H. K. Sherwani, M.A.(Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History, Osmania University College, Hyderabad-Deccan.

35. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of History and Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.

*36. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A.(Oxon.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandarum.

Learned Institutions—

*37. Mr. William Coelho, M.A., Assistant Professor of History (Indian Historical Research Institute), St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

38. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., 180, Shanwar Peth, Poona, 2, (The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Bombay).

39. Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B., Pleader (Karnataka Historical Society), Dharwar, Bombay.

*40. Mr. G. H. Khare, Curator, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, 313, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.

41. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A.(Oxon.), I.E.S. (Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

42. Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani (Calcutta Historical Society), 60, Bentink Street, Calcutta.

*43. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., President (Bengiya Sahitya Parishad), P255, Lansdowne Road, Extension, Rashbehari Avenue P. O., Calcutta.

*44. Mr. C. W. Gurner, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Royal Asiatic Soicety of Bengal), Office of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, 5 Clive Street, Calcutta.

*45. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D.Litt., Assistant Secretary, United Provinces Historical Society, 35 Chatham Lines, Allahabad.

46. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S., Sharadashram, Yeotmal, Berar.

Assam.

*27. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), B.L., Special University Officer to the Government of Assam, Shillong.

*28. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam.

North-West Frontier Province.

*29. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Khudadad Road, Peshawar.

Delhi.

*30. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab.), 14, Asmanpur Road, Delhi.

(b) *Indian States.*

*31. Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director-General, Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).

*32. Syed Khurshed Ali, Rockland, Hyderabad (Deccan).

33. Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore.

*34. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior.

*35. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.

36. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.

*37. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.

*38. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

(c) *Foreign Possessions in India.*

*39. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux Rue Desbassyus'de Ricehmont Chandernagore, Free French India.

*40 Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Goa.

PART II.

PAPERS READ AT THE PUBLIC MEETING.

List of Papers.

Jesuit Letters and Accounts.

[By Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M.A.].

INTRODUCTION.

The importance of the Jesuit letter as a source of information for building up the history of India was well emphasized by Mr. Vincent Smith, as far as the history of Akbar was concerned: "The Fathers", says Smith, "were highly educated men, trained for accurate observation and scholarly writing. They made excellent use of their opportunities at the imperial court, and any book which professes to treat of Akbar while ignoring indispensable Jesuit testimony must necessarily be misleading".

1. The Jesuit Letters in Themselves.

The remarks of Smith embody what we may call the objective impressions of the Jesuit letters on the minds of their readers. Probably Smith did not know what was the subjective cause of that extraordinary efficiency of the writers, which he emphasizes so much. This is a question which falls within the range of those precepts or ordinations of our Order, which have been styled "the secrets of the Jesuits".[1]

In point of fact the first injunction about letter writing among us, comes from the very pen of our founder St. Ignatius of Loyola. In the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus which he wrote in Spanish there is the following passage, which I translate directly from the original: "It will be of great help (to the members of our Society) the writing of letters between the subjects and the superiors; which custom will cause a thorough knowledge about each other, and about the news and events narrated (in those letters) that come from different parts. About which (letter writing) the superiors and in particular the General and the Provincials will take a special care. They will order the things in such a way as to obtain that in every place, they should know about the things that are being done in other places, which is a source of mutual consolation and edification in Our Lord".[2]

St. Ignatius therefore lays stress on the importance of letter writing. Not long after him, letter writing amongst the Jesuits was systematized, and as such it is found in the Declarations appended to the Constitutions. It was consequently ordered that every four months from every house of the Society they should write to the Provincial about the things that have happened during the past four months; and the Provincial should send the General a copy of these letters, while other copies of the same should be sent to the other houses of the Province.[3]

Now these letters essentially should be about the work of the Jesuits in relation with their College and Schools, their writings and publications, their scientific work and their missions; but since all this work cannot at times be properly understood without having the general geographical and historical background, hence very often the Jesuit letters have a short narrative of the

[1] Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 7 (2nd ed.).
[2] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, LXIV, *Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, II, Part VIII, c. 1, No. 9, p. 621. (Rome, 1936).
[3] *Ibid.* M. p. 623.

secular events of the place, before coming to the proper subject of the letter. This is the cause of the great importance of these letters as first class historical documents for writing the general history of any country during the last four hundred years. We do not propose to discuss the published Jesuit records here and may turn to those still awaiting publication.

IV. Unpublished Jesuit Letters.

The Jesuit Letters from India which are still awaiting publication are, so we suspect, many more than those that have been published up to the present. The volumes of *Litterac Qaudrimestres* (Quarterly Letters) published by *Monumenta Historica S. J.*, always warn the readers that they do not contain the letters received from India nor Brazil, undoubtedly because these letters being many were enough to form a separate collection; this publication has now been undertaken, as said above.

These unpublished letters may be found:

1st. In the Archives of the Society of Jesus, where they are kept since they were received by the supreme authorities of the Society in Rome. This will be the main source for the publication of the *Monumenta Historica* of the Jesuit Missions.

From photographs of the originals kept in Rome Fr. Hosten published a number of English translations of many letters (*Cf.* above III, No. 5, for instance). The present writer also published two letters from the Archives of the Society referring to the Bijapur Sultanate under the title "Three Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I", in the *J. B. H. S.*, I, pp. 158-163. In the same way the account of the civil war of Vijayanagar by Fr. Manuel Barradas, which Sewell knew only through an extract of a letter written from Cochin on December 12th, 1616, found in the National Archives in Lisbon, was[4] discovered in its original in the Jesuit Archives and published substantially by the present writer in the *J. I. H.*, V, pp. 164-188. Thirty-seven letters or fragments of the same from our Archives were also published as an appendix to my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 582-637.

Similarly many interesting letters from the central Archives of the Society, about the Kingdom of Madura during the period from 1711 to 1747 were published by Fr. L. Besse, S. J., in his work, *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus his Times and his Writings* (Trichinopoli, *1918*). Also Fr. Feroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I (Bangalore City), has published several letters from the Jesuit Archives for the first time. *Cf.* pp. 212 ff., 241 ff, 270 ff, 289-290, 295 ff, etc.

[The Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has a number of photographs of some of these unpublished letters.]

2nd. In the Archives of many Jesuit Provinces or houses, especially in Portugal and in Spain, there may still be a number of unpublished Jesuit letters, referring to India.

3rd. In the British Museum, and in particular in the Marsden Collection, there are a number of original Jesuit letters. Sir Edward Maclagan made use of them while writing his work on *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, pp. 386-388. *Cf.* Goldie, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*,

[4] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 222.

pp. 97-103 (Dublin 1897), where there is a letter of Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva, of the Marsden Collection in the British Museum, then published for the first time. In the same way Fr. Hosten discovered "the Jesuit Mail" from the Moghul mission of 1615 in the Cottonian Library of the British Museum. These letters were published in *The Examiner* of Bombay, 1919. The letters in question are :—

1. Letter of Fr. Corsi, Ajmer, February 26th, 1615 : about war between the Mughals and Portuguese in Gujerat. Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Mughal Empire (*The Examiner*, LXX, (1919), pp. 318-320).
2. Letter of the same, Ajmer, March 6th, 1615 : about the progress of the Mission (*Ibid.*, p. 329).
3. Letter of Fr. Machado, Agra, April 9th, 1615 : ditto (*Ibid.*, pp. 329-330).
4. Letter of Fr. de Castro, Agra, April 10th, 1615 : about war between the Mughals and the Portuguese (*Ibid.*, pp. 338-339).
5. Letter of the same, Agra, April 10th, 1615 : about persecution of the Catholic Church in the Mughal Empire. Progress of the Mission. Some information about the Dutch in India (*Ibid.*, pp. 339-340).

The Marsden Collection of MSS. has once belonged to the Jesuit Archives of Goa. The list of all these MSS. was published by Fr. Hosten under the title : "The Marsden MSS. and Indian Mission Bibliography" in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, III, pp. 129-150. See also : Phillipps—Beveridge, "The Marsden MSS. in the British Meseum", *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), VI, pp. 437-461.

4th. In the National Archives of Lisbon where many documents of the old Jesuit houses are found. They were taken there after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal by the Marquis de Pombal. There Sewell found the extract of the letter from Cochin referring to the civil war of Vijayanagara. (*Cf.* above p. 213).

5th. In the same way many similar documents may be found in the public Archives of the nation in Spain, mixed with papers of the Jesuit houses, when the Society was expelled from Spain, in the reign of Charles III.

6th. For the same reason there are Jesuits letters and documents in the *Arquivo Historico* of the Portuguese Government at Pangim, at the head of which is our friend Senhor Panduranga Pissurlencar.

7th. In private collections there must also be innumerable Jesuit letters of great historical importance. Some of them appear in the market from time to time. Messrs. Maggs Bros., London, some years ago, published a catalogue of autograph letters of the 17th century for sale under the title : "*Bibliotheca Asiatica*, Part II." The Catholic Mission in India, China, Japan, Siam and Far East in a Series of Autograph Letters of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1924). "The Letters had belonged to the family archives of the Noble House of d'Aveiro d'Arcos" (p. 1). The letters of the collection of some interest for our purpose are the following :

1. Letters of Fr. Cardone, Lisbon, September 16th, 1687 : about political disturbances in the States of Central India (p. 7).
2. Letter of Fr. Freyre, Goa, December 27th, 1678 : about Agra and the Jesuit Mission there (p. 19).

3. Annual letter from Kanara, 1684 (p. 35).
4. Letter of Fr. Anthony Thomas, 1682, Geographical descriptions of S. India (pp. 87-88).
5. Two letters of Fr. Ventimiglia, Goa, January 11th and 22nd, 1684: about Sambaji's succession and wars (p. 133).
6. Letter of Fr. Ventimiglia, Goa, November 30th, 1686; about wars in the Kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golkonda (p. 117).

Some of the letters mentioned in this catalogue are published in full; of others some fragments only.

V. Jesuit Accounts and Histories.

There is besides another kind of Jesuit writing which may be classified as "accounts" or "histories", which also contain first class historical information. About them Maclagan says the following: "These histories were written by learned Jesuits in Europe who had access to first hand authorities, and they were compiled with considerable skill and fidelity".[5]

As luck would have it, some of these accounts, especially the early ones and their translation, were but the Indian letters themselves shorn of their beginning and their end. In the accounts of Guerreiro, about which we shall speak presently, one may still recognize the different styles of the writers in the various chapters of the work. Moreover in these accounts sometimes the personal pronoun is the third person.[6] But occasionally the first person is still used, which the compiler forgot to change. This seems to show that the editor did not take much trouble to make the work uniform in its style, but (fortunately for us) inserted the letters just as they were, each letter perhaps being a different chapter, at least on many occasions.

Thus in one of the chapters of Guerreiro's, which will be mentioned below, the writer of these lines could recognize a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier. *Cf. I. A.*, p. 33.

In the following pages we shall speak about the most important of these accounts and histories for our purpose, adding a short analysis of the portions concerning the civil history of the country. They will be given in chronological order.

1. Fr. Giovanne Pietro Maffei.

He was born in Bergamo, northern Italy in 1535; joined the Society in 1565. He died in 1605. He was a very prolific writer, and very accurate in his style, through which the sources of his information are not easily recognizable.

The following was his first work:

Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine M. D. LXVIII. Commentarius Emmanuellis Accostae Lusitani recognitus et latinitate donatus. Accessere de Japonicis rebus Epistolarum libri IIII. Item recogniti et in Latinum ex Hispanico sermone conversi. (Dilinga, Sebald, Meyer, 1571.)

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[5] Maclagan, *The Jesuit at the Mughal Court*, pp. 5-6.

[6] Some missionaries may perhaps have written their letters using the third person. So did Fr. Monserrate in his well known *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*.

A second edition of this book was printed in Naples in 1573; a third in Colone in 1574 and another in 1583.

A thorough reshuffling of the matter of this book together with a life of St. Ignatius, which he had published for the first time in Rome in 1585, gave him the matter for his much more substantial work about India, the title of which is as follows:—

Jaon. Petri Maffei Bergomatis e Societate Jesu Historiarum Indicarum Libri IV. Accesit Ignatii Loyale Vita Postremo recognita Et in opera singula copiosus Index (Florence, Philipo Giunti, 1588).

A second edition of this work appeared in Colone, in 1589; a third in Colone, in 1593; a fourth in Antwerp in 1605; a fifth in Lyons in 1637; a sixth in Lyons in 1689.

[There is a copy of the original edition of Florence, another of the edition of Colone (1593) and another of the edition of Antwerp (1605) in the Library of the Indian Academy, St. Mary's College, Kurseong (Bengal).]

The letters from India contained in this work were published separately in Venize, 1588.

An Italian translation of the original work appeared in Florence in 1589. This is the title:

Le Istorie della Indie Orientali del Rev. P. Giovan Pietro Maffei della Compagnia di Giesù. Tradotte di Latino in lingua Toscana da M. Francesco Serdonati Fiorentino. Con una scelta di lettere scritte dell' Indie, fre le quali ve ne sono molte non piu stampate, tradote dal medesimo. (Florence, Philipo, Giunti, 1589.)

[There is a copy of this book in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

There was a prior edition of this work printed in Naples in 1844 [a copy of it is also found in the Library of the Indian Academy St. Mary's College, Kurseong].

This work is very difficult to analyse for there are no chapters in it. It is divided into 16 books that fill up 662 pages. There are no division of paras. within each book. The letters received from India and Japan are from p. 663 up to p. 930, which is the last of the book. Those of India are the following:—

1. Letters of St. Francis Xavier (pp. 663-684).

2. Letter of Fr. Organtino Bresciano, Goa, December 18th, 1568. (A very interesting letter referring to the whole western coast of India from Malabar up to Bassein) (pp. 875-886).

2. *Fr. Giovanne Francesco Peruschi, S. J.*

He was born in Rome. Joined the Society during the life time of St. Ignatius. Died in 1598.

His work referring to India bears this title:

1. *Informatione del Regno et Stato del gran re di Mogor della sua persona, qualità, et costumi, et delli buon segni, et congietture della sua conversione alla nostra santa fede. Cavatta dalla relatione, et da molti particolari havuti di la l'anno de 1582 et del 91 et 95.* Raccolta per il R. Pi. Gio Battista Peruschi (Rome, Luigi Zanetti, 1597).

This work was translated into Latin and published in the following year 1598. The Latin translation is more spread than the original in Italian. Its title is as follows :—

Historica relatio de pottentissimi regis Mogor, a magno Tamerlano oriundi, vita, moribus, et summa in Christianam Religionem propensione. Deinde de omnuim Japoniae regnorum, quae uni nunc monarchae Quabacundono parent proxima ad regnum Christi conversione. Collecta ex Epistolis anno MDXCII. XCIII et XCV. inde datis a R. P. Joanne Baptista Peruscho Romano Societatis Jesu. (Maienz, Henry Breem, 1598.)

[There is a copy of this Latin edition, which had originally belonged to the Jesuit College of Maienz, in 1619, in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. A copy of the original Italian edition is found in the Central Archæological Library of the Archæological Survey of India. [7]]

It is interesting to notice that this work, that specially refers to Akbar and his Court, was published fully six years before Akbar died. A French translation appeared in Bessançon in 1597 ; and another in Paris, in 1598. In the same year appeared a German translation in Maienz.

The interesting portions of Peruschi's work are these :—

Excerpta ex variis epistolis inde acceptis ano 1582, 91 and 95.

p. 1. Akbar's leanings to wards Christianity.

p. 1 (rev.)-2. Akbar's name, family and early life. His Empire.

p. 2. His pen picture.

p. 2 (rev.)-3. His sons.

p. 3. Description of Agra, Lahore, Cambay and Bengal.

p. 3. (rev.)-5. Geographical description of India.

p. 5. (rev.)-6. Akbar's expedition against Kābul.

p. 6. The Sultan of Gujerat besieges Daman.

pp. 6-7. Akbar's military strength.

p. 7. Financial resources of Akbar's Empire. Trade.

p. 7. (rev.)-9. Akbar's habilities and attainments.

p. 9-9. (rev.) Administration of justice in Akbar's Empire.

p. 9. (rev.)-10. (rev.) Akbar's liking for sports.

p. 10. (rev.)-11. Akbar's disliking of Islam.

pp. 11-12. (rev.) His favours to the Jesuits.

p. 12. (rev.)-15. First Jesuit mission to the Moghal Court.

Excerpta ex annuis Indiae Orientalis Anno 1595.

p. 15 (rev.)-16. The third mission to the Mogual Court is announced.

Excerpta ex Epistola P. Emmanuellis Pinheiro.

p. 16, (rev.)-22. Journey of the Fathers of the third mission ; their stay at Cambay ; Prince Murad receives them.

[7] D4472.

Exemplum Epistolae P. Hieronymi Sciavier (*Xavier*).

p. 22. (rev.) Journey of the Fathers of the third mission.

p. 22 (rev.)-23. Their dealings with Akbar at Lahore.

Exemplum Epistolae Sciptae a P. Emmanuele Pinheiro.

pp. 24-26. Journey of the Fathers of the third mission. Meeting with Prince Murad at Ahmedabad.

p. 26. The Fathers of the third mission are being received by Akbar.

p. 27. Shah Tamasp, nephew of Khan Jahan, Viceroy of Lahore, submits to Akbar.

P. 27. (rev.) The Fathers are allowed to build a Church in Lahore.

p. 28. Akbar against Islam. Akbar's new religious faith. Schools of the Fathers at Lahore.

3. *Fr. Luis. de Guzmán, S. J.*

He was a Spaniard. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1563. He was the Rector of several Colleges and the Provincial of the Jesuit Provinces of Andalusia and Toledo. He died in Madrid, in 1605.

Fr. Guzmán published a work on the Jesuit missions which is of extraordinary interest for Indian historians. This is the title :—

1. *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compānía de Jesús, para predicar el santo Euangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la Cina y Japon.* Escrita por el Padre Luis de Guzmán Religioso dela misma Compañia. Primera parte en la qual se contienan Seys libros, tres de la India Oriental, uno de la China, y dos del Japon. Dirigida a Doña Ana Felix de Guzmán, Marquesa de Camarasa, Comdesa de Ricla, Señora del Adelantamiento de Caçorla. (Alcalá, Viuda de Juan Gracian, 1601.)

The second part of this work was published in the same year, but it has no interest for us, since it refers to the missons of Japan only.

A second edition of Fr. Guzmán's work appeared not many years ago. This is the title :—

Historia de las missiones de la Compānía de Jesús en la India Oriental, en la China y Japon desde 1540 hasta 1600 por el P. Luis de Guzmán, de la misma Compañia, (Bilbao. Administratión del Mensajero del Corazón de Jesús, 1891.)

[There is a copy of this edition in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

The sources of information of Fr. Guzmán were three, as he himself says in the preface :—

1st. Published works about India.

2nd. Letters of the Jesuits from India.

3rd. Personal inquiries from other Jesuits who had been in India and were then in Spain. At the end he adds : " Of all these sources of information, I selected what was certain and proven as such, putting aside whatever was not so " (p. 11).

The portions of Father Guzmán's work which may be treated as records of historical interest as regard India are the following :—

Book I.

c. 1-2. Description of India.

c. 4. Goa conquered by the Portuguese.

Book II.

c. 14-16. The Army of Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madura in the Fishery Coast (1560).

c. 20. The Portuguese conquer Jaffna, Ceylon.

c. 25-28. Dealings of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese (1595-1599).

c. 39-42. About the Empire of Vijayanagara. The Jesuits are received at Chandagiri by King Venkāṭa II.

Libro III.

c. 26-27. About the origin, family and power of the Mughal Emperor.

c. 28. Akbar sends an Embassy to Goa asking for Jesuit Fathers.

c. 29-33. The First Jesuit mission at Fathpur.

c. 34. Akbar asks for Jesuits the second time.

c. 35-37. The third Jesuit mission to the Mughal Court.

c. 38. Rebellion of Prince Salim. The Palace of Akbar at Lahore perishes by fire. Akbar, accompanied by Fr. J. Xavier, spends the summer in Kashmir.

c. 39. Akbar's expedition to the Deccan accompanied by Fr. J. Xavier.

4. *Fr. Fernão Guerreiro, S. J.*

He was born in Almodovar, in Portugal, and joined the Society of Jesus when he was 17, in 1567. He died in Lisbon, 1617, being the superior of the Profess House.

He published five volumes about the Jesuit Missions in the East covering the period from 1600 to 1608, which for all practical purposes may be styled as "a continuation of Guzmán's history, and which is like that work an authority of high importance".[8] With all due respect to Sir Edward Maclagan, whose are these words, we must say that Guerreiro's is more authoritative than Guzmán's, precisely because the former, did not interfere so much with the original style of the documents he was using. Guzmán, though faithful as regards the facts narrated, was not so careful in preserving the original wording of the sources he used.

The first volume of Guerreiro's work bears this title :—

Relacao anual das Coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus na India, e Japão annos de 600 e 601, e do processo da conversão e christandade daquellas partes tirada das cartas gerais que de lá vierão pelo Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Componhia de Jesus. (Evora, Manoel de Lyra, 1603.)

[8] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

There is a Spanish translation of this volume, the title of which is as follows :—

Ralacion annual de las Coisas que han hecho los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon en los años de 600-601. y del progresso de la conversion y Christiandad de aquellas partes : Sacada de las cartes generales que han venido de alla, por el P. Fernan Guerrero de la Compañia de Jesús, natural de Almodovar de Portugal. Traduzida de Portugues en Castellano por el P. Antonio Colaço Procurador general de la Provincia de Portugal, India, Japon y Brasil de la misma Compañia. Dirigida a Don Juan de Borja, Conde de Ficallo, del Consejo Supremo de Portugal y del de Estado de Su Magestad. (Valladolid, Sanchez, 1684.)

[There is a copy of the original Portuguese edition in the British Museum. Of the Spanish translation there are copies in the British Museum and in All Souls' Library, Oxford.]

The portions of interest to Indian historians contained in this volume are the following :—

Book I (1601).

c. III. About the mission to Mogor, and the journey made by the Jesuits accompanying Akbar to the kingdoms of the Deccan, and the embassies sent by him to Goa.

(At the end of this chapter there is a letter from Akbar to the Viceroy of Goa, dated 20th March 1601. This chapter is evidently a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier in which the conquest of Asirgarh is related. I published this letter in English in *I. A.*, LIII (1924), pp. 33-41).

c. IV. About the affection of the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore towards the Fathers of that Residence ; of his death, and how his brother succeeded him.

c. XVII. Favours of the Emperor Venkāṭa of Chandragiri towards the Jesuits.[9]

Book III (1602).

c. V. Akbār issues a farman in favour of the Jesuits of Lahore.

c. VI. Dealings between Akbar and the Jesuits in Agra.

c. VIII. About the disagreement between Akbar and Prince Salim, and about the affection of the latter towards the Jesuits.

c. X. Favours of Venkāṭa of Chandragiri towards the Jesuits. He sends an ambassador to Goa. The Viceroy of Goa sends an ambassador to Chandragiri. The Queen gives Pulicat to the Jesuits.[10] The author of these lines has published the first part of this chapter, translated into English, in *Q. J. M. S.* (Bangalore), XIV, pp. 131-134.

[9] *Cf.* Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I., pp. 464-473.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 434-437 and 473-476.

Guerreiro's second volume bears this title :—

Relacão Anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental, e no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde Guiné nos anos de seiscentos e dois e seiscentos a três, e do process da conversão e christandade daquelas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres, que de la vieram. Pelo Padre Fernão Guerreiro da mesma Companhia, natural de Almodóvar de Portugal. (Lisboa, Jorge Rodrigues, 1605.)

[There are copies of this volume in the British Museum and in All Souls' Library, Oxford.]

Fr. Hosten published an English translation of the portions of this volume referring to the Mughal Empire in *The Examiner* of Bombay, in the month of November, 1919. (References to this translation are given below.)

The passages of this volume referring to India are the following :—

Book III.

c. I. Wars of the Portuguese in Bengal.

c. V-VI. Dealings between Akbar and the Jesuits in Agra. (*The Examiner*, pp. 469-470 and 478-480.)

c. VIII. Difference beween Akbar and Prince Salim. The latter's affection towards the Jesuits.

c. X. The Jesuits at Chandragiri, court of Venkāṭa II of Vijayanagara.

The first two volumes of Guerreiro's have been recently published in Portugal in a volume, the title of which is as follows :—

Relacão Anual Das Coisas Que Fizeram os Padres Da Companhia De Jesus Nas Suas Missoēs Do Japan, China, Cataio, Tidore, Ternate, Amboino, Malaca, Pegu, Bengala, Bisnagá, Maduré, Costa da Pescaria, Manar, Ceilão, Travancor, Malabar, Sodamala, Goa, Salsette, Lahor, Diu, Etiopia a alta ou preste João, Monomotapa, Angola, Guiné, Serra Leoa, Cabo Verde e Brasil. Nos Annos De 1600 A 1609 E Do Processo Da Conversão E Cristandade Daquelas Partes : Tirada Das Cartas Que os Missionarios De La Escreveram. Pelo Padre Fernão. Guereiro Da Companhia De Jesus, Natural De Almodovar De Portugal. Nova Edição Dirigida E Prefaciada por Artur Viegas Tomo Primeiro 1600 A 1603. (Comibra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1930.)

[We have a copy of this new edition in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

Guerreiro's third volume bears the following title :—

Relacam annual das Cousas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental e em Alguas outras da conquista desta reyno nos annos de 604 et 605, e do processo da conversãm et Christandade dequelass partes. Tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de la vieram. Vay diudida em quatro liuros, o primerio de Japam, o segundo da China, terceioro da India, quarto de Ethiopia et Guiné. (Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1607.)

[A copy of this volume is found in the British Meseum.]

Guerreiro's fourth volume is entitled thus :—

Relacam annual das Cousas que fizeram os padres, de Companhie de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental, e em alguas outras da conquista deste reyno nos annos de 1606 et 07 e do processo de conversão, e Christandade daquellas partes. Tirada

das cartas dos mesmos padres que de lá vierão. Pelo Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Jesu natural de Almodovar de Portugal. Vai dividida em quatro livros: O Primeiro da Provincia de Japão e de China. O segundo da Provincia do sul. O terceiro da provincia do Norte. O quarto de Guiné, e Brasil. (Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609.)

[Also a copy of this volume is found in the British Museum.]

The portions of interest for Indian historians are the following. The portions referring to Jahangir's reign were translated into English by Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits.* (References to this work will be given below.)

Book II.

c. V. The Portuguese of Sào Tome (Madras) cause several deaths among the subjects of the Emperor of Vijayanagaram. The latter's fury. Venkāṭa residing at Vellore. His liking for paintings.[11] A great portion of this chapter was also published in English in *Q. I. M. S.*, XIV, p. 134.

c. VIII. The Zamorin's friendship with the Portuguese; refuses to receive the Dutch.

Book III.

c. III. Rebellion of Prince Salim against Akbar.

c. IV. Akbar's death.

c. V. Rebellion of Khusru against Jahangir. (A translation of this chapter was published with notes by my student J. A. D'Silva, in the *J. I. H.*, V, pp. 267-281) (Payne, pp. 3-12).

c. VI. The beginning of Jahangir's reign (Payne, pp. 13-23).

c. VIII. Jahangir's journey to Kābul (Payne, pp. 32-39).

Guerreiro's fifth volume bears the following title:—

Relauam annal das Cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus, nas partes da India Oriental, & em algũas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 607 & 608, & do processo da conversào & Christandade daquellas partes, com mais hua addicam á relacam de Ethiopia. Tirado tudo das cartas dos mesmos Padres que de la vierão, & ordenado pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Jesu, natural de Almodóvar de Portugal. Vay dividida em sinco livros. O Primeiro da Provincia de Goa, em que se contem as missoes de Manomotapa, Mogor, and Ethiopia. O segundo da provincia de Cochim, em que se contem as cousas do Malabar, Pegú, Maluco. O terceiro das provincias de Japam and China. O quarto em que se referem as cousas de Guiné, and serra Leoa. O quinto, em que se contem hua addiçào á relaçào de Ethippia. (Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1611.)

A Spanish translation of this work was published three years later in Madrid with this title:—

Historia y anal Relacion de las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Companhia de Jesus por las partes de Orienta y otras en la propagacion del Santo Evangelio los Anos passados de 607 y 608. Sacada, limada, y compuesta,

[11] *Cf.* Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-441 and 477-480.

de Portugues en Castellano por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. A Don Geronymo Carella y Mendoça, conde de Cocentayna, Marques de Almenara, etc. (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1614.)

The title says that it is a translation from the Portuguese but does not mention Guerreiro's name. Payne says the following about this translation: " It is a good translation, but is almost as scarce as the original work ".[12]

[A copy of the original as well as of the translation is found in the British Museum.]

A German translation of this volume appeared in 1614.

Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, has translated the portions referring to Jahangir's reign. The translation of the most important passages concerning Jahangir, was already published with very learned notes and explanations by Fr. Hosten in the *J. P. H. S.*, VII, pp. 50-73.

Passages of historical interests for us are the following. (References are added to Payne's translation.)

Book I.

c. III. The Jesuits come forward to greet Jahangir returning to Lahore. Jahangir sends an Embassy to Goa. He goes to Agra taking with him Prince Khusru in chains. (Payne, pp. 43-48.)

c. IV-V. Religious controversies between Jesuits and Mullahs in Jahangir's presence. (Payne, pp. 49-52.)

c. VI. The Mughal Embassy to Goa accompanied by Fr. M. Pinheiro. William Hawkins (Commander of the *Hector*) arrives at the court of Agra. War breaks out between the Portuguese and the Mughals. Fr. Pinheiro is sent to Cambay from Goa to settle peace. (Payne, pp. 77-87.)

Book II.

c. II. Reply of Venkāṭapati to Phillip II of Portugal (text of letter).[13] Dealings of the Dutch with the Nāyak of Giroja (*sic*) (Ginji).[14] The letter of King Venkāṭa to Phillip II was published in English in *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, pp. 137-139.

5. *Fr. Pierre du Jarric, S. J.*

He was born in Toulouse in 1566 and joined the Society of Jesus in 1582. He was a Professor of Theology for fifteen years at Bordeaux and died in 1616.

In the preface to his work he himself relates how he had been ordered by his Provincial to translate the work of Fr. Guzmán from the Spanish.[15] He found nevertheless that Guzmán's work was not fully satisfactory, for he had shortened his account so as to omit some important matters spoken of by others. Then Fr. du Jarric wrote to Fr. Guzmán for his enlightenment, but Fr. Guzmán, who had died by that time, never replied. Then he wrote to Fr. Guerreiro in Portugal; who not only answered his queries but sent him

[12] Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. XIV.
[13] *Cf.* Heras, *op. cit.*, pp.
[14] *Ibid*, p.
[15] Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. XXV.

some books and memoirs amongst which there were some notes written by Fr. Alberto Laerzio.[16] He was the Provincial of the Malabar Province in the first years of the 17th century. His notes evidently referred to Malabar. Madura, Chandragiri and Vellore, which he had visited several times, and about which there is much new information in du Jarric's book. With all these materials in hand du Jarric gave up the translation of Guzmán's and wrote a new original work.

The title of his work in 3 volumes was as follows :—

Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales que autres pays de la descouverte des Portugois en l'establissement et progrez de la Foy Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieuz de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont faict et enduré por la mesme fin, depuis qu'ills sont entrez jusques l'an 1600. Le tout recueilly des lettres et autres Histoires, quien ont estê écrites by devant, et mis en ordre par le P. Pierre de Jarric Tolosain de la mesme Compagnie. (Bordeaux, G. Millanges, 1608) (3 vols.)

There was a second edition printed at Bordeaux in 1610, and another at Arras in 1611.

A Latin translation appeared at Colone in 1615. The title of this work begins with these words ; *Thesarus Rerum Indicarum.*

[There are copies of the original French edition in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Of the Latin translation there is a copy in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

This work was much used by Vincent Smith while writing his *Akbar the Great Mogul.* " The historian du Jarric, " says he, "who condensed the original letters of the missionaries into narrated form, is an extraordinary accurate and concientious writer, entitled to high rank among the historians of the world ".[17]

Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits,* had translated the portions of this work referring to Akbar. (References to Payne's will be found below.)

(The portion referring to Jahangir's reign in vol. III apparently has never been translated, but it practically agrees with Guerreiro's.)

The passages of du Jarric's work of interest to Indian historians are the following :—

Volume I — Book I.

c. I. The discovery of India by the Portuguese.

c. II. Description of India.

c. III. The conquest of Goa by the Portuguese.

Book II.

c. I. Description of Goa.

c. VIII. Description of Ceylon and a summary of its history and especially about the kingdom of Jaffna.

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

[17] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 7.

c. IX. The island of Manar is invaded and peopled by the Paravas of the Fishery Coast.

c. X. The Portuguese conquer the kingdom of Jaffna.

c. XIII (2nd half). Information about the kingdom of Porca in Malabar.

c. XIV. Information about the Kingdom of Calicut.

c. XV. Peace is settled between the Zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese.

c. XVII. About the mission of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in India.

c. XVIII. About St. Thomas's Christians in Malabar.

c. XX. About the kingdom of Vijayanagara and its king Venkåṭapati. The Jesuits are hospitably received at Chandragiri by the King's father-in-law in 1598.

c. XXI-XXII. Favours of the king of Vijayanagara to the Jesuits.

Volume II. Book II.

c. IX. Akbar sends an Embassy to Goa calling the Jesuits to his Court (1578) (Payne, pp. 14-23).

c. X-XI. First Jesuit mission at Fathpur (Payne, pp. 24-43).

c. XII. History of the second Jesuit mission at Akbar's Court (Payne, pp. 44-50).

c. XIII-XIV. The third Jesuit mission at Akbar's Court (Payne, pp. 51-68).

c. XV. The *Din-Ilahi*. Death of Prince Murad. Akbar's friendship with the Jesuit. Akbar goes to the Deccan (Payne, pp. 68-96).

Volume III. Book I.

c. IV. Akbar's expedition to the South. Conquest of Asirgarh and the whole kingdom of Burhampur (Payne, pp. 97-109).

c. V. Akbar sends an Embassy to Goa (Payne, pp. 110-117).

c. X. Akbar issues a decree allowing all his subjects to become Christians (Payne, pp. 152-159).

c. XIII. Rebellion of Prince Salim (Payne, pp. 182-191).

c. XV. Akbar's demise (Payne, pp. 203-208).

c. XVI. Beginning of Jahangir's reign. Rebellion of Prince Khusru.

c. XVII. Jahangir tries to satisfy the Muslims.

c. XIX. Jahangir comes back from Kābul. Sends an Embassy to Goa with Fr. Pinheiro and causes the eyes of Khusru to be removed.

c. XX. Religious controversies between the Jesuits and the Mughals before Jahangir.

c. XXI. Leanings of Jahangir towards Christianity.

c. XXIII. Fr. Pinheiro's journey to Goa, and thence to Cambay. Treaty of peace between Jahangir and the Portuguese.

c. XXVI. Description of the island and city of Diu. The Portuguese wish to build a fort there.

c. XXVII. Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat allows the Portuguese to build the fort of Diu. The Sultan is killed by the Portuguese.

c. XXVIII. The fort of Diu is besieged first by Muhammad Shāh, Sultan of Gujerat and then by Salman Shāh, King of the Turks.

6. *Fr. Daniello Bartoli, S. J.*

He was born in Ferrara in 1608. Joined the Society in 1623. He is the author of many books. He died in Rome in 1683. He wrote a number of volumes about the history of the Society of Jesus in different parts of the world. The volumes of interest for us are those referring to Asia, which bear this title:

Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Giesú L'Asia. Parte prima. (Roma, Lazzeri, 1655.)

There is a second edition of Genova in 1656. The third edition of Rome in 1667, says in its title that it is " accresciuta della missione al Mogor e della Vita e Morte del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva ".

[A copy of this edition is found in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.]

The addition to this edition referring to Fr. Aquaviva's mission to the Mughal Court had also been published separately with this title :—

Missione al Gran Mogor del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva della compagnia di Gesu sua Vita e Morte e d'altri quarttro Compagni uccisi in odio della Fede in Salsette di Goa. Descritta dal P. Daniello Bartoli della Medesima Compagnia. (Roma, Varese. 1663.)

[There is also a copy of these editions in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.]

In modern times the works of Fr. Bartoli have been published once more :

Dell'Iistoria della Compagnia di Gesú L'Asia descritta dal P. Daniello Bartoli della Medesima Compagnia parte prima. (Piacenza, Majno, 1819) (8 vols.)

(This is a reproduction of the 2nd edition.)

Missione al gran Mogor del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva della Compagnia di Gesu sua vita e morte, e d'altriquatro compagni uccisi in odio della fede in Salsette di Goa. Descritta dal P. Daniello Bartoli, della medesima Compagne (Piacenza, Majno, 1819).

[Copies of these two works are in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The second edition of the second work is also in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.]

Another edition of both works appeared in Florence, of the first in 1832-1834, and of the second in 1834.

[Copies of this edition are found in the Library of the Indian Academy, St. Mary's College, Kurseong, Bengal.]

The whole work of Bartoli about the Jesuit mission to the Mughal Court is of great interest. As regards the general work important portions are the following :—

Book I.

pp. 71-74. Geographical Description of India.

pp. 74-75. About the city of Goa in 1542.

pp. 96-98. About Indian mythology.

Book III.

pp. 190-199. Information about the Raja of Tanor in Malabar.

Book IV.

pp. 12-19. Invasion of the Fishery Coast by the army of the Nāyak of Madura.

7. *Fr. Giacinto de Magistris, S. J.*

He was an Italian. He joined the Society in 1626. He spent many years in South India. He went to Europe several times, as Procurator of the Missions. He had also been in Brasil. He died in Goa on November 11th, 1668.

Relatione dellà Christianitã di Maduré Fatta da Padri missionrii della Compagnia di Giesù della Provincia del Malavàr. Scritta dal P. Giacinto de Magistris dell' istesa Compagnia, Procuratore di quella Provincia. (Roma, Angelo Bernabo del Verme, 1661.)

A French translation of this work appeared in Paris in 673.

[There is a copy of this French translation in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

de Magistres, having been in South India himself, is on many occasions an eyewitness of the things he narrates. Hence the extraordinary value of this little work. It deals with the history of the kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore, with slight references to Gingi and Vijayanagara.

8. *Fr. Francisco de Sousa, S. J.*

He was a Portuguese, born in Bahia. Joined the Society of Jesus in 1647. He had been the Rector of the College of Goa, where he died in 1743, at the age of 81.

His work bears this title :

Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa. Primeyra Parte, na qual se contèm os primeyros vinte, e dous annos desta Provincia, ordenada pelo P. Francisco de Sousa, religioso da mesma companhia de Jesus. *Segundo Parte, na qual se Contèm o que se obrou desd'o anno de 1564 atè o anno de 1565* (2 vols.) (Lisbon, Valentim de Costa Deslandes, 1710).

The third part has never been published. The MS. was in the Jesuit College of Lisbon before the revolution of 1909.

A second edition of this work in two volumes was published in Bombay in 1881-1886. The second volume of this edition is very rare. Practically the whole edition was burnt when the house wherein was kept was on fire.

[The two volumes of both editions are in the Library of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.]

The sources of Fr. de Sousa's work, as he himself informs in the introduction to the second volume of the original edition, were the following:

1st. A MS. "Chronica" written by Fr. Sebastião Gonzalves, who lived in Goa in 1593.

2nd. The works of Fr. Bartoli.

3rd. Documents of "our secretariat at Goa, which are mentioned when referred to, that the truth may appear the better".

Fr. de Sousa is a very accurate historian, and as Maclagan remarks "the narration includes, information which is not in any of the previously published account of the mission"[18].

The passages of interest are the following. Some passages concerning the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal Court were published in English by Fr. Hosten in *The Examiner*, of Bombay, LXXI (1920). (References are given below.)

Volume I. Conquista I. Divisão I.

16. Description of the island of Goa in 1542.
17. Description of the city of Goa in 1542.
37. The Viceroyalty of Dom João de Castro.
44. Nobility of the Brahmans.
45. Wisdom of the Brahmans.
46. Customs of the Brahmans.
52-54. About the kingdom of Tanor, in Malabar.

Divisão II.

17-22. Dealings between the Sultan of Bijāpur, Ali Adil Shāh II and the Portuguese on one side and the pretender Mir Ali Khān (Miale Cão) on the other side.
55. Description of the Island of Salsette (Goa).
56-58. System of Government in Salsette.
62-63. Dealings between the Rāja of Cochin and the Bishop of Cochin.
76. War round Surat between two Muslim lords in 1561. (Prince of Broach and Prince of Surat.)

Conquista II. Divisão I.

2. Rising of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast against their Muslim overlords.
3. The Paravas obtained the protection of the Portuguese.
20. The army of Vijayanagara marches on Travancore.
21. The retreat of the army. The Rāja of Travancore Unni Kērala Varma honours St. Francis Xavier.

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[18] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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51. **Mission of the army of the Nāyak of Madura in the Fishery Coast in 1549.**

Divisão II.

1-5. Dealings in the Fishery Coast in connection with the invasion of the Madura soldiers.

12. Ditto.

15. Ditto.

18. Victory of the army of Unni Kērala Varma, Rāja of Travancore, over that of Vijayanagara.

Volume II. Conquista I. Divisão I.

20-22. The Portuguese capture the city of Mangalore from the Queen of Ullal.

35-38. About the Government of the Viceroy Don Antáo de Noronha.

40. The Sultan of Bijāpur Ali Adil Shāh II besieges Goa in 1571.

Divisão II.

4. Loyalty of the Gaonkars of Orlim to Portugal.

13-24. About the ancient Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar.

25. Strained relations between the kingdom of Bijāpur and the Portuguese of Goa in 1578.

43-44. An ambassador of Akbar brings an imperial letter to Goa, asking for Jesuit Fathers (text of the letter). (The *Examiner*, LXXI, pp. 107-108.)

45. Akbar's request is granted. (*Ibid*, p. 117).

46-47. Description of the Sultannate of Gujerat, already under Mughal rule (*Ibid*., pp. 249-250).

53-59. Journey of Fr. Rodulf Aquaviva from Surat to Fathpur. (*Ibid*, pp. 118-119 ; 239-240 ; and 248-249).

60. Akbar receives the first Jesuit mission. (*Ibid*, pp. 249-250).

61-62. Religious controversies in Fathpur. (*Ibid*, pp. 250-269).

6. Akbar entrusts the education of his second son to Fr. Monserrate. Expedition to Kābul. (*Ibid*, pp. 269-270).

VI. A proposed catalogue of Indian Historical Jesuit Records.

Sir Edward Malegan published a " Tentative Lists of Jesuit Letters and Reports " from the Mughal Empire, Bengal and Tsaparang, as an Appendix to his work *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, pp. 369-390.

The completion of this list and continuation of the same, adding all other published Jesuit records of historical importance referring to India, would be of extraordinary help to all historians of India.

This catalogue of Indian Jesuit Records, would, so I imagine, require for different sections to make it most practical for use and reference.

1st Section. Continuous list of Jesuit records in chronological order, *i.e.*, in order of the dates on which they were written, having full name of author of record, place and date of writing it, brief analysis of its contents and reference to the book wherein it is published.

2nd Section. Subjects of the letters in alphabetical order with references to the 1st section. The subjects of the letters should be carefully specified, for instance :

Jahangir :

as Prince Salim
friendship with Jesuits
rebellion against Akbar
enthronement
doings against Christianity
religious controversies
rebellion of Prince Khusru
journey to Kābul
liking for Christian paintings
Portuguese relations
etc.

Thus all historians would easily find whatever exists in the Jesuit records referring to the subject of their study.

3rd Section. Index of proper names.

If any day the Indian Historical Records Commission or any other institution would decide to carry on the proposed catalogue, which it is impossible for me to prepare, being engaged in other studies, I shall be glad to render all possible help to this great enterprise.

Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodayar of Mysore and the Last Emperor of Vijayanagar.

[By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.]

The first years of Śrī Ranga III, the last emperor of Vijayanagar, were eventful years in the critical history of the last years of the empire of Vijayanagar. He came to the throne under circumstances which were quite unpropitious for the fulfilment of a noble ambition which he had formed during the years of responsibility in which he had to protect the northern frontier of the empire and keep the Golkonda forces from gaining entry into the territories of the empire of Vijayanagar. During these last years, the management of the empire was actually in the hands of two brothers, Damarla Venkata and Damarla Aiya, who managed the government of the empire for their brother-in-law, Emperor Venkata III. In this period all the power was actually in the hands of Damarla Venkata, the governor of the province of Wandiwash with a revenue of 6,000 pagodas according to some, and 9,000 according to others, as the principal minister, so that the European Companies on the coast called him generally " Lord General of the Carnatak ". Śrī Ranga as governor of his province with headquarters at Tirupati was warden of the northern frontiers of the empire. Being a prince of the blood royal and adopted as co-heir to the empire with Venkata, under emperor Rama, his was a position of higher dignity, and as warden of the northern frontier he had the peculiar responsibility of keeping the aggressive minister of Golkonda beyond the bounds of Vijayanagar. In this higher responsibility, he probably found the headquarters not sympathetic enough, according to him, and, in nursing the grievance, he probably gave cause for unpopularity with the powers that be, so that when the emperor actually died, there were difficulties and considerable opposition from the feudatories of the empire headed by the minister brother-in-law, Damarla Venkata " Lord Chancellor of the Carnatak ". So Śrī Ranga's succession to the throne was opposed. We find a record [1] of this in the correspondence of the English East India Company in the following terms :—" The Golkonda army had overrun part of this country, and the rest including Armagon itself had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak (obviously Sriranga III), to whom apparently the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkatapati, the king of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October. the king died, and after a short delay, this nephew was elevated to the throne as Śrī Ranga Rāyal, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession and gave him great deal of trouble ". This succession took place in the October of the year 1642. The date of Venkata's death is given as the 10th of October in one record[2] and that the date of cremation is noted as 12th in the Batavia Dagh Register for 1643-44.[3] Probably the emperor died on the 10th of October, and the body was cremated on the 12th. The extract from the Dagh Register is " The Karnatak king Venkatapati was dead after lying sick of a fever for five or six days, and that his body had been burnt on October 12 at Narrewarom (Narayanavaram), fifty miles west of Pulicat ; that he left no children except an illegitimate son, who by the law of the land could not succeed ; and that after much dispute his brother's son-in-law Śrī Ranga Rāyal had been elected

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[1] English Factories in India, Vol. for 1642-45.
[2] Hague Transcripts, Series I, Vol. XII, No. 402.
[3] Batavia Dagh. Register, 1643-44. *Vide* Eng. Factories, Vol. for 1642-45, p. 67.

to the throne on October 29 ; (N. S.) ; but many of the chiefs were displeased at the choice ".

These were the unpropitious circumstances under which Śrī Ranga assumed responsibilities of the empire of Vijayanagar. The Jesuit Father Proenza, in a letter[4] which he wrote to the headquarters in 1659 from Trichinopoly says that " after his death, the new king far superior to his father in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights ; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army and declared war ; the Nayak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingee, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter informed of everything through the Nayak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingee. Swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nayaka, secretly addressed the Subha of Golkonda and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more ; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy who were repulsed with loss ".

The ball was set moving in this fashion of a civil war and commotion which after thirty years of shifting and changing brought about the end of the Vijayanagar empire and almost as a continuation of this put an end also to the Muhammadan kingdoms of the south, and brought in ultimately the Mughal conquest of South India.

Our present purpose is not that general history. In the general condition of turmoil which involved a frequent change of parties and combinations, the part actually played by Mysore and its ruler Kanthīrava Narasarāja Woḍayar so far remained obscure. It looked, in the absence of information in the sources available and from the fact that some of the inscriptions of Kanthirava Narasarāja Wodayar himself had omitted reference to the emperor for the time being, that he was hostile to the empire, if not actively, at least passively, and, to that extent, contributed substantially to the downfall of the empire. This was the view that I put forward in my paper on Mysore under the Wodayars, which took final shape somewhere about September 1897. Records that have since become available which throw a considerable amount of light on this particularly dark period of the history of South India, throw fresh light upon the matter, and exhibit the Mysore sovereign in a lovelier light than that of one who contributed, at least passively, to the downfall of the Hindu empire. We shall examine what Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja's position actually was from such evidence as happen to be before us as yet.

Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Woḍayar of Mysore came to the throne in 1639 and ruled for twenty years. His reign came to an end in 1659, the year in which the great Madura Nayak, Tirumala died. It will be remembered that the year 1639 marks the year of grant of a charter for the building of a fort at Madras by the English East India Company, thus laying the foundations by the British of what has since developed into the British Empire in India. The twenty years 1639 to 1659 mark a period in which great events took place in South Indian History, on which the information available in indigenous sources is hardly complete, or even satisfactory. But some unlooked for information from elsewhere throws welcome light upon the darkness. Śrī Ranga Rāyal came to the throne on October 29, 1642. His predecessor

[4] Nayaks of Madura by R. S. Aiyar, p. 264, Madras University Historical Series.

Venkatapati died on the 10th of October of the same year, and his remains were cremated on the 12th, according to an entry in the Batavia Dagh [5] Register for 1643-1644 on the basis of intelligence received from Pulicat. Among those that objected to the succession of Śrī Ranga Rāyal, though he was nominated a successor as long ago as 1622,[5(a)] the most influential at head-quarters was Damarla Venkata, minister, and possibly the other viceroys friendly to him. A letter [6] dated 5th of November 1642 from Fort St. George has the following regarding the investments of the Company :—" they will not be as large as was expected, as they could not sell some of the commodities by reason of the wars, which now upon the matter is ended among the Jentues within themselves, by the death of the old King. What the Moors and Jentues will do, time must show ".

The Golkonda forces which had already advanced into the territories of the empire and were lying round the region of Pulicat and the Venkatagiri frontier, perhaps advanced further either of their own motion, or as seems more likely at the instigation of the malcontents following Damarla Venkata. The Dutch Dagh [7] Register again has :—" Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golkonda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new king and deprived of all his territory, with the exception of Poonamallee and the surrounding districts ".

A letter [8] from Fort St. George dated December 29, 1642 confirms this :—

" The wars and broils increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our great Naick's imprisonment) drawing near to us, we lately raised a third bulwark of turf..............".

Another letter [9] slightly later dated 4th January 1643 gives further details of these events :—

" This country being all in broils, the old king of Karnatak being dead. So is the Naick of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and (sic) who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country ; for our Naick, not finding the respect from the new King as he expected, did make proffer to assist the Moors ; but ere he could bring his treason about, it was discovered (and) he was apprehended by the king, who hath seized great part of his country. But we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for our Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue ; who, with the help of the Moors on the other side (who are within half a day's journey of each other) will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom."

As was expected Damarla Venkata was released. The following statement from the Dagh [10] Register refers to an attack on Pulicat by the Golkonda forces, and these were in turn attacked by the Hindus and put to flight. The Dagh Register contains :—

" The Wars in these parts made them glad to entertain some of their men as soldiers, for the Moors but five weeks past had advanced with their

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[5] Note 3 above.
[5] (a) Tirupati's Ins. Vol. VI, p. 130, f.n. 2, and Report p. 328.
[6] The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 76.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 70.
[8] The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 70.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 80.
[10] The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 193-94 and note dated September 8th, 1644.

armies within three miles of Pulicat, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up the castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a great power, gave the Moores battle, routed their army and put the Moors to flight beyond Armagon where they are now gathering ahead again."

The Dutch managed to help their own agent, Mallaiya (Chinnana Chetty as he was otherwise called), to enter the service of the emperor. He was appointed to the position of Damarla Venkata and occupied a position of influence corresponding to that of the Sar-i-Khel at Golkonda. The letter [11] of Father Proenza quoted above continues :—

"The Golkonda army resolved to add to the conquest of Narasinga's dominions that of the kingdoms of his tributaries, advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nayak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to any enemy, whose mere number had created so much terror; but, he could no longer count on his ally of Madura, whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obliged to take sides, he did what one would always do, under the influence of terror; he decided on the most senseless and disastrous step; he delivered himself up to the king of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion."

This gives the clearest indication of the advance of Golkonda forces over the coast part of the imperial territory coming down as far as the region of Madras. This naturally called for action from the emperor, who was habitually in residence in those days at Vellore. He seems to have successfully secured the assistance of Bijapur troops and beat off the forces of Golkonda, which induced the Company's Agent at Fort St. George to send a mission and secure a renewal of the charter for Fort St. George. In the meanwhile, the Dutch correspondence has a reference that the Bijapur army invaded and defeated the emperor at Vellore and imposed upon him a war indemnity. This seems to have been brought about through the intrigues of Mir Jumla, who, after his defeat, opened negotiations with Bijapur and even the Mysore ruler Kanṭhīrava Narasa. This is the first reference to the Mysore ruler, and it does not make the position quite clear what part he actually played; whether he actually did render assistance to Bijapur in the defeat of the emperor. Probably he did, and that is perhaps what actually accounts for the absence of reference to the imperial power in some of the inscriptions of Kanṭhīrava Narasa about this date. The objective of Golkonda invasion this time was the strong fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore District, and that seems to have been timed when Śrī Ranga was occupied with the invasion by Bijapur mentioned above, as the following extract from the English correspondence [12] clearly indicates :—

"Ever since the siege of Pulicat, which was begun the 12th August last, the King hath been in wars with the King of Vizapore (Bijapur) and in civil wars with three of his great Nagues; so that he to this time never had opportunity to send a considerable force against Pulicat, more than 4,000 soldiers that lay before it to stop the ways that no goods should go in or out. And now the king of Golkonda hath sent his general Mir Jumla, with a great army to oppose this King; who is advance(d) to the Jentues country, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers (as report saith),

[11] *See* Note 4 above.
[12] The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 25-26.

whereof 3,000 soldiers he sent for from Pulicat, to keep the Moors from intrenching upon this King's country."

This rather obscure passage is illuminated by the following extract from a diary [13] kept at Pulicat and found among the Hague Transcripts :—

"The three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and Sinsider (Gingi ?), who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645."

The letter also contains reference to Greenhill's mission to Vellore and the renewal of the charter for Fort St. George. A further letter dated 21st January 1646, and another of the 26th February following confirm it. Mallaiya surrendered Udayagiri rather ignominiously and opened the way for the advance of the Golkonda army, which in combination with that of Bijapur, laid siege to Vellore, when Śrī Ranga suffered a defeat under the walls of Vellore and was forced to pay an indemnity. The following passage from Sir William Foster's introduction [14] explains the position :—

"Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Śrī Ranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power ; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Śrī Ranga."

Soon after this we find Śrī Ranga's power in the ascendent in the region adjacent to Golkonda territories.

There is another turn in the Kaledoscopic changes. We learn from the Jesuit letter [15] already quoted that Tirumala Nayaka started negotiations with Bijapur and asked for assistance and obtained 17,000 horse. He laid siege to the town of Gingi upon which Mir Jumla himself was advancing, and Gingi was laid siege to. The Muhammadan armies of Bijapur and Golkonda fraternised. The army of Golkonda retired, leaving Gingi to fall into the hands of Bijapur, Tirumala Nayak being baulked of his prey. The country was being harried by both war and famine, which must have paralysed effort on the side of Śrī Ranga, as the English Correspondence makes it clear, so that Golkonda authority seemed sufficiently established for the English to obtain a charter from Mir Jumla under the great seal of the Nawab. This reference is in a letter dated October 9, 1647. It was subsequently to this that Mir Jumla must have marched on Gingi which fell to Bijapur. The Bijapur troops occupied Gingi and took the coast town of Tegnapatam and the territory round Cuddalore. The Jesuit letter [16] contains this following extract regarding these :—

"Masters of Gingi, the Muhammadans marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura. The former hid himself in inaccessible forests ; the latter shut himself up in his fortress of Madura, whose distance appeared to screen him from the enemy. But when they saw him overrunning their dominions and carrying devastation everywhere, they opened negotiations and submitted to the law of the (p. 47) conqueror. Thus, after conquering

[13] The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.
[14] The English Factories in India, 1645-50, pp. XX-XXII.
[15] *See* Note 4 above.
[16] The Nayaks of Madura, pp. 365-66.

a vast country, subduing two powerful kings, and gathering incalculable treasures, without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle, and almost without losing a single soldier, the Dakhan army returned to Bijapur, where it made a triumphal entry."

The position of Śrī Ranga therefore became precarious and at this time he had to find shelter in Mysore again, as the Dutch records [17] note it :—

" On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports."

" The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur. Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position."

The Jesuit letter [18] quoted above has the following to add :—

" Narasinga had more wisdom; encouraged by the good reception and help of the King of Mysore, he took advantage of the absence of Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan), Idal Khan's general, to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces, and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him."

These transactions are described in the following terms in the Jesuit letter [19] :—

" (The king of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed to the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life............prince (made) unhappy by the folly of his vassals, whom his personal qualities rendered worthy of a better fate. Kanakan did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur full of riches."

Another European traveller, Thevenot,[20] who was about the time in the country has the following which elucidates the position :—

" The want of assistance (when attacked by Aurangzib) on the King's (the emperor of Vijayanagar's) part so exasperated the King of Bijapur that he no sooner made peace with the Moghul in 1650, but he made a league with the King of Golconda against the King of Bisnagar and entered into a war with him; they handled him so very roughly that, at length, they stripped him of his dominions..........so that......(he) was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains, where he still lives."

This unfortunate position of the emperor refers to the years following 1650 and relate to the events that followed directly as a consequence of the

[17] Hague Transcripts, Series I, Vol. XVII, No. 532, Vol. XVII, No. 539. The Hague Transcripts, Vol. XVIII, No. 518.

[18] Note 4 above.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Travels, Part III, p. 91. *See* Nayaks of Madura, p. 129.

fall of Gingi to Bijapur. A letter [21] of the Company's servants dated January 14, 1652 contains the following regarding these transactions :—

"Wars being commenced between the Moors of Golcondah and Vizapore, who, having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Jentue, hoping their destruction watches opportunity to break of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have been within two days' journey of this place, and it is reported that the Nabob with his whole army is besieged among the hills of Golcondah, whither he retired for the more safety, by the Vizaporians ; which hath so distracted this country that we could not adventure your monies abroad without too much hazard."

Mir Jumla got the worst of it in this contest and had to conclude a treaty with Bijapur on payment of a heavy indemnity. This clearly seems to have arisen somewhere about January 1652, as a letter dated 27th of the same month has some reference to it. The dispute seems to have arisen as a result of further extension of Bijapur conquests. A few details compiled again from the Dutch records [22] show that Bijapur having taken possession of Penugonda, the titular capital of Vijayanagar, wanted Mir Jumla's permission to march through his territory, which Mir Jumla declined to allow. Not satisfied with that, he opened negotiations with the ruler of Mysore and even Emperor Śrī Ranga :—

"The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijapur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Pennukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi ; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who alarmed at the success of the Bijapur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country [Hague Transcripts, Series I, Vol. XIX, No. 550 (1)]. The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N. S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*Ibid*, No 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly."

These transactions must be ascribed to the years 1652-53, and the year 1653 may be regarded as marking the lowest limits to which emperor Śrī Ranga's fortune reached.

During the remaining years of the reign of Kanṭbīrava Narasarája, the politics of South India got further complicated by Mir Jumla's defection and Shah Jahan's interference which brought in one other party into the fight, in the region of the Golkonda-Karnatak. Abdullah Qutub Shah, the Nawab of Golkonda intervened to recover his territory ostensibly from Śrī Ranga, and Śrī Ranga's time was taken up fully in his efforts to counteract these efforts and of those in behalf of Mir Jumla, though not without success.

[21] The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. 99, Jan. 1652.
[22] The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. XXXIII.

Kanṭhīrava Narasa seems to have shared the view, which finds clear expression in the Jesuit letters, that Tirumala Nayaka of Madura was the evil genius of the whole affair, and therefore deserved to be punished. Kanṭhīrava Narasa invaded his territories, occupied places in Kongu at the foothills, and carried on a successful war almost to the walls of Madura, where from he was turned back through the timely intervention of the Maravas of Ramnad. This is the famous " War of the Noses " described in the Jesuit letter and to which references are found in other contemporary correspondence as well. This famous war and the reprisal of the Nayak of Madura took place in the year 1658 and that was the last act of Kanṭhīrava Narasa in behalf of the emperor. The following extract from the Jesuit letter [23] makes the position clear, and the barbarity of cutting off the noses of enemies described here seems supported by even an indigenous work like the Kanṭhīrava Narasarája Vijayam, where the practice began against the Bijapur forces besieging Seringapatam as a terror-striking expedient. The author Govinda Vaidya seems to hold it up by comparing it with the cutting off of the nose and ears of Śūrpanakha by Lakshmana, so that we have now to accept it that this barbarous practice was really indulged in in the course of the war. The death of Tirumala in 1659 and of Kanṭhīrava Narasa in the same year brings about a complete change which does not concern us for the present :—

" His (Khan-i-Khanan's) departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Nayaka to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satyamangalam which borders on his kingdom. The general entrusted with this expedition did not experience any resistance, and made himself master of the capital, where he found considerable booty. Encouraged by the facility of the conquest, he exceeded the orders of his king and advanced to the walls of Madura without coming across the enemy. His unexpected arrival threw the Nayak into such a consternation that, neglecting the means of defence in his hands, he was inclined to run away, without any following, and hide himself in the woods. It would have been all over with Madura but for the unexpected help of the Maravas. This warlike people, well known for the wars that they had conducted more than once with advantage against the Europeans of the sea-coast, gave their name to (the country) Maravas situated between Madura and the (p. 49) sea. The king of the Marava, informed of the danger that threatened the Nayak whose vassal he is, collected twenty-five thousand men in one day, marched at their head, and placed himself between the walls of the town and the army of besiegers. A help so opportune emboldened the Nayak, who, on his part, raised an army of thirty-five thousand men, and thus found himself superior in number to his enemy.

The Mysore general, too weak to hazard a general action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements, which his king had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the Maravas, impatient at this delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dangeon, pounced on the enemies, and cut them to pieces. The remains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expected reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat

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[23] *See* Note 4 above.

again began with such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battlefield.

The advantage remained with the Nayak, who utilised his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the theatre of his bloody war to their provinces. A special circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to cut off the nose of all the prisoners ; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executed this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, men, women, and children and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nayak, resenting this procedure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered (p. 50) reprisals ; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of ' hunt for noses '. The king of Mysore, the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved.

Tirumala Nayaka had not the time to enjoy this victory ; he was called to answer before God for the evils which his treacherous policy had brought on his people and neighbouring kingdoms. He died at the age of seventy-five after a reign of thirty years."

Death of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh.

[By Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.]

Contemporary writers have explained the death of Nau Nihal Singh in two different ways: some are of the opinion that it was the result of an accident; others that it was the outcome of a design engineered by the ministerial party of the Dogras who were then in ascendancy at the court of Lahore. The Kanwar's death, following so closely upon that of his father, occurred in such a strange manner as to cause all kinds of speculation amongst the people. This paper attempts to examine the evidence available about this tragic event with a view to arriving at a definite conclusion.

The incident may briefly be described as follows. Maharaja Kharak Singh died on the morning of November 5, 1840, and his remains were cremated the same afternoon. Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, following the cremation, took bath in a neighbouring stream and then proceeded towards his residence in the fort, attended by Raja Dhian Singh, the Chief Minister, and other courtiers. So far the writers agree as to these facts; but, while some state that the Kanwar walked back, others mention that he rode on an elephant. Smyth[1] and Gardner[2] write about his walking towards the fort and taking hold of the hand of Mian Udham Singh as he entered an archway. On the other hand, Steinbach describes the Kanwar entering the gate seated on an elephant. M'Gregor[3] and Clerk[4] agree with the latter version, M'Gregor stating that he was struck in a Howdah by " a stone " falling from the gateway, and Clerk that both Nau Nihal Singh and Udham Singh were struck by a " beam ", sitting on the same elephant. A careful scrutiny of the whole evidence does not determine conclusively whether the Prince was on foot or on elephant when the accident occurred.

As to what actually happened at the gateway the following variations in the accounts may be noted, even though these all tend to the same conclusion, namely, that Udham Singh died on the spot[5] and Nau Nihal Singh was grievously injured. Smyth and Gardner express themselves in identical language by writing that the Prince was injured by " beams, stones, and tiles " falling from above the gateway. Steinbach[6] writes: " the elephant upon which Noo-Nihal Singh was seated, in passing through the gate of the palace, pushed against the brick-work, when the whole came down.......... "

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[1] *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, etc., pp. 34-37.

[2] *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 223-26.

[3] *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 2, p. 6.

[4] Punjab Government Records. Clerk to Torrens, dated November 6, 1840, Letter No. 34, Book No. 150. The account reads: " On retiring to perform the prescribed ablutions in the river Ravee, the Koonwur Nao Nehal Singh the ministers and Chiefs were passing under the portal when owing to the pressure of their many elephants, or to the crowd standing aloft a beam fell and struck the Koonwur and Meean Oodhum Singh the son of Raja Goolab Singh seated on the same elephant. The latter died in the course of an hour, and the Koonwur who was severely wounded on the head lay still senseless when the account of what is here reported left Lahore." In his letter No. 35 of the 7th November he reports " that Koonwur Nao Nehal Singh died on the night of the 5th instant in consequence of his skull having been fractured by the beam which fell upon him as stated in my letter of yesterday."

[5] Clerk reported to the Government that Udham Singh died after an hour.

[6] *The Punjab*, pp. 24-25

M'Gregor says : " Nonehal Singh......was killed by a stone falling on his head ...." Clerk reported to the Government of India, " a beam fell and struck the Koonwar and Meean Oodham Singh ". Sohan Lal,[7] the court chronicler of the Sikhs (while omitting to mention whether the Kanwar was on foot or on elephant) describes the occurrence graphically :—

من بعد کنورجي متصل دروازه تشریف آوردند - که شخصی از عالم غیب تمام و کمال لب بام را مع خشت‌هائی و آهک مثل تیر قضا بر هدف سر کنورجی انداخت که مطابق مشیت ازلی: خواهش لم‌یزلی فی‌الفور مغز دماغ پاره پاره شده خون بسیار و ریم بیشمار جاری شد - و به گل و خشت هائی و آهک جسم مبارک نهان و مخفی گشت - و میان اودهم سنگه جان بجان آفرین تفویض ساخت - و دیگر مردمان همراهی را مثل راجه کلاں و بهائی صاحبان و دیوان دینا ناتهه وغیره سرکردگان ضرب خشت هائی بر سر ودوش و پشت رسید و مردمان سرکاري جسم مبارک را از آن تودهٔ خشت و آهک و گل بر آورده از مشاهدهٔ حالت کنورجي متألم و متأسف شدند - و شیشهٔ هوش و حواس بسنگ حوادث پاره پاره گردید و پشت استقامت متوسلاں بشکست - و هرکسی در بحر گرداب تفکر و محیط ورطهٔ متحیر غریق شد - و در دل نیاز منزل متوسلاں بیدلی راه یافت صغیر و کبیر در فکر خرد در گریباں تأمل فرورفت - بعد ازاں کنورجي را از آنجا در باغ حضوری بباره دري سرکار والا سرکبا شی آوردند - و ادویات مقوی و مومیائی وغیره اشیاءِ مطلوبه فی‌الفور حاضر ساختند - *

It is clear from all these accounts that the Kanwar was being closely followed by Raja Dhian Singh and several other Sardars as he entered the portal and that the latter also received injuries. The Raja's injuries, however, proved so superficial that he could immediately attend to his master, removing him from the scene either in a palanquin or in his arms. Here again slight discrepancies occur in the various accounts, both in regard to the place to which the Kanwar was first removed and the nature of the injuries which he received. Smyth, Gardner and M'Gregor have omitted to mention that he was taken to

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[7] *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar 4th, Part I, pp. 70-71.

* "After this the Kanwar came near the gate. Suddenly, some body from the Unknown flung the whole of the roof along with bricks and lime stone, like an arrow of death, on the top of the Kanwar's head and, as divinely ordained, the brain was at once crushed to pieces. Thick blood profusely gushed out and the blessed body was buried under the debris, bricks and lime stone. Mian Udham Singh gave up his life to its Giver and the other companions, *viz.*, the Raja *Kalan*, the Bhais, Dewan Dina Nath and other such dignitaries received injuries on their heads, shoulders and backs from the masonry. Government officials extricated the blessed body from the heaps of bricks, lime stone and earth and were much pained and grieved to see the Kanwar's condition. The mirror of sense was shattered to pieces by the stone of mishaps and the back of courage and perseverence of those attached was broken. Everybody was immersed in the whirlpool of anxiety and the sea of confusion and perplexion. Disappointment overtook the hearts of the retainers. Everyone went down with grief and sorrow. They thence brought the Kanwar to the Baradari of the Noble Sarkar, now in Heavens, in the Hazuri Bagh and at once procured invigorating medicines and other requisites."

the Baradari of the Hazuri Bagh situated in front of the gate, where he was first treated. Except Gardner, however, all others agree that he was most grievously hurt.

He was later removed into the fort and lodged in the Musamman Burj. This was done after consultation among the prominent Sardars, including Bhais Gobind Ram and Ram Singh, Jamadar Khushhal Singh, Diwan Dina Nath and the Sindhanwalias, the object being primarily to protect him from the gaze of officials, high and low, who, on hearing of the accident, had gathered in large numbers.

There is a consensus of opinion among the writers that Raja Dhian Singh concealed the truth about Nau Nihal Singh's condition after the fall of the masonry and, afterwards, the news of his death. This fact of concealment seems to account, more than any thing else, for the general impression that the Dogras had somehow contrived the Kanwar's death and for several insinuations made against their conduct. The English writers, in particular, suspect Dhian Singh as trying to hide his own guilt by postponing to announce the news of the Prince's death. This secrecy, however, is wrongly attributed to Raja Dhian Singh alone, as the decision not to make any public pronouncement was taken unanimously by the prominent courtiers who thus were equally responsible. Moreover, it can be ascribed to several valid reasons of state, the most important being, according to all writers, the desire of Dhian Singh to procure the presence of Prince Sher Singh at Lahore. Cunningham, notwithstanding the usual frankness of his views, is scarcely helpful when he writes: "It is not positively known that the Rajas of Jammu thus designed to remove Nao Nahal Singh but it is difficult to acquit them of the crime and it is certain that they were capable of committing it." Steinbach is still less definite or conclusive when he says: "The incident is generally supposed to be premeditated and not the result of an accident as stated by the Government, but the whole affair was so enveloped in mystery that even to the present it has been found impossible to attach suspicion to any party." Smyth and Gardner, though they attribute this incident to the Dogra machinations, are hardly reliable. Smyth is notorious for his anti-Dogra bias which frequently led him to make "plausible" assumptions about them. His testimony cannot, therefore, be regarded as impartial. Gardner is admittedly in a worse position, as he often invented facts and passed on as true history by investing them with fabricated evidence.*

As against the aforesaid statements, there are the testimonies of Sohan Lal and Honigberger,[8] both of whom ascribe the Kanwar's death to a mere

* The following statement is typical of him: "The palki-bearers who had carried Nao Nihal Singh to his palace were sent to their homes;.... they were five in number. Two were afterwards privately put to death, two escaped into Hindustan, the fate of the fifth is unknown to me. One of the palki-bearers afterwards affirmed that when the Prince was put into the palki and when he was assisting to put him there, he saw that above the right ear there was a wound which bled so slightly as only to cause a drop or blotch about the size of a rupee on the pillow or cloth on which Nao Nihal Singh's head rested while in the palki. Now it is a curious fact that when the room was opened, in which his corpse was first exposed by Dhian Singh, blood in great quantities, both in fluid and coagulated pools, was found around the head of the cloth on which the body lay. Be this as it may, when the doors were thrown open the Sindhanwalias found the young Maharaja dead, Dhian Singh prostrate in affliction on the ground, and Fakir Nur-ud-Din, the Royal physician, lamenting that all remedies had been useless." All this is uncorroborated by any other writer. Moreover, Gardner fails to mention the name or identity of any of the palki-bearers. His evidence loses its worth completely when we find from a very close scrutiny that his account, in parts, is a mere reproduction of that of Smyth.

[8] *Thirty Five Years in the East*, pp. 102-105.

accident. Sohan Lal names a few Sardars seeing the Prince after the fall of the masonry, especially Bhai Gobind Ram who examined his pulse in the Hazuri Bagh and pronounced him to be dying. Dr. Honigberger's account is the most authentic and reliable of all others. Not being an Englishman, he did not have the remotest motive for misrepresenting facts, which were published in London in 1852, *i.e.* some twelve years after the event when most of the suspected persons were dead and gone. Moreover, he was a medical man and as such came to be connected intimately with the occurrence and became privy to the real condition of the Prince even while he lay, surrounded by a crowd, in the Hazuri Bagh. He narrates his own part in the affair thus :—

"I was told that I had been called for, and invited by the minister to attend immediately at the fortress garden (Hazooree Bagh). I did not lose one moment, but repaired to that place, and found the minister waiting for me, who, as soon as he described me, came, and seizing my hand, told me it was all over with Meean Oottum Sing. My surprise was increased, upon hearing that a piece of the wall falling upon him and the royal prince, No-Nehal had crushed them beneath its fragments. Oottum Sing was killed instantly, and the royal prince considerably hurt. The minister conducted me to a tent, where I saw the prince but he (the minister) enjoined me, in the most energetic manner, not to speak about that event to any one. The prince was on his bed, his head most awfully crushed, and his state was such that no hope of his recovery existed. With that conviction I left the tent, and whispered to the minister, in so low a tone that no one else could hear it, 'Medical art can do nothing to relieve the unfortunate prince'; upon which, the minister requested me to wait there while he re-entered the tent, and, after a short stay therein, he came out, addressing me loud enough to be heard by all the assembly, who listened attentively, asking 'whether they might give some soup to the Koonwar Saheb (royal prince), he wishing to have some.' Whereupon I answered, 'of course ; he is in need only of parsley' ;....a proverb applied to those dangerously ill, and not expected to live. The minister's intention in questioning me thus, was to conceal at that moment the approaching death of the prince in order to have time to make the necessary preparations, so that the peace and tranquillity of the country might not be disturbed, in which he succeeded so that the death of the prince remained a secret for three days. This interval he took advantage of to recall Sheer Singh, Ranjeet Singh's adopted son, and place him upon the throne." Honigberger's opinion as to the accidental nature of the occurrence at the gateway is still more striking : "It would have been proper at the time to have made inquiries whether the falling of the wall by which No-Nehal Sing and Oottum Sing had been crushed, was accidental, or a premeditated machination of wicked conspirators ; but none thought it worth their while to make the inquiry........" Again, "the absence of investigation induced the English to believe the death of No-Nehal Singh to have been a premeditated plot of Dhyan Singh, who according to their opinion, ambitious as he was, saw in the prince, the only impediment and obstacle to the sinister purposes which he had in view. As for me, having lived for a long time in that country, an ocular witness of the events, and having had the opportunity of closely observing the conduct and motives of the minister, I cannot agree with this assertion." Further it may be added that the Doctor's finding the prince's "head awfully crushed" even in the Hazuri Bagh, must finally dispose of the suggestion of Gardner and others that his injury was at first insignificant but that it was aggravated in the interior of the fort by some sinister hand.

Such is the nature of the evidence at our disposal. It will be noticed that the versions of the various writers differ somewhat on several points of detail ——a circumstance which is rather confusing for the popular mind. Nevertheless, a careful comparison of all the contemporary writings has enabled me to conclude that the fall of the masonry was only an act of God and that the Dogras had nothing to do with it. I feel fortified in arriving at this conclusion by the following considerations. In the first place, the Dogras, if they had designed the incident, would have taken care not to involve Udham Singh, son of Raja Gulab Singh, in its execution. He could have been separated from the Kanwar, even at the last moment. Secondly, Raja Dhian Singh, the supposed instigator of the crime, would have certainly remained at a distance rather than expose himself to the danger from the fall of the debris. Even to keep himself free from suspicion, he would have kept a little away from the Prince after the latter approached the portal. He, on the contrary, continued in such close attendance upon him as to suffer injuries on his own person. His arm was "severely contused and injured," and Dr. Honigberger had to treat it.[9] Thirdly, if the incident had been pre-arranged, the Raja's candidate, namely Prince Sher Singh, would have been brought to Lahore beforehand and kept ready for a safe succession. As it was, the news of the Kanwar's death was suppressed for three days in circumstances which created avoidable uncertainty and apprehension. Fourthly, the incident, if it was a conspiracy, was so clumsily conceived that its execution afforded little guarantee of its success for it was beyond human ingenuity or skill to synchronise the drop of masonry with the movement of the Prince. Such a crude method was not in keeping with that thoroughness and attention to detail for which Dhian Singh is rightly reputed. The plan certainly admitted the possibility of failure in achieving the purpose in case the Kanwar escaped even by a hair's breadth. Fifthly, Nau Nihal Singh was extremely popular with the Khalsa soldiery and the Dogras could well realise that the scheme was fraught with the danger of the speedy destruction at their hands, if it proved abortive. Finally, no evidence is forthcoming to prove any particular preparation ever made by the Dogra party for self-defence.

In these circumstances we must acquit the Dogras of having ever conceived or committed this supposed crime which was really an unfortunate accident and nothing else.

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[9] *Thirty Five Years in the East*, pp. 102-105. Sohan Lal mentions in the extract quoted above the names of a few other Sardars who also were hurt.

Humanitarian Ideas in Madras, 1800-1835.

[By Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D.]

Ideas take wing. And the humanitarian ideas of the early nineteenth century which influenced the British administration influenced also not a little the Company's administration in India. It must not be supposed that these ideas one and all emanated from the Court of Directors. Nor should it be supposed that they formed the monopoly of a chosen few who governed Madras. They appealed with equal force to some of the district officials. If the Directors were inspired by Charles Grant, the Evangelical[1], and James Mill, the Radical[2], the Government were inspired by statesmen like Bentinck and Lushington and the Company's subordinate service contained in its ranks men of enlightened views, like Baber, Cotton, C. M. Lushington and Newnham. It was the combined exertions of all these that purged the administration of most of its harsh characteristics

Humanitarianism as a philosophy acclaimed by social reformers like Bentham and Howard, Evengelicals like Wilberforce, Tories like Pitt and Whigs like Grey, constituted, in the main, certain doctrines of potential value. They were: that slave-trade should be abolished; that legislation should be aimed at "the greatest happiness of the greatest number"; that the law, especially criminal, should be simplified, codified and disseminated among the people; that the great end of punishment being the prevention of crime the punishment of evil doing should be exactly suited to the purpose; that attempts should be made to reform the criminals; that they should not be harshly treated in prisons, should be given medical aid, should be segregated, men and women, debtors and felons, novices and hardened criminals; that, in short, everything should be done to abolish all patent forms of oppression and suffering.

These doctrines were actually implanted in Madras on a soil favourable for their reception. For here, the Cornwallis system with a separate judiciary and with laws based largely on British jurisprudence was introduced in 1802. What was necessary was to humanise these laws especially those which related to crime and punishment and prison administration and to devise other laws or rules for improving public health and removing social evils like domestic slavery, slave-trade and Sati. This task, however, was by no means easy. It demanded caution, perseverance and, in some instances, courage to introduce reforms running counter to established customs and religious practices.

The first of the humanitarian measures was the introduction of vaccination. This was introduced in Madras in 1802 but only with partial success on account of the unsystematic manner in which it was done and

1 Charles Grant was first appointed Deputy Chairman in 1804 and Chairman in 1805. He was four times re-elected to one or other of these offices and afterwards represented the interests of the Company in Parliament. He died in 1823.

2 He was appointed in 1819 as Assistant Examiner of India Correspondence, in 1821 as Second Assistant to the Examiner, in 1823 as Assistant Examiner and in 1830 as Examiner. He continued as Examiner until his death in 1836.

on account of the religious prejudices of the people[3]. In 1805 Lord William Bentinck deplored these prejudices, hoped to overcome them by official propaganda and formulated a comprehensive plan for the spread of vaccination. He appointed a Superintendent, placed under him a large establishment of Surgeons and Indian vaccinators and laid down specific rules for carrying on their activities in an efficient and systematic manner. He held that "the health of the inhabitants was one of the first duties of the magistrate" and with this view directed all district magistrates to encourage vaccination[4].

The plan seems to have worked well under the energetic Dr. Mackenzie, the first Superintendent. Within one year the number of persons vaccinated was reported to have increased from 7070 to 1,78,074[5] and within two years it was reported to have risen to 2,43,173[6]. In the city of Madras itself to arrest the progress of small-pox an isolation hospital was built outside the bounds of the Black Town[7]. The Directors applauded these measures but cautioned the Government not to "alarm the minds of the natives with respect to either their custom or religion"[8]. The Government, however, appear to have avoided opposition by skilful propaganda. And, being encouraged by the results, they endeavoured to spread it also in Coorg. Mysore and Java[9]. The Directors rejoiced "at the blessings we have been the instrument of diffusing over the whole of Indian population[10]."

It is to this same sentiment of relieving suffering that we must attribute the endeavours made by the Government to check the ravages of cholera, which broke out in 1819. In all districts in which the epidemic appeared the magistrates were authorised to incur the necessary expenses for providing the sick with attendance and medicines[11]. To the same sentiment must also be ascribed the erection of lunatic hospitals at the headquarters of the 4 Provincial courts[12].

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3 Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, page 511—note. Judicial Consultations 18th June 1805.

4 Bentinck's Minute in Judicial Consultations 18 June 1805. Military Despatches to England, Vol. XXXVI, Despatch dated 8th September 1805 paras. 435-442. Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. I, Despatch dated 8th September 1805, paras 102-113.

5 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. I. Despatch dated 12th February 1806 paras. 35-37.

Idem. Despatch dated 21st October 1806, paras. 45-47.

6 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. I. Despatch dated 21st October 1807, paras. 77-79.

7 Judicial Consultations, 15th February 1811, 8th November 1811, 6th December 1811 and 18th February 1812. Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. III Despatch dated 29th February 1812, para. 104.

8 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch dated 8th April 1811, paras 45-46.

9 Despatches to England, Vol. III. Despatch dated 29th February 1812, paras. 102-103. Judicial Consultations dated 5th February 1811, 29th March 1811, 14th June 1811 and 15 August 1811.

10 Judicial Despatches from England. Vol. II Despatch dated 2nd June 1814, para. 45.

11 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV. Despatch, dated 11th March 1820, para. 136.

12 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV. Despatch dated 11th March 1820, para 117.

While the first set of humanitarian measures related to public health, the second related to public morality. No where was the society more over-ridden by ancient customs and religious prejudices than in India. No where, therefore, was the State which had to look after the welfare of the society more harassed by obstacles in its social reforms. Every step in this direction demanded vigilance to avoid, as far as possible, interference in religion—an interference which, in those early days of the Company's administration, was fraught with danger to the very existence of the Company in India. And it was this vigilance, not any reluctance to eradicate social evils, that restrained the enthusiasm of some of the district officials and delayed the progress of ameliorative measures.

Slave-trade and domestic slavery were two of these evils which called for redress. Both were particularly rampant in Malabar and Tanjore and both thrived under the vicious cloak of customary sanction. Domestic slavery was, for a long time, tolerated by the British chiefly because of the time-honoured nature of this institution. They, however, thought that this "degraded institution" would die of itself when the very means by which it prospered, namely, slave-trade, was removed[13]. But even in the case of domestic slavery they did much to improve the lot of the unhappy victims. In 1820 circular orders were issued to the magistrate directing them to penalise all persons who might ill-treat their slaves, as Muhammadan law did not sanction such cruelty[14]. They also ordered the magistrate of Tinnevelly to put a stop to the practice of selling young girls to dancing women to be brought up as prostitutes, since such a practice was prohibited by the existing law[15]. Indeed, the Government held that, if they were to tolerate slavery simply because it was sanctioned by custom and usages. it was incumbent upon them "to take care that the slave received the full benefit of such safeguards as those very customs and usages had provided against the oppression and cruelty of the master"[16] On this principle they directed the second Judge of the Court of Circuit of Malabar to permit the married slaves to live together wherever that was the ancient usage[17]. But it was not till 1841 that the Government took courage to declare that no domestic slave could be sold or purchased [18] and not till 1846 that they enacted legislation for removing the distinction between the master and the slave[19].

In regard to the slave-trade, however, the British pursued a more energetic policy. From the very beginning of their administration in Malabar this "nefarious traffic" had claimed their attention. Kidnapping

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13 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. III, Despatch dated 5th March 1813 para. 106.

14 Circular orders of the Court of Foujdary Adaulut, 1805-1846, Order. dated 27th November 1820 pages 33-34.

15 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. V, Despatch dated 29th December 1826, paras. 107-108. Judicial Consultations, 13th January 1826, Nos. 3 and 4.

16 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. V Despatch dated 23rd January 1827, para. 10.

17 Idem, para. 10.

18 Circular orders of the Court of Foujdarry Adaulut 1805-1846, Order dated 10th February 1841 pages 258-259.

19 The Legislative Acts of the Governor-General in Council, Vol. I, 1834-1851 by William Theobald, Act V of 1843 pages 392-393.

persons with a view to selling them as slaves had been punished with whipping and transportation to the Andamans. The Malabar Commissioners of 1793 had decried this traffic and ordered the Chief and Factors of Tellicherry to suppress it wherever it prevailed. But still the practice continued unabated in the beginning of the nineteenth century[20].

Soon after the passing of the Statute, 51 George III Cap. XXIII, declaring slave-trade a felony throughout the British Empire[21], Mr. Baber, the Magistrate of Malabar, drew the attention of the Government to the practice of kidnapping children from Travancore to Malabar and selling them as slaves and recommended special legislation for its suppression. At the same time he arrested some of the ring-leaders, punished them for the crime of kidnapping and set at liberty some of the free-born slaves[22].

The Government approved his action but found it difficult to pass special legislation. The Advocate-General, it was true, held that the provisions of the statute might be incorporated into a Regulation with additional safeguards to prohibit the import of slaves both by sea and land. But the subject was of all-India importance and the Government felt that the Supreme Government alone was competent to legislate upon it. They, therefore, referred it to the supreme Government[23]. And by the time the Supreme Government authorised local legislation on the lines of Bengal Regulation X of 1811[24] the Government began to entertain serious doubts as to whether any special legislation might not be looked upon by the people as an infringement of their established customs and religious usages[25]. Finally they pitched upon the only course which the statute provided. The Magistrates in their capacity of justices of the peace were to arrest all persons concerned in the slave-trade and send them up for trial before the Supreme Court of Judicature or the Court of Admiralty. This course was suggested to Mr. Baber [26] as well as to Mr. Cotton, the Magistrate of Tanjore, when the latter reported that the crime of kidnapping children and transporting them by sea to sell them as slaves was prevalent in Tanjore and recommended special legislation for its suppression.[27]

A similar caution coupled with greater enthusiasm and greater boldness was shown in the case of Sati, a social evil of no less magnitude in some of the districts. The proposal to abolish this evil was first made

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20 Judicial Consultations 31st March 1812. See Mr. Baber's letter.

21 East India Company Charters and Statutes, pages 1059-1061.

22 Judicial Consultations, 31st March 1812 and 29th May 1812. Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. III Despatch dated 5th March 1813, para. 92 sqq.

23 Judicial Consultations, dated 31st March, 29th May, 31st July, 14th August, 11th September, 23rd October, 20th November and 1st, 4th, 8th and 22nd December 1812. Judicial Consultations, 22nd January and 26th July 1813. Judicial Despatches to England Vol. III, Despatch dated 5th March 1813, paras. 92-113.

24 Bengal Regulations and Acts 1806-1834 Vol. II, pages 176-78.

25 Judicial Despatches to England Vol. III Despatch dated 1st March 1815, paras. 50-54.

26 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. III Despatch. dated 1st March 1815, para 54. Judicial Consultations dated 30th April and 9th July 1813.

27 Judicial Consultations 28th June 1825 Nos. 11-12; 22nd July 1825 Nos. 8-9; 9th August 1825 Nos. 6-8 and 2nd September 1825 Nos. 5-6. Judicial Despatches to England Vol. V. Despatch dated 29th December 1826, paras. 102-106.

by Mr. C. M. Lushington. Both as Magistrate of Tanjore (1813) and as Magistrate of Trichinopoly (1819) he recommended its suppression. "I look upon this inhuman practice" he said "as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government[28]." But the Government on both these occasions authorised him to discourage it only by persuasion[29]. The Directors, however, felt that mere persuasion was not enough. This barbarous practice, "this terrible method of proving her attachment to her deceased husband", they wrote, must be tolerated only if the widow of her own free will resorted to it. The Bengal Government had proposed to prohibit it in the case of widows who were in a state of pregnancy, who were intoxicated, or who were below 16 years of age, as being contrary to the Shastras and established usages. These restrictions, they thought, might well be enforced in Madras. But they wished to be fully informed of the gravity of the evil[30].

It should not be forgotten that this was the age in which men were not wanting in courage to openly criticise in Parliament the Company's administration. In 1819 Mr. Hume pressed for an enquiry into the Judicial administration of India [31]. In 1821 Mr. Fowell Buxton moved for all papers on the burning of Hindu widows in India and deprecated its continuance under the British Government[32]. In 1823 the Bedford Society presented a petition to terminate Sati and this petition was warmly commended by Wilberforce[33].

It was in this atmosphere that enquiries on Sati were instituted in Madras. The Foujdarry Adaulut to whom the remarks of the Directors were referred submitted a detailed report in 1821. They observed that the evil prevailed to a considerable extent only in the districts of Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chittoor, Tanjore and Canara and suggested that it might be restrained not only by enforcing the provisions of Hindu Law against it, but also by requiring the magistrates to carry on an intensive propaganda against it. But the Government deemed it advisable to avoid drawing public attention to the evil. They, however, asked the Magistrates to strictly enforce the provisions of the Hindu Law and penalise all persons who contravened them[34].

The matter, however, did not end here. As soon as the Bengal Regulation for prohibiting Sati[35] was received in Madras, Stephen Rumbold Lushington, the Governor, recorded a strong minute recommending its

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28 Judicial Consultations 2nd February 1830. See the concluding portion of the President's Minute and the appendices to the Minute.

29 Judicial Despatches to England Vol. III, Despatch dated 1st March 1815 paras. 93-94

30 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. III, Despatch dated 4th March 1918, paras. 36-41.

31 Hansard Vol. XXXIX, 1819, pages 1000-1004.

32 Hansard—New Series, Vol. V, page 1117 Sqq.

33 Hansard—New Series, Vol. IX, page 1011 Sqq.

34 Judicial Consultations, 6th April 1821, Nos. 2 and 4; 27th July 1821, Nos. 11-12. Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV, Despatch dated 4th January 1822, paras. 29-30.

35 Regulation XVII of 1829. Bengal Regulations and Acts, 1806-1834. pages 878-880.

instant abolition. He condemned the practice as "revolting to the feelings of human nature", maintained that its existence was solely attributable to the "joint rapacity" of the priests and the widow's relations, and asserted that it received no sanction in Manu's Dharma Shastra, which, on the other hand, preached "an exalted course of temperance and virtue" to the widows. His colleagues happily concurred with him and so was enacted Regulation I of 1830 for abolishing Sati in the Madras Presidency[36].

Turning to the spheres of Law and prison administration we witness a whole crop of reforms of a humanitarian character. That the law, especially criminal, should be simplified, codified and disseminated among the people was again and again urged by the Directors[37]. Simplification and codification, however, could not be efficiently undertaken by the Government, though they attempted to do something in these directions by issuing from time to time revised Regulations consolidating the provisions of previous ones [38] and by encouraging Mr. Campbell to publish a code of unrepealed Regulations.[39] It was not till the Law Commissions of 1833 and 1853 were appointed and not till a Macaulay was found to initiate the task that the prospect of a thorough codification of the Laws became a certainty. But for the dissemination of the laws the Government issued instructions to the Collectors and Tahsildars to tour the various parts of their districts explaining the provisions of the Regulations, to proclaim by beat of tom-tom these provisions in the languages of the districts and to affix the translations of Regulations to the most conspicuous parts of their offices[40].

That arrests should be soon followed by trials, that none should be confined without trial, was also a principle repeatedly stressed by the Directors[41]. To cite only two instances: They found fault with the Gov-

36 Judicial Consultations 2nd February 1830. See the President's Minute of 19th January 1830 and the Government order.

37 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch dated 8th April 1807, para. 35.

Despatch dated 26th March 1812, paras. 87-88.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. II. Despatch dated 29th April 1814, paras. 18-20; 24-26 and 110.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. V. Despatch dated 6th May 1829, para. 65.

38 Regulations VI of 1816, IX of 1816, XIII of 1816, VII of 1818, I of 1825.

39 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. V. Despatch dated 4th July 1828, paras. 32-34.

Judicial Consultations, 27th May and 19th December 1823 and 23rd February 1827.

40 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. I. Despatch, dated 8th September 1805, paras. 54-58.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch, dated 8th April 1807, para. 35.

Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. XI, Despatch, dated 26th April 1836, para. 18.

41 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I, Despatch dated 28th August 1805, para. 12.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. II. Despatch dated 29th April 1814 paras. 100 sqq.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. II. Despatch dated 12th October 1814, para. 23.

Idem. Despatch dated 9th November 1814, para. 165.

ernment for having denied the opportunity to certain political prisoners in Malabar to plead before the Malabar Special Commission. They also reprimanded the Government for having detained certain persons at Gooty without trial[42] for a long period. "Nothing short of most imminent danger" to the state, they remarked, "could in our opinion warrant such a departure from every principle of British law and British justice".

That punishment should be proportionate to the crime was another principle urged by the Directors. They censured the Government for having transported the children of certain political prisoners to the Prince of Wales Island, ordered their immediate recall and release and required them to be amply compensated by stipends in land or money for their adequate support[43]. They abhorred the principle of visiting the sins of the parents upon the children[44] and condemned all cases of retrospective punishment, declaring it "contrary to the first principles of justice"[45]. In all these matters the Government had to abide by the wishes of the Court of Directors and to issue, where necessary, suitable instructions to their subordinates to avoid similar errors in future[46].

It should also be observed that the Government took the initiative in some notable matters relating to crime and punishment. It was the Government who proposed and abolished the exceedingly harsh modes of inflicting corporal punishments with the corah and rattan and substituted in their place the less harsh mode of inflicting stripes with the cat-o'-nine tails[47]. It was the Government, who, on their own initiative, ordered that such of the convicts as were weak or sick should not be whipped, and that whipping should, in all cases, be done in the presence of medical men[48]. It was again the Government, who, on their own initiative, exempted females from whipping[49], and even went to the extent of seriously considering the possibility of abolishing all forms of corporal punishment[50].

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42 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch, dated 28th August 1805, para. 12.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. II. Despatch, dated 12th October 1814, para. 23.

Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. VII. Despatch, dated 23rd October 1832, para. 37.

43 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. III. Despatch, dated 4th March 1818, paras. 58-59.

44 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. III. Despatch, dated 4th March 1818. paras. 58-59.

45 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch, dated 31st January 1810, para. 29.

46 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV. Despatch, dated 11th March 1820, paras. 32-39.

47 Madras Regulations VIII of 1828 and II of 1830. Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. VI. Despatch dated 25th June 1830, paras. 21-22.

48 Circular orders of the Court of Foujdary Adaulut, 1805-1846. Circular, dated 2nd August 1821, page 39.

49 Madras Regulation II of 1833.

50 Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. X. Despatch dated 10th November 1835, para. 19.

In Prison administration too the credit for humanitarian reforms was evenly shared by the Government and the Directors. The Government passed a series of measures to lessen the harshness of the lot of prisoners. The prisoners were to be transferred from one jail to another only under medical inspection at each stage of their journey[51]. They were not to be linked together in jails[52]. Prisoners awaiting trial were, on no account, to be confined in fetters[53]. Felons alone were to be subjected to the degradation of wearing chains[54]. The fetters were not to be heavy and were to be removed when the prisoner was ill or unfit to bear them[55]. The criminal judges and the surgeons were to visit the jails weekly. The surgeons were to report to the judges on the health of the prisoners, the quality of food supplied to them and the cleanliness of their appartments. Indian prison doctors were to reside in the vicinity of the prisons. Prisoners were to be supplied each with a cumbly (blanket) first on their admission and then once a year. They were to be provided with bamboo-mats to sleep on and their sleeping rooms were to be aired and cleaned daily. The walls of the prisons were to be scraped and white-washed once in every quarter. The linen of the prisoners was to be regularly washed at stated periods. The sick prisoners were to be immediately removed to the hospital. And as per the provisions of Section 29 of Regulation X of 1816, men and women, those under sentence of death and those sentenced to confinement, those awaiting trial and those convicted for petty offences were to be segregated and never allowed to mix with one another[56].

Further the Government approved and extended the interesting experiment, originally made by Mr. Newnham, the Judge of Cuddapah, namely, that "of improving the morals of the convicts and rendering them useful members of Society" by employing them according to their different avocations and aptitudes in manufacturing the various implements of industry, bricks, tiles, charcoal, cumblies, coarse cloth and even paper[57]. The paper manufactured in jails was intended for the consumption of the revenue and judicial officers of the districts. The Government also encouraged the magistrate of Guntur to reform the character of the criminal

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51 Circular orders of the Court of Foujdary Adaulut, Circular dated 22nd July 1814, pages 5-6.

52 Idem, page 6.

53 Idem, Circular dated 8th October 1821, page 41

54 Idem Circular dated 27th June 1831, pages 149-150.

55 Idem. Circular dated 8th October 1821. Rule 17-19, pages 43-44.

56 Idem, Circular dated 8th October 1821, Rules. 1. 2, 11. 12, 13. 21. 47, 48, 51 and 52.

57 Judicial Consultations, 3rd February 1815.

Judicial Despatches to England. Vol. IV. Despatch dated 5th January 1816, paras. 31-33.

Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. III. Despatch, dated 31st December 1817, para. 22.

tribe of Chensoos by teaching them arts and crafts so as to wean them of their criminal instincts and make them useful members of society[58].

The part played by the Court of Directors in these fields was not less noble. They recommended that even the more numerous and more dangerous criminal tribes of Phasigars, Iraolers and Yanadis, may be reformed and "allured to the occupation of civil life" by granting them rent-free allotments of waste land, and by encouraging them through their chiefs to betake themselves to agriculture[59]. Further, they insisted that all the rules and regulations which were issued from time to time should be systematically enforced and the persons breaking them taken to task. Every time, therefore, a rule was broken or an arbitrary procedure was adopted by their servants the Government were sure of receiving a reproof. Thus, when 24 convicts were, on one occasion, taken from Canara to the Nilgiris for constructing roads and some of them died on account of the severity of the cold and for want of medical aid, the Directors complained that the procedure amounted not only to an enhancement of the sentence but also to a deliberate act of cruelty.[60]. When, in order to fill up the Negapatam Ditch, 100 convicts were summoned from Trichinopoly and Kumbakonam and some of them being old and sick died on the way, the Directors characterised the affair as an "unfeeling mockery" of justice[61]. But the subject on which they felt very strongly was the mortality in jails. In some cases this was attributed to the unhealthy situation of the jails, in others to over-crowding and yet in others to periodic out-breaks of cholera and other diseases[62]. The high percentage of mortality, which ranged from 20 to 38 per cent in some of the jails in 1834 stirred the wrath of the Directors. It is, they wrote, "a reproach on your Government"[63]. It superadded the penalty of death to the penalty of imprisonment imposed under the law. Such a travesty of justice should be avoided, they insisted, by building all prisons upon a uniform plan in healthy localities and by providing the prisoners with proper food and medical assistance.

It is to this period, therefore, we must look for the removal of great social injustices, for the gradual removal of domestic slavery, for the abolition of slave trade and for the suppression of Sati. To this period

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58 Judicial Consultations, 13th February 1821, Nos. 14-15.
Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV. Despatch, dated 4th January 1822, para. 15.

Idem. Despatch, dated 3rd February 1826, para. 93.

59 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. I. Despatch, dated 29th October 1813, paras. 37-38.

60 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. VII. Despatch, dated 30th April 1834, para. 64.

61 Idem. Despatch dated 30th April 1834, paras. 77-78.

62 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. V. Despatch dated 6th May 1829, para. 34.

Judicial Despatches from England. Vol. IX. Despatch dated 11th October 1837, paras. 17-19.

Idem. Despatch dated 13th December 1837, paras. 18-23.

63 Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. IX. Despatch dated 5th January 1838, para. 13.

Idem. Despatch dated 13th December 1837, para. 23.

we must look for the initiation of measures relating to public health and the beginnings of that happy augury, the removal of harshness which, in an especial manner, characterised criminal law and prison administration. A curious observer may detect in this period the influence of humanitarian ideas even in revenue administration. The various measures taken to protect the cultivators from the oppressions and exactions of the Zamindars and other intermediaries may well be regarded as manifestations of these ideas. But it must be remembered that an age of great legislative activity is hardly favourable to regular systematic administration. Many a law or rule passed remained yet to be enforced and many an imperfection of these rules or laws remained yet to be detected and remedied. Nevertheless we cannot but look upon this period as a memorable epoch in the history of the Company's administration.

Introduction of Tea plantation in India.

[By Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L.]

The experimental cultivation of tea in India was undertaken by Government in 1834 though it appears that the British people had the subject under their consideration at a comparatively early period, as far back as 1788. This will be evident from the fact that Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society in his letter[1] dated the 25th November 1788 dealt with the question of tea cultivation in India and he remarked that the Lama of Tibet or his people might be induced on proper terms to procure not only tea plants but a colony of the Chinese skilled in the cultivation of tea. It may also be seen from the document referred to, that Lieut.-Col. R. Kyd, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, forwarded to Mr. Marsh extracts from the remarks made by Sir Joseph Banks and from a French publication by Abbe Grosier regarding the cultivation of tea, and asked for a report on the suitability of the frontier for such cultivation. In 1793 Lord Macartney despatched[2] some tea plants from China to Bengal "on some parts of which His Excellency had been informed, were districts adapted for their cultivation". The discovery that tea plant grows wild in the upper part of the Brahmaputra valley was made by Robert Bruce who was an Agent, first of Purandar Sing, a temporary ruler in Assam during the anarchy which preceded the expulsion of the Burmese from that country and afterwards of his rival Chandrakanta. He visited Garhgaon in 1823 and there learnt of the existence of tea from a Singpho Chief who promised to obtain some specimens for him. In the following year these were made over to his brother C. A. Bruce who, on the outbreak of the Burmese war, was sent up to Sadiya in command of a division of gun boats. Some of the plants thus obtained were submitted to David Scott by whom they were forwarded in 1826 to the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, for examination. They were pronounced to be of the same genus but not of the same species, as the plant from which the Chinese manufacture their tea. In 1832 Captain Jenkins, Agent to the Governor-General, North Eastern Frontier, was deputed to report on the resources of Assam and the existence of tea plant was brought to his notice by C. A. Bruce. But the Calcutta Botanists still doubted its identity with the true tea of commerce though its existence was believed to prove that the latter would thrive in India. At the desire of C. Grant, President of the Board of Control for Indian affairs, N. Wallich[3] submitted his "Observations on the cultivation of tea plant for commercial purposes in the mountainous parts of Hindusthan" concluding with the remark that "if we take all these concurring circumstances into due consideration we may surely entertain sanguine hopes that under a well directed management, the tea plant may, at no distant period, be made an object of extensive cultivation in the Hon'ble East India Company's

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[1] Public Deptt. O. C. No. 16 dated 2nd October 1789.

[2] William Griffith's report on the tea plant of Upper Assam, Part VII.

[3] Revenue consultation dated 1st February 1834, No. 5

dominions, and that we shall not long continue dependant on the will and caprice of a despotic nation for the supply of one of the greatest comforts and luxuries of civilised life".

Mr. Walker in his "Proposition[4] to the Directors of the East India Company to cultivate tea upon the Nepal hills and such other parts of the territories of the East India Company as may be suitable to its growth", gave an account of the despotism of the Chinese Government saying that "the commercial relations of this country with China have lately assumed a character of uncertainty, by no means corresponding to the importance of trade, or consistent with the dignity of the British Empire. This unsatisfactory state of affairs has originated from a combination of causes and occurrences spread over a long series of years, amongst which may be enumerated the jealous policy of the Chinese Government in her intercourse with all nations; the apprehension which she has always entertained of a formidable empire in the East Indies; the ignorance, pride and prejudice of the Government; a consciousness of her own strength in some points and her weakness in others; the rapacity and corruption of her officers and occasionally the misconduct of our own people".

"The strange policy of this singular nation has confined us for the present to the port of Canton, (in former times we had access to other ports) situated at the western extremity of the empire and farthest from Pekin, the seat of Government; even in the city of Canton barriers are fixed beyond which no Englishman can pass; so that all commercial men who go to China, see about as much and know about as much of China, as a Chinese would of England, or of London, if he was confined to Wapping, and not permitted to go beyond the Tower." "Without further cause of irritation, and considering things as they are, many of those amongst the best informed upon the subject suppose it not improbable that at no very distant period and from some apparently accidental event, not only the British nation but all foreigners, may be prohibited from entering the Chinese territories, as all are now excluded from Japan, excepting only the Dutch, who are permitted to send one vessel annually, the crew of which perform the degrading ceremony of trampling upon the Cross (to show that they are not Christians) as a passport to enter the country."

When an interruption in the trade between Russia and China occurred in the reign of the late Empress Catherine and the Emperor of China, the late Kein Lung was requested to renew the trade; "the monarch of the celestial empire replied to the despatch by calling the Russians, beasts, dogs, animals, but added, that as he wished to be at peace with all the creatures upon the earth, if the trade was necessary to the Russians, it should be renewed".

In speaking of the use of tea Mr. Walker stated "for many years the consumption of tea has been increasing in this country; it has become a luxury to all, and almost a portion of food to the common people, who, in some districts, drink it three or four times a day. Its use is so intermingled with our habits and customs, that it would not easily be

[4] Revenue consultation dated 1st February 1834, No. 4.

dispensed with; and from its almost universal consumption the Government derives a revenue of £4,000,000 per annum". "The quantity consumed in the United Kingdom exceeds 25,000,000 of pounds and the annual cost of the people of this country, including the duty, is about 8,000,000 sterling." It was also pointed out that "in the territories of the East India Company, the consumption would be prodigious. It is now used as a luxury and a medicine in case of sickness. The Hindoos live chiefly upon rice and flour, their only drink is water. If tea could be obtained by them at a moderate price, it would form a most refreshing addition to their domestic economy as well as a salutary beverage in these fatal febrile affections to which the oppressive heat of the climate predisposes them. The consumption at Calcutta at this moment is considerable." Mr. Walker, therefore, observed that it is "of considerable national importance that some better guarantee should be provided for the continued supply of this article, than that at present furnished by the mere toleration of the Chinese Government, which, though the Chinese have at present a monopoly, it will be easy for us to destroy".

As regards suitability of tea plantation in India Mr. Walker observed that "it is not perhaps possible upon the face of the globe to find a country so admirably situated as the districts of India, where the soil, climate, and low price of labour, combined with the quiet and peaceable habits of the neighbouring population, offer such a concurrence of circumstances favourable to the undertaking".

Besides, obtaining tea of a superior quality and rendering the British people independent of the monopoly of the Chinese, Mr. Walker submitted many other points in support of the undertaking. He observed that "the inhabitants of India have little or no occupation excepting that of agriculture and the cultivation and preparation of tea would admirably accord with their sedentary and tranquil habits. The skill of our manufacturer has not only totally superseded importation of Muslins and Cottons from India but the exportation of Manchester and Glasgow cottons and Muslins to India has so deluged the Indian markets that many thousands of native weavers are ruined and in the greatest distress, their economical habits also render labour extremely low in price". Moreover "the East India Company are much at a loss to provide some reasonable occupation for the natives, to promote peaceful habits of industry amongst them. It is also an object of great importance to the East India Company to obtain facilities to bring home their territorial revenues, which at present they have very imperfect means of doing, in many instances the loss in exchange is dreadful".

It would appear from the foregoing account that though no serious attempt was made so long to introduce the cultivation of tea in India, "the Board of Control as well as the East India Committee have had the subject under their consideration". The credit for tea plantation in India is however due to Lord William Bentinck. Soon after his coming to India as Governor-General, His Excellency recorded a minute[5] dated 24th January, 1834 saying "the subject was first urged upon my notice in London immediately after I received my appointment by a very intelligent gentleman of the name of Walker, whose memorandum I sub-

5 Revenue consultation, dated 24th January 1834, No. 3.

mit for the perusal of the Board. The best evidence obtainable, perhaps, not only in India, but elsewhere, is that of Dr. Wallich. This will be found in the reports; but for more convenient reference, I have obtained from him a copy of his letter to Mr. Grant, which contains all the information out of China upon this subject".

The Proposition[6] of Mr. Walker as well as the Observation of Dr. Wallich referred to before, sufficiently convinced his Lordship, about the success of the attempt who accordingly observed "I therefore now most strongly and confidently recommend that the attempt should be made; and I propose that a Committee, of which I will present a list hereafter, shall be formed, for the purpose of submitting to Government a plan for the accomplishment of the object, and for the superintendence of its execution".

In this connection His Lordships' only apprehension was "impossibility of having access to the tea countries, and of thus having personal and local knowledge of all particulars relating to the cultivation and manufacture" and to overcome the difficulty it was suggested "that an intelligent agent should be selected, who should go to Penang and Singapore, and in conjunction with the authorities there, and the most intelligent of the Chinese agents, should consert measure for obtaining the genuine plant, and the actual cultivators, who upon inspection of those spots, that upon their representation of the requisite peculiarities of soil and climate shall have been selected as the most eligible, shall then be employed, under the promise of a liberal remuneration, to carry on the cultivation". For this purpose His Lordship proposed the name of Mr. Gordon saying "I know no one better qualified to select the best means adopted to the end than Mr. Gordon, of the late firm of Mackintosh & Co.".

A Committee was accordingly appointed[7] consisting of 11 Europeans and 2 Indians, *viz.*:—

(1) J. Pattle.
(2) J. W. Grant.
(3) C. Macsween.
(4) R. D. Mangles.
(5) J. R. Colvin.
(6) C. E. Trevelyan.
(7) N. Wallich.
(8) C. K. Robinson.
(9) R. Wilkinson.
(10) G. T. Gordon.
(11) Sir Robert Colquhoun Bart.
(12) Baboo Radacant Deb.
(13) Baboo Ram Comaul Sen.

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6 Revenue consultation, dated 1st February, 1834, Nos. 4 and 5.
7 Revenue consultation, dated 1st February 1834, No. 6.

for the purpose of submitting to Government a plan for the introduction and cultivation of the tea plants in the Company's territories. Mr. Gordon was appointed Secretary to the Committee with a salary of Rs. 500 per month. For the purpose of assisting their enquiries and deliberations, the Members of the Committee were supplied with copies of Mr. Walker's Proposition as well as with the Observations of Dr. Wallich and the points for their consideration were—"whether there are not reasonable grounds for the conclusion, that there must be in all the varieties of climate and soil between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, combinations of both that must be congenial to the tea plant; and how far it may be practicable to draw from China, cuttings of the best description of the plant and knowledge, and skill for its cultivation, and for the subsequent process for preparing the leaves for use".

The Committee in its meeting[8] dated 13th February 1834 read (1) Mr. Walker's Proposition,[9] and the (2) Observation of Dr. Wallich.

(3) Extract from the third volume of Dr. Guigne's voyages regarding the cultivation of tea plant and the soil and climate of the province of its growth.

(4) Extract from Abel's journey in China relating to the same subject.

(5) Extract from McCulloch's dictionary of commerce on the subject of the cultivation of tea out of China.

(6) Extract from Encyclopedia Methodique Agriculture, Vol. 6.

(7) Extract from Mr. Marjoribank's Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

(8) Extract from MS notes furnished by Mr. Reeves, late Inspector of Tea in China to Dr. Wallich.

(9) Notes from Dr. Lumqueen of Calcutta to Mr. Gordon, on the seasons of tea plantation in China.

(10) Extracts relative to the climate and soil of Kumaon from Mr. Traill's account of that province, published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16 and

(11) Extract from Capt. Herbert's account of Darjeeling.

(12) A minute[10] by the Secretary Mr. Gordon.

The places mentioned in the publications and papers referred to above were pointed out on Dr. Halde's map of China and Arrowsmith's map of India.

From the information thus gathered, it appeared to the Committee that "the best tea is said to be produced in the provinces of Keung-Nau and Fokien and between the 27th and 31st degrees of north latitude, at a considerable distance from the sea, where the face of the country is hilly and even mountainous, but at no great elevation on those hills, in their southern aspect, where the cold of winter descends to the freezing point, and snow falls, but does not lie long on the ground where rain

8 Revenue consultation, dated 12th May 1834, No. 5.

9 Revenue consultation, dated 1st February 1834, Nos. 4 and 5.

10 Revenue consultation, dated 12th May 1834, No. 4.

prevails in March and April, and falls heavily in July and August and where the soil is light and gravelly and formed of disintegrated rocks of sand and granite".

The Committee in their letter[11] dated 15th March 1834 reported their views saying "we think there are good reasons to believe that there are parts of the Company's dominions which present such features of climate and soil as would warrant the expectation that the tea plant might be successfully introduced into them with a commercial purpose" and "we may safely say that the proposed experiment may be made with great probability of success in the lower hills and vallies of the Himalayan range. Next to them, those of our eastern frontier offer the best prospect and after them the Nilgherry and other lofty mountains in southern and central India".

The papers and publications read in the proceedings[12] of the Committee dated 13th February 1834 and "the very able and interesting letter[13] of Dr. Falconer on the subject" led the Committee to come to the above conclusion.

Though the Committee recommended that the experiment should be tried they were unable to specify any particular district as absolutely eligible for the purpose without further information both regarding this country and the tea districts of China.

G. W. Traill, Commissioner of Kumaon and Dr. Falconer, Superintendent of Botanical Gardens, Shaharanpur, who were believed to be possessed of such local information as may serve for guidance of the Committee were accordingly addressed[14] on 28th June 1834 with a set of specific inquiries. The Committee also recommended that Mr. Gordon should be directed to proceed to China as early as possible and he should be furnished with an official letter to the British authorities at Canton to afford him protection and all possible facilities in procuring the required information as well as the best seeds, plants and manufacturers. It was further suggested that from 20,000 to 25,000 dollars be placed at his disposal and that the number of Chinese to be brought round need not exceed 50. Mr. Gordon went to China in June 1834 as will appear from the Committee's letter[15] dated 23rd July 1834.

Meanwhile fresh enquiries were instituted in Assam and from the reports[16] received from Capt. Jenkins, dated 7th and 19th May and from Lieut. Charlton, dated 17th May and 8th November 1834 definitely convinced the Committee that "the tea shrub is beyond all doubt indigenous in upper Assam, being found there through an extent of the country of one month's march within the Hon'ble Company's territories, from Suddya and Beesa, to the Chinese frontier province of Yunnam". The Committee attributed the credit of this discovery to Capt. Jenkins and

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11 Revenue consultation, dated 12th May 1834, No. 4.

12 Revenue consultation, dated 12th May 1834, No. 5.

13 Revenue consultation, dated 12th May 1834, No. 6.

14 Revenue consultation, dated 4th August, 1834.

15 Revenue consultation, dated 4th August, 1834, No. 2.

16 India Revenue consultation, dated 7th January 1835, No. 7.

Lieut. Charlton saying[17] "We have no hesitation in declaring this discovery, which is due to the indefatigable researches of Capt. Jenkins and Lieut. Charlton, to be by far the most important and valuable that has ever been made on matters connected with the agricultural or commercial resources of this empire."

It may be observed in this connection that, as pointed out before, the Bruce brothers perhaps have the first claim to the honour of this discovery. The credit is given to them also in Robinson's "Descriptive Account of Assam", which was published in 1841. Dr. Wallich in his report[18] submitted in 1835 also stated that "it was Mr. Bruce and his late brother Major Robert Bruce at Jorhat who originally brought the Assam tea to public notice many years ago when no one had the slightest idea of its existence".

The Committee being convinced of the existence of the tea plant in its indigenous state in Assam three medical gentlemen,[19] *viz.*, Dr. Wallich, M'Clelland and Griffiths were deputed to upper Assam "for[20] the purpose of collecting on the spot the greatest variety procurable of botanical, geological and other details, which, as preliminary information, are absolutely necessary, before ulterior measures can be successfully taken with regard to the Cultivation of tea shrub of that country". After prosecuting necessary enquiries, Mr. C. A. Bruce was appointed[21] in charge of nurseries to be established at Sadiya and other places with a small establishment under him for the exploration of the jungles in search of tracts of indigenous tea plants and their collection and manufacture. A supply of Chinese tea seed and of young plants was also about this time received[22] which were sent from China by Mr. Gordon in November 1834.

In order to encourage cultivation of tea Government sanctioned very favourable terms at different times for obtaining land for the purpose. In 1838 it was laid down that any tract of waste land from 100 to 10,000 acres might be taken up on a 45 years' lease with a rent free period of 5 to 20 years according as the land, was open or covered with reeds or forest. After that period three quarters of the area was to be assessed at a progressive rate rising to Re. 1-2-0 per acre. After the expiry of the lease one-fourth of the area was to remain free from assessment in perpetuity and the rest was to be assessed at the option of the grantee, at one-fourth the gross profits or at the rate paid for rice land in the neighbourhood. There was a clause providing that a quarter of the area must be cleared within 5 years failing which the land was liable to resumption. These were subsequently revised from time to time details of which are not given here to confine the article within the prescribed limit.

17 India Revenue consultation, dated 7th January 1835, No. 6.

18 Assam, sketch of its history, soil and productions published by Smith Elder & Co., London, 1839.

19 India Revenue consultation, dated 13th March 1835.

20 India Revenue consultation, dated 7th January 1835, No. 6.

21 India Revenue consultation, dated 30th March 1835, No. 4.

22 India Revenue consultation, dated 30th March 1835, No. 19.

Operations of the Tea Committee appear to have proceeded very slowly owing to the great difficulties of communication between Assam and Calcutta which existed at the period as also to the ignorance which then prevailed on all points connected with the proper cultivation of tea plants, and manufacture of tea. A sample of tea which was sent to the Court of Directors in 1836 arrived in so mouldy a state that it could not be tested. From the description given of it by the Court in their despatch of August 1837, the sample appeared to have been merely a collection of leaves gathered from wild shrubs without having undergone any course of manipulation or other process for conversion into the tea of ordinary use. Tea makers and artisans, from China, were accordingly introduced in 1837 and some consignments of manufactured Assam tea, sent to the Court of Directors in 1838-39, were found to be of such excellent quality, and to command such very high prices at open sale, that the tea immediately attracted the attention of the British mercantile world, and a company, which was styled afterwards as Assam Tea Company was formed for the cultivation of tea plants and manufacture of tea in upper Assam.

The India Government, as also the Court of Directors, had all along adhered to the intention of severing their connection with the tea planting as soon as it had been sufficiently established to be entrusted to private enterprise. Consequently shortly after the formation of the Assam Company, two-thirds of the Government establishment, gardens and nurseries were made over to it, and in accordance with the Resolution of the Supreme Government dated 2nd March 1840 Tea Barrees. etc., were divided[23] between the Government and the Tea Company.

The Assam Tea Company continued its operations with great vigour, and the character of the tea which was manufactured and consigned to the home market was all that could be desired. Nevertheless the undertaking, in a few years, began to be looked upon as a commercial failure. In 1846-47 the shares of the Company on which £20 had been paid up, became well nigh unsaleable. Many holders thought to get rid of them on any terms and some shares were said to have been sold for half-a-crown a piece.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs expressed by the above depreciation may be thus explained:—

"An[24] undue importance was given to the localities where the indigenous plant was found growing, the most inaccessible and unhealthy places were often occupied merely on account of a few acres of straggling indigenous shrubs being discovered in the neighbouring forests. The planting out of forest was not sufficiently attended to and the most extravagant outturns were expected from the small and sparsely covered patches of tea actually existing. At the same time the establishments maintained were on the most expensive scale".

The Government had, as already stated, retained one-third of its experimental tea estates; these were worked till April 1849 when they were

[23] Revenue consultations, dated 29th December 1840, Nos. 91-98, 116, 137, 166, 178, 191 and 192.

[24] Campbell's Memo. on tea plantation in Assam.

sold for a small sum of Rs. 900 and odds to a Chinaman employed in the garden. It does not appear that the Government severed its connection with the tea planting on account of any exceptional loss. But the object with which the experiments had been commenced fifteen years before had been fully attained and the further development of tea cultivation was left entirely to private enterprise.

The benefits which the tea industry has conferred on this country, particularly on the province of Assam, have been many and great. The land most suitable for tea is not adapted to the cultivation of rice, and the greater part of it would still be hidden in dense forest if it had not been cleared by the tea planters who, as stated in Gate's History of Assam, in 1901, paid a land revenue of £41,000 in addition to £5,000 as local rates. In the same year the gardens gave employment to more than 6,00,000 labourers. The majority of these labourers were imported from other provinces as the local supply was so small. The gardens provide numerous employments for local cultivators who may wish to work for hire. The literate class obtain numerous clerical and medical employment in the gardens. The demand for rice to feed the coolies has greatly augmented its price in Assam to the benefit of the cultivators. A great impetus has been given to trade and new markets have been opened in all parts of the country. Many persons who go to Assam to work in the gardens ultimately settle down there as cultivators. Tea industry has also brought about great improvement in the means of communication. In pointing out the advantages of tea industry Mr. Gordon observed "If[25] we should succeed in rearing the Tea plant in India of a quality and in quantity to satisfy the English Market, the advantage to this country, would be an addition to its wealth that after making every allowance for the fall in price that may be expected to follow the opening of the Trade with China may be estimated at from 2 to 3 Millions Sterling per annum. Bengal would thus become possessed of an additional staple for export nearly equal in value to that of the aggregate mass of indegenous articles now shipt to England and this without displacing a single production useful either for nutriment or in the arts. The sandy and now barren slopes of rugged mountains will in this event become seats of agricultural industry and sources of commercial riches unknown to the more fertile plains of the Ganges—and our Indian fellow subjects will thenceforth enjoy the tribute hitherto paid by Europe to their uncourteous Eastern neighbours for the most innocent and refreshing of all luxuries.".

25 Tea Committee Progs., 13th February 1834. No. 1.

The Later Representatives of a Great Family of Courtiers of Pondicherry-Diwan Savarimuthu Mudaliar and Appaswami.

[By Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.]

I

In a paper submitted to the Seventeenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the services of the first three generations of a noted Indian Christian family to the French at Pondicherry, in its formative period, 1674—1746, were detailed by me. Now the association of some of the members of the succeeding generations of that family with the French will be traced.

The founder of the fortunes of the family was Lazare de Motta, *alias*, Thanappa Mudaliar, who was the Dubash of François Martin at Pondicherry from 1674, and who had been, even earlier, of service to the Abbe Carre and to Admiral De La Haye. François Martin was guided by Thanappa's advice in all matters relating to the development of the trade and population of Pondicherry. His collaboration with Martin has been noticed by the latter in the *Journal* kept by him and also embodied in the *Memoirs* that he compiled from the time of his arrival in the East[1], as well as in other contemporary records. Thanappa died at the height of his wealth and fame, before he could witness the humiliation of the Dutch capture of Pondicherry (1693) whose foundations he had helped to lay and whose development into prosperity was in a large measure due to his collaboration with Martin.

In the next generation, Thanappa's son, Andre Muthiappa, *alias*, Velendra, was raised to be the Dubash and *Courtier* of the French Government from 1699, when they got back Pondicherry from the Dutch. Muthiappa did not inherit in a full measure all the great abilities of his father ; but he was a pious Christian and enjoyed considerable influence with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who were then strongly entrenched at the French settlement alongside of the Capucins. He was, however, dismissed from office in December 1708 by Governor Hebert who had taken a dislike to him largely on account of his influence with the priests and removed him from his post on the pretext that he communicated an important piece of information regarding a mission on which he had been sent to the ruler of Gingee, to a Jesuit Father ; and he forthwith appointed in his place a Hindu, Nainiyappa Pillai, who is held in the records of the family of Muthiappa to have been "an honest and well-spoken Hindu". It was with great difficulty that another member of Thanappa's family, Savarimuthu Mudaliar, could get appointed as Joint *Courtier* and Co-Mudaliar along with the powerful Hindu, Nainiyappa, in March 1714. Muthiappa's son, Pedro Kanakaraya, was then very young and could not be raised to the office. Kanakaraya had, however, early displayed qualities of discernment, patience and good understanding. Above all, he showed himself to be quite fair and generous in his attitude towards the rival family of *Courtiers* (of Nainiyappa, his brother-in-law Tiruvengadam

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[1] *Memories de Francois Martin* (1665—1694) (Edition Martineau) : *Le Vieux Pondichery 1673—1815* ; by M. V. Labernadie (1936) II. La Loge de Pondichery, vers 1690.

Kaeppelin : *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et F. Martin.*

Pillai and the latter's son, the famous Ananda Ranga Pillai), which had usurped the *Courtiership*[1], as it were, from his own.

Kanakaraya early showed his appreciation of the intelligence and honesty of Ananda Ranga Pillai who had expressed in several places in his well-known *Diary*, golden opinions about the former's generosity and noble character. Kanakaraya was first appointed to the office of *Courtier* on the disgrace of Nainiyappa in 1715-16, but was removed, some time afterwards, to give place to Guruva Pillai, the eldest son of Nainiyappa, who had gone over to France and won at the Court of Versailles the support of the Duke d'Orleans and the Queen Mother and had also become ennobled as a Chevalier of the Order of St. Michael.

Nainiyappa was disgraced after being dismissed from his post by the Governor, the Chevalier Hebert, who had contrived to secure a second term of office as Governor. On the occasion of the trial of Nainiyappa, Kanakaraya played a creditable part and testified before the Council, that the disgraced *Courtier* was not animated by any anti-Christian motive which his accusers sought to foist on him. He was first appointed to the post of Mudaliar immediately after Nainiyappa was accused (February 1716); but he was shortly afterwards removed from office by Le Prevostiere, who left any further recommendation on the matter to the court of inquiry that had been appointed to try the case of Nainiyappa Pillai anew. For some years the office of *Courtiership* was vacant. Later, in 1722, Guruva Pillai, having secured the favour of the French Court, became the Company's Broker and the Headman among the Indians, with Tiruvengadam Pillai as his Assistant. Guruvappa however died within two years after his assumption of office, and Kanakaraya was reappointed to the place of the Company's Broker and Mudaliar, on September 15, 1724. From this date down to his death in 1746, he was the most prominent Indian citizen of Pondicherry, as well as *Courtier*, without any break, except for short periods of illness. In the years 1726—42, when Lenoir and Dumas were Governors of Pondicherry, Kanakaraya was at the zenith of his career and earned for himself and his family considerable material prosperity and social importance.

It may be noticed here that, while the sober acquisitions made by the French during Kanakaraya's *Courtiership* and with his diplomatic help have continued to remain with them to the present day, the grandiose extension of territories and assumption of political domain and power made by the French Government after 1746, during the *Courtiership* of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1746—1761) and the ambitious rule of Dupleix, proved to be very short-lived. Down to his death in 1746, Kanakaraya enjoyed the full confidence of the Governors and the Superior Council. He developed not only the export trade to Europe, but also a considerable volume of commerce with Asiatic ports; he carefully avoided all misunderstandings with Indian powers and never neglected, on account of political pre-occupations, trade operations; nor did he ever advise any undue interference in the political relations of the

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[1] The office of *Mudaliar* (or *Dubash* or *Courtier*) empowered its holder to control the entire business of the Company with its Indian clients. He was the middle-man between the Company and the merchants, weavers and other workers who furnished goods for export and bought also the imported commodities for subsequent retail sale. He was also the Tamil Translator of the Company and acted as surety for the good conduct of the various Indian lessees and contractors who had any relations with the Company for the manufacture and supply of cloth and other articles for export. Likewise he also fixed the prices of all the articles of the Company's merchandise bought and sold.

country powers as Ananda Ranga Pillai did, though circumstances were propitous for such interference even before 1740.

The fortunes of the successors of Pedro Kanakaraya for two generations are traced below as a supplement to the account given already of the first three generations of that family ending with 1746, the date of Kanakaraya's death.

II

The misfortunes of the French culminated in the capture of Pondicherry in January 1761 and its subsequent destruction as a fortified place by the English.

In the Seven Years' War between the English and the French that ended with the Treaty of Paris (1763), the latter got definitely beaten in every quarter, and markedly so in India. All the French territorial possessions in India were taken away by the English, except about one-thirtieth of the area that was in their occupation at the beginning of the war. This fraction embraced the settlements of Pondicherry, Karikal, Chandernagore, Mahe and Yanam and also the Loges in Masulipatam, Surat and Calicut.

Even before the fall of Pondicherry to Coote[3], many of its Indian merchants had sought refuge in the neighbouring Dutch settlements of Sadras, Porto Novo and Negapatam. Colonel Coote first claimed Pondicherry for the British Crown; but Governor Pigot of Madras insisted on the Company's right of possession of the place, maintained that it should be given up to the Presidency and threatened to stop supplies to the troops unless delivery was made over to him. Pigot received the place into his possession on the 24th January and immediately issued orders for the demolition of all its fortifications; and he appointed six *commissaries* to take charge of the booty, of whom three represented the King's naval and military forces and three those of the Company.[4] By the end of February, the English Engineer Calli

[3] "Coote having taken possession of Pondicherry in the King's name, Pigot claimed its delivery to the Company. After some discussion on the legality of this, Pigot demanded its immediate delivery. A special council consisting of Coote and Steevens, the King's field officers, and some of the Captains of the Squadron, was assembled which was informed that the cession was demanded under the King's Patent of January 14, 1758. The town was delivered over to Pigot on January 24. Orders were immediately issued for its destruction. The same will be done with any other forts belonging to the French which might be reclaimed in case of peace." (*The Madras Despatches, 1754—65* : by H. Dodwell 1930—Pigot's Despatch to the Company, February 4, 1761, p. 230).

[4] After Lally's seige of Madras was raised Muhammad Ali paid for the cost of its defence, "because it was the residence of his friends." After Coote's capture of Pondicherry, he was asked to pay for its siege on the ground that it was the residence of his enemies. The Nawab agreed to pay, but wanted the stores of Pondicherry to be given over to him. But the Court of Directors sent orders to cancel the sum thus credited.

The Nawab had been mentioned as an *ally* of Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris; but he was kept in ignorance of the passage relating to his "entire possession of the Carnatic." "The managers of the affairs of the Company at home as well as their servants abroad had industriously concealed from that prince the nature and import of that article for several years. Though that prince had obtained, at length, some knowledge of the nature of the guarantee, which secured to him the possession of the Carnatic, he had found it almost impossible to avail himself of that knowledge." Sir John Macpherson, 1769 (pp. 52-53 Editor's Note 2 in *Evans Bell's The Empire of India*, edited by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1935).

who was in the charge of the demolition of the works wrote :—" Though the circumference of the Fortifications, exclusive of the Citadel, is not less than four miles in brick work, yet I hope such diligence will be used that the Bastions, Curtains and all public buildings of the French Company will be ruined in three months." By October of that year the Madras Council reported that " Pondicherry is entirely destroyed as are all its neighbouring Forts and Places ".

An idea of the difference between Pondicherry as it was before its surrender and after its demolition may be had by a study of the two following illustrations : (1) Une De Pondichery *en 1760 D'apres un dessin trouvé* par Mr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, dans la bibliothéque du palais de Tanjore, le 5 Fevrier 1935 and (2) Vne D'Une Partie Des Ruines De Pondichery en 1769—Reproduction d'une gravure sur bois du " Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde " de I'Astronome Le Gentil. (Paris, Imprimerie Royale 1781)[5].

III

In 1764, the French East India Company sent out, as their Governor of India, Jean Law of Lauriston (formerly French Chief at Murshidabad) with the official titles of Commissaire du Roi and Gouverneur general de la Compagnie de France, and with full plenary authority and with Father Lavaur as Extra-ordinary Councillor and accompanied by several ships. In January 1765, Law touched at Pulicat and anchored in the road near Madras. By that time, the fortifications of Pondicherry had been completely demolished and the settlement had become an open town. Law began to negotiate, without any loss of time, with the Governor of Madras and with the Nawab of the Carnatic for the demarkation of the limits of Pondicherry. He required at that time a very reliable and capable Indian agent to carry on his

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Besides the pillars of the Sea Gate Colonnade, several other articles which had been taken from Madras in 1746, such as the organ of St. Mary's Church, a printing press, turret clock, etc., were recovered. The *commissaries* made over to the Government the three Royal pictures of France found in the Pondicherry palace, and a vast quantity of stores and materials, including 52,625 paving stones ! Some 3,000 prisoners were in the hands of the English. They were distributed between Madras, Chingleput, Vellore, Trichinopoly and other places. Numbers were allowed to go to neutral settlements on parole." [H. D. Love : *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II (1913), p. 585.]

Both these views have been reproduced as illustration in *Le Vieux Pondicherry 1673-1815, Histoire d'une Ville Coloniale Francaise* avec une preface de M. A. Martineau 10 gravures, 3 plans, 2 appendices, par Marguerite V. Labernadie (Pondichery Bibliotheque Publique, Rue Des Capucins 1936).

Pigot had advocated an even more thorough destruction of Pondicherry and according to the *Minutes of Consultations, Vol. XVI*, Madras, 13th April 1761, he strenuously urged in the Council that the circumstances of Lally's behaviour during the siege operations of Madras were " Sufficient, by the Laws of Retaliation, to justify the utter demolition of Pondicherry."

The English after taking Pondicherry (the siege had cost them eleven hundred thousand pagodas) destroyed it from top to bottom under orders of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras. The citadel, ramparts, public buildings, private dwellings were all levelled to the ground. The widow of one of the inhabitants, Surgeon-Major Auber, had made a statement attested by the notary on 24th November 1775 of the demolition of their house by the English. "' Immediately after the capture of the town, the English had expelled from it all the inhabitants without a single exception and set themselves to the total destruction of the town ; that after pulling down all the fortifications and other buildings belonging to the India Company, they had reduced to dust all the churches and the houses of private citizens ; that the house of M. Aubert suffered the same fate, that the English caused to be carried away all the timber, woodwork, doors, windows, iron work, and generally all that could be carried except the (plaster) rubbish, etc." (*Precis Chronologique de l'Histoire de L'Inde Francaise 1664—1816* by H. de'Closets D'Errey.)

negotiations with the Nawab of Arcot to whom he was to send two of his Council[6].

The late *Courtier* of the Company, Ananda Ranga Pillai, had died just a few days before the surrender of Pondicherry to Sir Eyre Coote, in January 1761. His nephew and successor, as the head of his family, was Tiruvengadam Pillai, who, however, did not know either English or French, and was moreover not at all experienced in trade business or diplomatic affairs; he was solely interested in endeavouring to realize the assets and collect the sums due to his late uncle. Therefore he could not be thought of for the post of Indian Agent at the *durbar* of the Nawab. Nor could Kandappa Mudaliar, who had served as the Dubash of Governor De Leyrit, be even considered as an alternative candidate for the place, because a large number of complaints and accusations of corruption, bribery and misconduct were pending against him. Finally the choice of the Governor fell upon Savarimuthu Mudaliar who was the grandson of a sister of the well-known *Courtier*, Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, and who had been functioning as Interpreter and Tamil Translator in the Superior Court of Justice of Pondicherry, with a considerable amount of credit. Savarimuthu had also been greatly favoured by Count De Lally and had got a good certificate from that volatile general. He was now appointed by Governor Law to be the Company's Broker and Dubash and was commissioned also to be the Agent and Representative of the French Government at the court of the Nawab of the Carnatic[7].

The negotiations for the final rendition of Pondicherry were actually finished within the short period of a month; and on February 28, 1765, the settlement was handed back into French hands[8]. It was then agreed that the task of demarking the limits of the Pondicherry territory should be entrusted to Savarimuthu. After this work was over, Law had to leave for Karikal where he had to do similar task of demarkation and shortly afterwards left for Bengal to perform a similar task in that province. After finishing his task in helping the demarkation of Pondicherry limits, Savarimuthu went over to Karikal to supplement the work of Law and also according to his commission, to conduct negotiations with the officials of the Rajah of Tanjore about the demarkation of the limits of that settlement (1st June 1765)[9].

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[6] The despatches from Governor Palk of Madras to the Company, dated January 30 and 31, 1765, imply that Law might create some trouble with the Nawab and the King of Tanjore and might claim all the former grants enjoyed by the French round Karikal Refer also to *India Office Records : Home Miscellaneous Series*, by S. C. Hill (1927)—Sec. 98 (10). Law took possession of Karikal on the 18th February 1765, and on the 11th April. of Pondicherry which was returned to him by Major Russell. He delegated one of his officers, Plousquellee, to take back Mahe (20th May) and went to Chandernagore which was returned to him on the 25th June.

[7] "In the Carnatic during the contest with the French, the English had upheld Mahomed Ali; upon the termination of it they had acknowledged him as the undoubted Sovereign of the country. He was established therefore in the possession of both branches of power, both that of Nazim conferred on the military power, and that of Dewan or the financial power; and the Company held the station of dependents, possessing their privileges, through his sufferance and owing obedience to his throne." (Mill's History of India, edited by Wilson, 1848, Vol. IV, p. 64.)

[8] In note no. 6 we get the 11th April as the date of the formal rendition of Pondicherry to Law [See *Precis Chronologique de l'Histoire de l'Inde Francaise 1664—1816* by H. de C. d'Errey (p. 46).]

[9] A Madras letter from the Council to the Company of August 8, 1765, reports that the French possessions under the Presidency had been completely delivered over to the French authorities who had begun to rebuild their houses in Pondicherry and also that Law was then at Chandernagore.

Before Law returned from Bengal in January 1767, Savarimuthu had managed to finish all the tasks assigned to him, both in Pondicherry and in Karikal correctly and efficiently and without exciting any trouble from the English, the Nawab and the Tanjore ruler, and had secured proper agreements from these powers for his demarkations. In the deeds securing the territorial limits of these settlements, Savarimuthu had also affixed his signatures as could be seen in the Pondicherry archives.

The French Company had given definite instructions to Governor Law that he should not at all interfere in the political affairs of the Indian princes and should confine his attention only to matters of trade and shipping. Consequently, the Governor and his Dubash devoted themselves to the development of the Company's trade transactions and also to the securing of a lucrative private trade for themselves with Mauritius. Savarimuthu enhanced, during these years of service, the reputation that he had been enjoying as a clever business man ; he became popular with all classes of Indian merchants of the coast, and got the high-sounding title of Diwan from the Governor and earned also the favour of the Nawab. Since he was a member of the family of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, whose name had become famous throughout the land, he assumed also for himself the personal name of his grand-uncle and called himself, Diwan John Pedro Savarimuthu Kanakaraya Mudaliar. Savarimuthu controlled the entire trade operations of both Pondicherry and Karikal. He satisfactorily negotiated numerous business deals for the Company, and on one occasion, in 1769, saved them from considerable loss that they would have sustained in a transaction over the purchase of 5,000 bundles of tobacco offered by some Upper India merchants, most of which had become rotten and the greater part of which, except about 800 bundles, had to be destroyed by fire[10].

However, on account of considerable losses incurred by the Diwan through the foundering of some ships of his, bound for Mauritius and also because of the deceit practised on him by a French merchant of that island, Savarimuthu suddenly became bankrupt and had to appear before the Conseil Superieur to make good the claims made by his creditors (January 20, 1774). After all the creditors had duly registered and proved their claims upon his estate, it was decreed by the court that the assets of Savarimuthu should be distributed among them, *pro rata*, on the basis of the terms of arbitration arrived at by a prominent merchant. Every item of property belonging to the Diwan, movable and immovable, was thus disposed off, except two pieces of land, situated partly in and partly out of the bounds of Valudavur, which were excluded on the ground that they belonged by hereditary right to his young sons, having been bequeathed to him by his father as the result of a partition of his hereditary properties between Savarimuthu and his brothers. Consequently it was decreed that these two pieces of land should remain in possession of Nayakathammal, the wife of Savarimuthu. The Diwan's agent at Karikal, Arulanandam, submitted that he would not abscond from the settlement ; and it was thereupon decreed that one of the judges should see that he kept his word. A powerful French merchant at Karikal was accused by all the creditors of Savarimuthu, both European and Indian, as having caused huge losses to Arulanandam by wrongfully selling large quantities of salt produced in his pans of Vanjur, by superseding unjustly the

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[10] A decree of the 13th August 1770 of the King of France suspended the privilege of the French India Company and declared the trade of India free.

priests of the Hindu temples of the settlement and by misappropriating the dues from many of the betel-gardens leased to him and even imposing on and exacting from him a personal gratuity of 50 pagodas. They demanded that all the sums that had been unlawfully acquired by this merchant should be forcibly realized and distributed among them. After examining numerous witnesses and registering the declarations and accounts of the concerned merchants and scrutinising all the statements made by Arulanandam and his counter-petitioners, the court finally decided that the charges made against the European merchant at Karikal could not be proved and should be dropped and he should be compensated for all the troubles to which he was subjected and also that the charges brought against Arulanandam were equally not provable. It is maintained by Mon. Gnana Diagou that M. Boustel, the European merchant of Karikal concerned in the suit, was certainly a main cause for all the losses suffered by Diwan Savarimuthu and that in the French administration in those days, all the officials stood together mutually supporting one another's transactions, that they did their best to bring about the discomfiture and ruin of any one who brought any charge against one of their number and that all the accusations brought against Boustel were in fact true.

IV

Acharappa Mudaliar, the younger brother of Savarimuthu, had given a *parikat* (release deed of partition) in order to save the good name of his father, brother and nephew, which was not however correct in several particulars. It was unfortunate that the person who came to the defence and vindication of Savarimuthu against Boustel and exposed the latter's misdoings should have finally been disgraced and driven to die under a cloud.

Savarimuthu's son, Appaswami Mudaliar, got, after the lapse of a number of years, the place of Interpreter to the Court ; and all the later claims brought by the creditors of the late Diwan on the family properties were disallowed by Governor Bellecombe.[11]

The next generation of the family was represented by Appaswami Mudaliar who was the eldest son of Diwan Savarimuthu. Appaswami had been brought up in his boyhood by Gnanamuthu Ammal, the widow of *Courtier* Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar. But having lost all his ancestral properties through the insolvency forced upon his father, Appaswami had to undergo many difficulties and privations. Since his uncle, Acharappa Mudaliar, had undertaken to make good the dues on account of the Karikal villages that had been taken in tenancy by Savarimuthu and had freed the Chief of Karikal from the contingency of disgrace and punishment in court, he got the good name of his family rehabilitated and contrived to get the appointment of Interpreter recently vacated by the death of its holder, Mariadoss Pillai, for his nephew Appaswami. While however, Appaswami got a respectable post, Acharappa was not freed from further difficulties. A Maratha captain of sepoys by

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[11] On the 8th of January 1777, Law handed over charge to Guillaume Louis de Bellecombe, siegneur de Tierac. Law had raised Pondicherry again from her ruins and restored to the city all her political prestige. In June 1778, the English began hostilities against Pondicherry without any formal declaration of war.

name Damodar (?) Rao, now filed a suit against Acharappa for the recovery of some amounts held to be due to him from Diwan Savarimuthu. After objections and counter-objections had been taken, the suit was finally dismissed; in March 1787, on the ground that every kind and item of property belonging to Diwan Savarimuthu had been made over to M. Boustel and the circumstances under which that amount in the present suit came to be regarded as due from the Diwan were not satisfactory. Similar suits for the recovery of other claims on the estate of Diwan Savarimuthu (who was frequently described in the records of the court as John Kanakaraya Mudaliar) followed. But the records of the family preserved by its present representative, M. Gnana Diagou Mudaliar, clearly show that every kind of property belonging to the late Savarimuthu had been completely made over by Acharappa in the presence of the Notary Public to his creditors, according to the judgment of the Court dated February 5, 1774. Later on, by a specific court decree of August 30, 1797, Appaswami was freed from any obligation of paying any claims that might be made on his father's estate. Gnanamuthu Ammal, the widow of *Courtier* Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, had died and the niece to whom her estate was willed had also passed away; and now Appaswami tried to obtain possession of it. He endeavoured very hard, for a number of years, to get at the properties willed away by Gnanamuthu Ammal to her niece, Chintadri, who had not made any will before her death. It was unfortunate that Appaswami should have been guilty of wrongful enjoyment of some of the properties of Chintadri Ammal, which he had contrived to get possession of in the course of the long-pending suits that he instituted for their recovery. When these suits were finally disposed off, the only persons, who were benefited thereby, were the widow of Acharappa and a grandson of a brother of his. Appaswami had tried to deceive his collateral relatives and had justly failed in his wrongful attempts. All the descendants of Appaswami passed away in course of time, except one alone now surviving. He himself died on September 18, 1839, leaving three sons, *Savarinatha*, *Ponnu Mudaliar* and *Chinturaya Mudaliar*. In spite of his very chequered career, Appaswami contrived to enjoy some honours, which were granted to him by the Governor on the New Year's Day of 1817.[12] In August 1826, Government, in consideration of his great age and distressed condition, gave to his son, Savarinatha Mudaliar, the post that he had held of Tamil Translator of the Court.

Thus passed away the last note-worthy representative of a distinguished family of devoted servants of the French Government of Pondicherry, whose record of service extending over a century and a half is unique and of appreciable historical significance. Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Diarist, who has been appropriately held by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil to have been

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[12] The Governor at that time was Adrien Juien Comte du Puy, Paire de France, Commander de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion d'Honneur, Gouverneur General des Establissmentis Francois Dans l'Inde. The order ran thus : "Among the Christian residents of Pondicherry, Appaswami, son of the old Diwan Savarimuthu, has been enjoying titles more than any other government servant. In consideration of this and in consideration of the fact that the ancestors of Appaswami from 1674 onwards had been rendering benefits to the French Government by their relations with Nawabs and Indian princes and carrying on and by their activities and also of the fact that Appaswami had been for long our Diwan at Cuddalore and Translator to Government and to the High Court and had in those capacities rendered faithful service. We order that Appaswami is empowered to enjoy those titles and marks of honour that have been in the past assumed by the highest among our Indian subjects." Records however are wanting to give us exact accurate information regarding Appaswami's service in Cuddalore as Diwan. Perhaps it may refer to the time when the Second Mysore War was raging or a later.

the Diwan of Nawab Dupleix[13] and whose well-known *Diary* has come to constitute an invaluable source-book of information, can be studied in some aspects of his life, in a truer historical perspective, from the material afforded by a scrutiny of the activities and services of the rival family of Christian *Courtiers*, of whom the most distinguished was Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, his influential rival and predecessor in office.

[13] See *Dupleix* (*Bicentenaire, 1741—1941*), par G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Pondichery 1941. Second Part, Chapter II and Third Part, Chapter III, and illustrations at the end.

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Venkatapa Nayaka's Relations with the English—1619-1620.

[By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen)].

Interesting details are available in the letters of the servants of the English East India Company, concerning the commercial policy of a practically forgotten line of kings on the Western Ghats. These were the once powerful rulers of Keladi, Ikkeri, or Bednur. I shall restrict myself here to only some of the letters which refer to the dealings of one of the Keladi kings with the English in 1619-1620.

Four of these letters were written by Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastell from Surat to the Company. They are dated February the 9th and the 15th, 1619. While describing the voyage of a ship named the *Expedition*, they refer to a factory at Calicut which, however, "was not troubling about". Then the letters continue thus—"They (*i.e.*, the Company's authorities), however, advise the commander to call there to receive if possible the moneys due to the Company. Overtures received from 'a certayne Mallabars who inhabitt a country on the sea coast some 20 leagues to the sowards of Goa, called Ekaree, the prince an Indian Raja that hath beenl ong in league with the Portingall.'"[1] There is a post script to these letters which will be cited presently.

We have to identify the Raja of Ikkeri mentioned above, and to corroborate the statements made therein that he was in league with the Portuguese. The date of these letters, *viz.*, 1619 falls within the reign of king Venkatapa Nāyaka, who was one of the most distinguished of the Keladi monarchs. He ruled from 1582 until 1629.[2] His reign is memorable from many points of view. Firstly, it was he who shook off the yoke of Vijayanagara and assumed independence.[3] Secondly, he drove back the Bijapur forces under their famous general Randullah Khan,[4] when the latter allying himself with some recalcitrant feudatories of Keladi swept triumphantly over the whole of Karanātaka. Thirdly, it was during the reign of Venkatapa Nāyaka that the boundaries of the Keladi kingdom were extended eastwards and northwards to Kadur, Bhuvanagiri (Kavaledurga), Māsūr, and Shimoga, westwards to Bhatkal and Honnāvūru,[5] and southwards to Kāsaragodu and Candragiri.[6] These last two places lie on the extreme south of the modern South Kanara district along the coast, and immediately to the north of Malabar proper. The proximity of Kāsaragōdu and Candragiri, which from this time became the southern frontier defence of the Keladi kingdo.n, to Malabar, may have led the English factor to style the king of Ikkeri in the letters cited above, as "a certayne Mallabars who inhabitt a country on the sea coast".

Finally, there is another reason which made the reign of Venkatapa Nāyaka memorable in Keladi annals. He was the first Keladi ruler to understand the value of having commercial dealings with Western powers and of securing their friendship. Till now, however, it was believed that king Venkatapa Nāyaka was desirous of seeking trade concessions only from the Portuguese. In fact, according to Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Rastell, Venkatapa Nāyaka had already for a long time past allied himself with the Portuguese. Hence their accusation—"......the prince an Indian Raja that hath beene long in league with the Portingall."[7] That means that some time before the above letters were written (1619), king Venkatapa Nāyaka must have had commercial dealings with the Portuguese, which were probably detrimental to the interests of the English. We are yet in the dark as to when

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[1] William Foster, *The English Factories in India—1618-1621*, p. 60. (Oxford, 1906).
[2] Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 157. (London, 1909).
[3]—[5] Rice, *ibid*, pp. 157-158.
[6] Lingannakavi, *Keladinripavijaya*, pp. 78, 81, 66. (Mysore, 1921, Ed. by R. Shama Sastry.)
[7] Foster, *op. cit.*

exactly he set about winning over the Portuguese to his side. But that he continued this pro-Portuguese attitude down to the end of his reign is evident from the trend of political events in his reign. He successfully interfered in the affairs of the Queen Bhairadevi of Gerasoppe, who was a feudatory of the Sultan of Bijapur, and whom the Portuguese called "the Pepper Queen".[8] In the end Venkatapa Nāyaka attacked her kingdom, and annexed some portion of it to his own. One of the reasons why he did so was to secure for himself the pepper centres of the Gerasoppe kingdom. But he did not do away with the Gerasoppe kingdom altogether. On the other hand, he took up the cause of the Queen against a petty ruler of Tuluva (modern South Kanara) called the Raja of Bangar, who was an ally of the Portuguese. This brought him into collision with the Portuguese,[9] but he was wise enough not to wage wars with them. For now that he had secured control over the pepper centres of the Queen of Gerasoppe, he could abide his time and see whether his allies the Portuguese or the English would give him the greatest profit. Of these two Western powers the Portuguese were more anxious to have the monopoly of pepper trade for themselves. Indeed, the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa was very anxious that it should not fall into the hands of the English or the Dutch. It was with this object that the Portuguese Viceroy sent an embassy to Venkatapa Nāyaka in 1623.[10]

But from the letters of the English factors cited above it is evident that Venkatapa Nāyaka was dealing secretely with the English as well. This explains the post script to the letters dated 1619, which runs thus—"Renewed overtures from the Mallabars, who declare they can fill the *Expedition* with pepper in less than fifteen days."[11]

Further proof of king Venkatapa Nāyaka's desire to have relations with the English is afforded in a letter dated about May 1620 written by William Hoare to the Company. It runs thus—"It hath beene, I presume, long since related unto your Worships how that during your fleets abode at Sevallee two Mallabar frigots putt themselves under the command of your shippes, affirming themselves subjects to a Ragia of Echaree, neere Goa, and pretending to be sent by the King their master to capitulate with the English about establishing a trade with him for pepper, his countrey, by their report, yielding yearlie sufficient to lade two good shippes; the tryall whereof being by consultacion assented to, they both attended the fleets to this place. And heere one of them desired leave to depart before to the King to advize of our comminge, that his pepper might be in the more readinesse against our arrivall, and that an English marchant might accompany him to view the comodity and cutt price with the Kinge, for whome sufficient hostage should be left aboord the *Dragoon*; which was likewise agreed upon."[12]

The above letters helps us to affirm that (*a*) Venkatapa Nāyaka was desirous to secure the advantages of Trade in pepper with the English; (*b*) that he sent two ships that put themselves under the command of the English captain; (*c*) that these ships were to effect a bargain with the English in regard to the trade in pepper; and (*d*) that the final word concerning the price of the commodity lay with Venkatapa Nāyaka himself. We may note that all this was done only three years before he received an embassy from the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa.

[8] Rice, *op. cit.* pp. 157-158.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 158.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Foster, *op. cit.* p. 60.
[12] Foster, *ibid*, p. 70.

A unique Farman of Emperor Aurangzeb to a Maratha Chief

[By Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, D.Litt.]

The Farman of Aurangzeb reproduced here with a brief account actually belongs to the Satara Historical Museum which at present has been housed at the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. When I first saw it, I found it of a peculiar type having an oblong size 42 x 18 inches with only six lines of the text with about five inches space between them written in beautiful and clear Nasta'liq style and the Tughra characters in red bearing the name and insignia of Emperor Aurangzeb with a rare Kunyat-Abdu'l Faiz instead of the usual one Abu'l-Muzaffar or Abu'Z-Zafar. On its right is the Great round Mughal Seal, in the centre of which the name of the Emperor is given as noted below. This central insignia of the Emperor is surrounded by ten smaller circles, each of these smaller circles bears the name of the Emperor's forefathers in the direct line right upto Timur. Evidently it seems that it has nicely been repaired but some of the words in the first and the fourth lines are not clear, particularly in the fourth line which I could not make out. This led me to consult some better authority on the Persian language. The only available person in Poona Khan Bahadur Prof. Abdul Qadir Sarfaraz was consulted immediately for the decipherment of some of the mutilated words, who after casting a glance at the document informed me that he had already prepared a note on the same Farman for Principal H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College on 30th March 1930. Under the circumstances, therefore, it has become necessary for me to utilise the note of the Khan Bahadur Professor Sheikh, with his kind permission, specially as far as the text and the translation are concerned. But unfortunately I find that he has also left the same words, which I could not read undeciphered. Nevertheless these lacunae do not in any way affect the purport of the Farman. Moreover, I understand, that nothing so far has been published about this Farman.

Text of the Farman.

باسمه سبحانه و تعالی شانه } In the
فرمان ابوالفیض محمد محی الدین عالمگیر بادشاه غازی } Tughra

۱—مطیع الاسلام رام (?) سانونت[1] بنوازش بادشاهی

۲—امیدوار بوده بداند درینولا نوشته سیف خان بعذیست الله خان

۳—معروض پیشگاه عظمت و جاه گردید که آن زبدة الاقران در تنبیه واستیصال کهیم
بدمآل برفاقت خان مرقوم

۴—سرگرم و ساعیست لهذا مراسم جزیله با صدار منشور فیض نشوره —— مرحمت
ده هزار روپیه مساعده سرمایه اندوز اعتبار

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[1] The word سانوت Sanwant is locally pronounced Sawant takes its origin from Sanskirt word *Samant* which means a feudatory king, a Jagirdar, a governor of a province and it is generally found in ancient inscriptions.

۵—افتخار گردانید باید شکر سپاس این عنایت والا بجا آورده در قتل واسر کهیم مقهور سعی موفور بظهور آرد

۶—درین باب تاکید داند بتاریخ نوزدهم شعبان المعظم سال پنجاهم از جلوس والا تحریر پذیرفت

On the back of the Farman

برساله سیادت نقابت پناه شرافت و نجابت دستگاه عمدة فدویان شجاعت نشان زبدة فدویان رفیع الشان ناظم مناظم ملک و مال ناهج مناهج دولت و اقبال اسوة اعاظم وزرا جملة الملک مدار المهام امیر الامرا

(Round Seal) امیر الامرا بندهٔ بادشاه عالمگیر غازی—۴۵

Translation :—

In the name of Him Who is the most Holy and

Exalted in glory

The Farman (Mandate) of Abu'l-Faiz Muhammad

Mohi'ud-din Alamgir Badshah Ghazi

Obedient to Islam, Ram[1] Sawant, being hopeful of Royal favours should know that in these days it was submitted to the dignified court, through the letter written by Saif Khan to Inayat Ullah Khan that he (Sawant), the best of equals in company of said (Saif) Khan was actively engaged in chastising and destroying Khem of mischievous tendency. Therefore, his (Sawant's) great services have been appreciated and honoured by issuing this mandate and (grant of) ten thousand rupees as Misa'ada (help-money). He (Sawant) should offer thanks for this high favour and put forth abundant efforts for killing and capturing the accursed Khem. He (Sawant) should regard that stress is laid on this matter. Written on the 19th of the month of Shaban[2] fiftieth regnal year (26th Nov. 1706 A. D.).

On the reverse:—'Forwarded through the Chief minister of ministers Jumulatu'l-Mulk Madaru'l-Maham Amiru'l-Umara.

In the seal:—Amiru'l-Umara slave of Badshah Alamgir Ghazi—45 regnal year.[3]

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[1] Here the word Ram is almost clear and it has not been included by Prof. Shaikh in his transcription of the text of the Farman which, I think, was due to the then bad condition of the Farman which is quite obvious, after which it was repaired at Calcutta under the able guidance of Khan Bahadur, A. F. M. Abdul-Ali, late Record Keeper of Govt. of India as Professor Shaikh told the writer of this note.

[2] Sh'aban is the last month of the regal year of Aurangzeb because according to his own device the first month of the regnal year was the month of Ramazan therefore we should take the 50th year as 19th Sh'aban 1118 A.H./26th Nov. 1706 A.D. After which he died on Friday 4th March 1707 A. D.

[3] Dates in the seals were generally of those years when they were prepared.

The chronicles tell us: 'Khem Sawant became the Chief of Sawant Wadi[1] in 1675 and by helping the Mughals in their struggle against Shivaji and making frequent raids across the Goa frontier he had considerably increased his territory. Afterwards in 1707 he supported Shivaji's grandson Shahu in contests with the Kolhapur Chief and was confirmed in his possessions. He died in 1709 without male issue'. Therefore we presumably conclude that the 'Sawant' mentioned in the beginning of the Mughal Farman might be this same Khem Sawant who helped the Mughals against the Marhattas. As far the 'Khem' mentioned lower down in the Farman against whom the 'Sawant' acted in the Company of Saif Khan nothing could be said unless other similar authentic document came to our rescue.

Saif Khan's real name is not known but the author of Ma'athiru'l-Umra[2] says that Saifu'd-Din Mahmud entitled Saif Khan was one of the great nobles of Shah Jahan's period who died in 1095 A. H./1683 A. D. while he was the Governor of Allahabad province and he had left a son on whom Aurangzeb had also conferred the title of Saif Khan formerly borne by his father and he was appointed the Foujdar of Tal Kokan, Qila'dar of Azamnagar Malgaon and Thanedar of Satgaon. He was also appointed the governor-Subehdar of Bijapur in the 49th year of the reign of Aurangzeb. After Aurangzeb's death he entered the service of Prince Kam Bakhsh.

But the *History of Sawant Wadi*[3] mentions that about the year 1706 Sayyad Ghazanfar Ali Khan was appointed the chief commander of the Mughal forces at Phonda.[4] The duty of helping him was assigned to Khem Sawant by the Delhi Emperor. This actually corroborates the purport of the Farman and it seems as if the real name of Saif Khan might have been Sayyad Ghazanfar Ali Khan and the author of the Mathiru'l-Umara has only given his title. If this be true Saif Khan and Sayyad Ghazanfar Ali Khan are one and the same person.

Inayat Ullah Khan to whom the matter was reported by Saif Khan about Sawant, was the author of a collection of Aurangzeb's letters known as the *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, and he had also collected the commands of the Emperor under the name of *Ahkam-i-'Alamgiri*. He had

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[1] (a) Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X. (*Ratangiri and Savantvadi*), Bombay 1880, pp. 437-47.

(b) *Memoir of the Sawunt Waree State*, Bombay 1855, pp. 1-4.

(c) *A History of Sawant Wadi State*, (Marhati) by Vithals Puruso Hama Pingulkara, Sawant Wadi, 1927, pp. 52-54.

(d) *Maharastriya Jnanakosa* Vol. 21, pp. 165-66. (Poona, 1927).

The State of Sawant Wadi, lying between 16°15′30″ and 15°36′33″ north latitude and 74°20′ 51″ and 73°36′ 11″ east longitude has a total area of about nine hundred miles. It forms the southern part of what was formerly known by the name of the 'Konkan Pati', or the territory lying between the Sahyadri range of Ghats and the sea.

[2] *Ma'athiru'l-Umara* by Nawab Samsamu'd-Dowla Shan Nawaz Khan, Calcutta, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 479-85.

[3] *A History of Sawant Wadi*, op. cit., p. 25. The writer is grateful to his colleague Mr. Shaikh Chand Hussain for the translation of this particular para.

[4] Phonda is a pass in Western Ghats (Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XII, p. 219).

gradually risen from an ordinary position to the rank of Chief Superintendent of Administration and during the last years of the reign of Aurangzeb he used to sign the documents instead of the minister Nawab Asad Khan.[1]

The reverse side of this Farman shows that it had been forwarded through Jumlatu'l-Mulk Madaru'l-Maham Amir'l-Umara. His real name was Mohd. Ibrahim entitled Nawab Asad Khan. He was the only person through whom such important mandates were issued. His seal is also there. He was the only aged Wazir who was spared to Aurangzeb during his last years and he was five years junior to the Emperor.[2]

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[1] *Ma'athiru'l Umara,* op. cit., pp. 828-832.

[2] *Ibid,* Vol. I. pp. 310-21.

The Causes of the Maratha-Portuguese War (1683-84).

(By Mr. George M. Moraes, M.A.).

Among the many campaigns that fill the troubled reign of Sambaji, his campaign against the Portuguese may rightly be assigned the pride of place. It was the first trial of strength between a European power, celebrated throughout the East for its prowess[1], and the young Maratha nation —a struggle which may be said to have ended creditably to the Maratha arms.[2]

What are the causes that led to this Luso-Maratha conflict? In pointing out to the occupation and fortification of Angediva by the Portuguese, the help they rendered to the Mughals, and the incidents resulting from the conflicting claims of both to the sovereignty of the sea, the writers on Indian history seem to have hitherto mistaken the accidental for the fundamental causes. These incidents provided at best the immediate occasion for the outbreak of the hostilities. The real reason lay deeper, and is to be traced to the ideal the great Shivaji had held up before his compatriots, *viz.*, not to sheathe the sword till the last inch of that sacred Mahārāstrian soil was redeemed from foreign domination. As a worthy son, Sambhaji could not but be affected by this thought of *Mahārāstra irredenta*—a fact which comes out prominently from a survey of his relations with the Portuguese.

It is well known that when soon after the death of Shivaji, Soyra Bai, one of his widows, got her own son, Rajaram, enthroned, it was only by sheer chance—lack of unity among Rajaram's supporters—that Sambhaji succeeded in winning the crown; and though Rajaram's partisans were rounded up, there were dark clouds of a civil war still looming on the horizon. Nor were the Marathas on terms of amity with their neighbours, with the result that the latter could not be trusted to remain inactive pending the decision of the issue. The campaign against the Sidis of Janjira undertaken by Shivaji during his last years, had ended inconclusively for the Marathas, and the Sidis were actually profiting by the confusion caused by the change of rulers. Sick of the predatory activities of the Maratha chieftains, the Portuguese too were on the point of denouncing the precarious peace that existed between the two states, and as the Viceroy wrote to Sambhaji, he had already issued instructions to his general of Salsette to violate the Maratha frontier.[3] Thus with the Sidi menacing the northern frontier and the Portuguese holding out threats in the south, not to speak of the internal disorder, the new king found himself in a terrible predicament at the inception of his reign.

Sambhaji extricated himself from this extremity by having recourse to the old stratagem of making friends with one enemy and attacking the other. Accordingly, in May 1680, he dispatched Ramaji Naique Tacur to

1 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 260.

2 Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire and of the Morattoes*, p. 124.

3 Braganca Pereira, *Arquivo Portuques Oriental*, T. i, V. iii, Pt. i, p. lxxxi (Viceroy's letter to Ramaji Naique Tacur, dated 8th May, 1680).

Goa with an offer of peace, which was accepted;[4] but when the Viceroy proposed his own terms,[5] Sambhaji maintained an ominous silence. This went on for a year and a half, during which period the Portuguese were frequently harassed by Givaji Vinaique, the Subedar of Bicholim, and cajoled into inaction by Dharmaji Naganath, the sagacious Subedar of Ponda[6]. It is possible that the plea of the Subedar that Givaji was acting on his own initiative and without the knowledge of his master, coupled with the assurance that Sambhaji earnestly wished to remain at peace with the Portuguese, may have induced a sense of false security in the Viceroy. It seems, however, more reasonable that the Portuguese shared the universal opinion prevailing among Christians in India, that Aurangzib hated them with the same deathless hatred as he did the Hindus,[7] and naturally felt that by making common cause against the Marathas with the Sidi, who was the Mughal admiral, they would hasten their own ruin. Under these circumstances, the only course left to them was to ally themselves with the Marathas, and offer a united front to the Muslim powers. This was in fact the implication of the Viceroy's letter to Anaji (Avaji) Pandit, dated the 4th June, 1681, in which he is urged to represent to his royal master the value of the Portuguese alliance, "since trusting to their friendship he could safely prosecute his wars with his enemies, without the necessity of leaving one single soldier for the defence of the territories that border on those of this state."[8]

On Sambhaji, however, the Viceroy's proposal made little impression. His object obviously was to gain time by cajoling the Portuguese so that he could turn on them, once he had finished the Sidi. Accordingly, when the Viceroy complained that in his recent communication (reaching Goa on the 1st June, 1681) Sambhaji had made no reference to the peace proposals he had sent with the Maratha agent, he put him off by deputing an envoy to Goa in the person of Essaji Gambhir Rao; and that some more time might be taken up with further correspondence, it was so arranged that the envoy should arrive without the necessary credentials.[9]

But the war against the Sidis was going badly for the Marathas. It was realized before long that to crush the Sidis it would be necessary to muster against them the entire resources of the Maratha kingdom. To ensure, therefore, that the Portuguese would not create a diversion, when they were thus engaged in a life and death struggle with the Sidi, Sambhaji struck upon a device of placating the Portuguese. A few days before the historic siege of Janjira was commenced,[10] Essaji Gambir Rao was made to report to the Portuguese Viceroy that it had been decided, doubtless as a preliminary to the formal conclusion of a peace treaty, to replace Givaji

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4 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, pp. lxxxxii, letter of the Viceroy to Rayaji Pandit of 25th May 1680; to Sambhaji, dated 29th May, 1680.

5 *Ibid*, pp. lxxxvi—lxxxviii. Letter to Sambhaji of 4th June, 1681.

7 Martineau, *Memoires de François Martin*, II, p. 328; Manucci, *Op. Cit.*, p. 26.

6 *Ibid*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxviii.

8 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, p. lxxxiv.

9 *ibid*, p. xc [letter to Anaji (Avaji) Pandit of 26th July, 1681].

10 The siege was commenced early in January, 1682, cf. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 266.

Vinaique, the Subedar of Bicholim who was a *persona non grata* to the Portuguese government, by a more desirable person, Moro Dadaji.[11]

Despite the Herculean efforts of Sambhaji, who went to the extent even of attempting to bridge the deep and broad waterway that separates Janjira from the mainland, the prospects of the fall of the fort were as distant as ever. Just at this stage the Mughal armies, which had been dispatched in pursuit of the rebel prince Akbar, now a refugee at Sambhaji's court, hastened to the scene. By the 4th of February, 1682, they reached Kalyan, which they made their headquarters.[12] It was said that by the end of June the Sidi's fleet, which had been giving an excellent account of itself all this while, was going to be reinforced by the Mughal squadron which the governor of Surat had been ordered by Aurangzib to equip.[13]

The Mughal invasion of the Konkan compelled Shambhu to leave the prosecution of the siege to his generals and to hasten to Raigarh to organise his defences. He threatened the English at Bombay with immediate invasion, if they gave any further facilities to the Sidi's fleet; and to prevent any surprise landing of the Mughal forces in his rear he decided to make. Angediva (off Karwar) his naval base in the south.[14]

The Portuguese had bitter experience already of having allowed Sambhaji to fortify the islets of Undery and Cundery, commanding the entrance to Chaul. The Marathas were actually using this concession made by the Viceroy expressly for the purpose of helping them in their war against the Sidi, to enthrall the trade of Chaul.[15] Such being the predatory disposition of the Marathas, the Portuguese felt that the trade of Goa would similarly suffer, the moment the Marathas secured a foothold on Angediva, an island not more than twelve leagues from their capital. What was worse, the Arabs were actually in alliance with Sambhaji and were actively assisting him against the Sidi. Would it not perhaps be demanded by these sworn enemies of the Portuguese nation as a reward for their services that the said island be handed over to them, with the inevitable result that they would intercept the supplies that daily arrived from Kanara, and starve the city of Goa into surrender? The occupation and fortification of Angediva by a hostile power being thus fraught with the gravest consequences to the Portuguese, it was unanimously agreed at a meeting of the Viceroy's Council held on the 27th of April, 1682, that Sambhaji should be faced with a *fait accompli*. A naval squadron was accordingly ordered to be stationed at the place and a fort built with six pieces of artillery.[16] The following day the English factors of Karwar wrote to Surat, "for two days since the Portuguese arrived there with four Grabs and landed two hundred men and expect more with lime, etc.,

11 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, p. XCI (reply of the Viceroy, where this fact is recorded, dated 1st January, 1862).

12 Sarkar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 255, 267.

13 Martineau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 295.

14 Orme, *Op. Cit.*, p. 111.

15 'They robbed the said *machuas* and *almondies*, and with artillery they forced those that tried to pass.'

16 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, XCI-XCIII.

necessaryes to fortifie the island, as we are credibly informed, by the country people."[17]

When Essaji Gambhir Rao and the Subedar of Ancola wrote to the Viceroy calling upon him to withdraw his fleet from the island and desist from the enterprise, the Goa Government took exception to this action of the Maratha officials, implying thereby that they had no reasons to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Nor was this attitude of the Portuguese government without justification. Angediva was not merely a derelict that goes to the person that first picks it up, it had actually been occupied in the past by the Portuguese off and on. Consequently to the request of the Maratha envoy that they should send an explanatory note to Sambhaji, the secretary Luis Gonsalves Cota replied that in their letter to the Maratha sovereign which had already been dispatched, he had merely acknowledged receipt of the present he had sent observing at the same time that in order to treat of any other matter it was essential that his envoy should be provided with the proper credentials. As to the occupation of Angediva, why should it be referred to at all? 'The Viceroy owes no explanation to anyone for what he does in the lands under his own jurisdiction.' In conclusion, the secretary warned the ambassador that if the Marathas were desirous of continuing friendly relations with his government, he should apprise his sovereign of the excesses committed on land and sea by his chieftains, and in particular of the recent incursion into Chorao by the notorious Zivaji Vinaique the Subedar of Bicholim. But that alone would not suffice. They should make an example of this disturber of the peace and send another in his place, and suitable compensation should be made to the Viceroy for the losses the Portuguese subjects had suffered in the course of his inroads.[18]

Normal relations were maintained between the two powers despite the fact that neither party was willing to accommodate the other. On the 28th of July, 1682, the Viceroy sent his congratulations to Sambhaji on the birth of a son, probably Shahu,[19] and availed himself of the opportunity to renew his solicitations for a formal conclusion of peace. Some days previously Sambhaji had requested the Viceroy to order the captains of his armada not to obstruct the ships carrying ammunition and provisions to the Maratha ports. In granting the request, the Viceroy observed (in another letter of the same date) that he always wished to be on terms of friendship with the Marathas, but that he did not experience similar treatment on the part of the latter's chieftains.[20]

From this seemingly obsequious attitude of the Viceroy, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai has wrongly concluded that the Portuguese were mortally afraid lest Sambhaji should invade their territories and seize Goa[21]. As we have already explained, the fact however was that the Viceroy had taken a statesmanlike view of the situation. He could clearly discern that, if the coastal powers were to give full play to their mutual jealousies,

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17 *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. CVIII, cited in Pissurlencar, *Portugueses e Maratas, R. I. V. G.*, No. 2, 1928, p. 75, note 2.

18 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, pp. xciii-xcv.

19 According to the *Zedhe Shakavali*, Shahu was actually born on Vaisakha krishna 7, Thursday the 18th May, 1682, *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 27.

20 Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 36-38; Pissurlencar, *Art. Cit.*, pp. 75-76.

21 Sardesai, *Ugraprakrati Sambhaji*,

they would directly play into the hands of the Mughal, and be devoured by him piecemeal.

All this while vigorous efforts were being made by Aurangzib to destroy the Marathas once and for all. As the English at Karwar wrote on the 30th of July, 'He is so inveterate against the Rajah that he hath thrown off his pagri and sworn never to put it on again, till he has either killed or taken, or routed him out of his country.'[22] On the 5th of October the Sidis scored a signal victory over Sambhaji in a naval action fought within sight of the fort of Bombay. In this encounter the squadron under Sidi Misri, the Maratha admiral was completely annihilated by Sidi Qasim, Sidi Misri himself being captured.[23] Soon the news was received that 'the fleet which Aurangzib had ordered to be prepared at Surat was ready to sail in the month of November.''[24]

With the Maratha navy already shattered and broken Sambhaji must have felt himself unequal to meet the impending attack single-handed. He made overtures of friendship both to the English and the Portuguese. He sent an ambassador to the former "expressly to inform them that he had received certain intelligence.........that Aurangzib intended to take Bombay from the English by surprise, and afterwards Bassein and Daman, belonging to the Portuguese; that sensible to the great danger to which his own country would be exposed by the Mughals possession of these fortresses, proposed a defensive alliance with the English, to operate on occasion."[25] He sought to liquidate his differences with the Portuguese as well. And accordingly in November 1682, Essagi Gambhir Rao wrote to the Goa Government that Sambhaji "having been informed of the ruinous proceedings of the Subedar of Givagi Vinaique, had ordered his arrest, sending in his stead Moro Dadagi." "The latter", it was added, "had received special instructions that he should do everything in his power to promote good-neighbourly relations between the two states."[26] Some compensation also seems to have been promised for the losses sustained by the Portuguese subjects.[27]

But the English of Bombay knew exactly what value they should store by professions of friendship on Sambhaji's part. Already in 1682 they had written to the Council at Surat: "We have no reason to think Sambhaji Rajah our friend because of the Siddi's being continually supplied by our Island (of Bombay) and yet he continues fair with us,—not out of any respect to us but of kindness to himself, (he) reaping a great benefit from our trading to the Kurlahs, which brings him a great deal of money yearly..."[28] Sambhaji, moreover, had some time previously fortified the island of Kundrey, from which he continued to distress the trade of Bombay. For the Bombay factors report to the Court in London in January 8th, 1683, that the whole of the previous year Shivaji (sic) had kept from 10 to 12 galivats at this island and that by his attacks on

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22 Sarkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 258.

23 Orme, *Op. Cit.*, p. 113; Sarkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 268; Sardesai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 40, says that the Marathas in order to prevent their vessels from falling into the hands of the enemy, scuttled them. No authorities are mentioned.

24 Orme, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

26 Letter of Francisco de Tavora to Essagi Gambhir Rao, dated 26th Nov., 1682, *Lo dos Reis Vizimhos*, No. 2, Fl.126, cited in Pissurlencar, *Art. Cit.*, p. 77.

27 *Ibid.*, Note 2.

28 Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p 202

English shipping the inhabitants of Bombay had lost to the tune of Rs. 4,500.[29] Consequently, when the Mughal fleet arrived from Surat, it was given free passage through the bay of Bombay.

It was however quite different with the Portuguese. The Viceroy had never ceased to nurse the vain hope that the very logic of events would some day bring Sambhaji to a more reasonable frame of mind. He must have been delighted with Essagi Gambhir Rao's letter, which contained such good tidings. And he reprimanded the Bombay governor for what he deemed a disgraceful proceeding in allowing himself to be bribed into delivering the island to the Mughals.[30] Accordingly, when Aurangzib with the object of bringing the war against the Marathas to a speedy and victorious end by closing on them from all sides opened negotiations for an offensive and defensive alliance with the Portuguese, promising them all the lands he took from Sambhaji,[31] the Viceroy respectfully declined the offer. In his explanation to the Emperor, it was pointed out that, while it was a matter of principle with the Portuguese never to resort to war unless there was sufficient provocation, in the present instance there actually was a peace treaty with the party concerned.[32] Prudence however demanded that there should be some concession on minor points. The Viceroy, therefore, acceded to the Emperor's requisition that the Portuguese should allow free passage to his convoys through the rivers in their territories, and also permit his generals to make their purchases therein.[33]

It seems certain that having clearly visualized the ultimate logical consequence of the vaulting ambition of Aurangzib, the Viceroy would, had he the means, have resisted the Emperor's demand even in these minor points: "The Moors are not such as one can have confidence in," he wrote to his sovereign in Portugal in his letter of 24th June, 1683, immediately after the departure of Aurangzib's departure from Goa, "but these (meaning the Mughals) in particular are so utterly devoid of faith and shame, and so woefully lacking in honour and truth, that it seems imperative that Your Highness should endeavour to the utmost to help India, because besides the Mogor, who is never without some pretext to make war on us, there are other things to attend to, and all else that is necessary for the preservation of the state."[34] The Viceroy was hoping against hope that the points at issue between the two powers would be resolved and the Marathas would align with the Portuguese. But besides subterfuges the Marathas did nothing to implement their promises. On the contrary, no sooner did he learn that the Mughal armies had been given free passage through the Portuguese dominions, than Sambhaji flew into a passion, and ordered his troops to set fire to their villages in Northern Konkan. "We expect," wrote the English factors of Bombay, on the 8th of January, 1683, "Sombaja Rajah will resent very ill our harbouring the

29 *Collection of Papers received from the India Office* (Bombay Secretariat) No. 6, p. 104.
30 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, p. xcv.
31 Manucci, *Op. Cit.*, p. 260.
32 This seems to have been said by the Viceroy for the sake of emphasis. What he had actually in mind was that there was going to be a peace with the Marathas—an object towards whose achievement all his efforts had been hitherto directed.
33 Bragança Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, p. cii.
34 *Ibid*, pp. xcv-xcvi.

Moghul's fleet for already he hath declared the Portuguese his Enemy and hath burnt several of their Aldeas for giving leave to them to pass by Tannah up to Cattain with provisions."[35]

In his letter of 17th February, the Viceroy complained to Ramachandra Pandita, the General of Sambhaji Rajah in the Konkan, that there had hitherto been no reciprocity to the friendship the Portuguese had always evinced for the Marathas. Nor had the Machuas and the Gallivats, which they had seized been restored to their lawful owners. And far from making satisfaction for the burning of the villages, they were burning more of them every day. The Marathas had been maintaining an ambassador at the Viceregal court on the pretence of adjusting a peace treaty with the Portuguese, but though two years had elapsed, he was still awaiting the necessary powers from his government to bring this about. Lamenting the lack of vision in the Maratha foreign policy the Viceroy represented to Ramachandra Pandita that time alone would show how vital to their interests was an alliance with a nation so truthful and loyal as the Portuguese, a people who never went upon their plighted word. 'There is no time to lose,' the Viceroy concluded, and exhorted the General to take the initiative himself, and write to Sambhaji asking him to take immediate decision on this all important matter.[36]

Sambhaji remained reticent as usual. The Viceroy therefore had no alternative but to accede to the repeated overtures of Aurangzib for an offensive alliance against the Marathas. Sambhaji soon began to repent of his tortuous dealings, and came cringing before the Viceroy, begging him not to renounce his friendship and abandon him to his fate.[37] It was however too late. The long silence of Sambhaji and the continual hostility on the part of his chieftains were proof, if proof were needed, of the warlike intentions of the Marathas. His overtures were therefore rejected with the contempt they deserved.

Foiled in his attempt to wean the Portuguese from an alliance which threatened to seal his fate, Sambhaji tried the final, and as it proved to be, the most efficacious means of saving himself—bribe. Fearing that the Mughal generals would yield to the temptation, the Viceroy, it would seem, on getting scent of this, wrote to the Emperor on 12th April, 1683 that he was very much surprised that neither his army nor his fleet had fulfilled his expectations; that by their dilatoriness they had given time to 'the infidel' to prepare his defences; so much so that but for the timely warning given to Bahadur Khan by the Portuguese General Dom Manuel Lobo de Silveira, he would have succeeded in fortifying Parsica, a place of great strategical importance, and impeded the supply of provisions to the Mughal armies at Kalyan and Biundy. The Viceroy offered to place at the disposal of the Emperor all his resources, material and personal. He admonished him that he should prosecute with vigour the campaign, which he had prepared with such great assiduity, warning his generals not to linger in those places, where they had fixed their headquarters, since dilatoriness was detrimental to the interests of the allies.[38]

35 *Collection of Papers received from the India Office*, no. 8, pp. 107-8.
36 *L° dos Reis Visinhos*, No. 2, Fl. 27, cited in Pissurlemcar, *Art., Cit.*, p. 84.
37 *Ibid*, p. 87, *L° dos Reis Vizinhos*, Fl. 31. This and the previous letter ought to have been published in Bragança Pereira, *Arquivo Português Oriental*, a work, which purports to be and really is a source-book of Indian History.
38 *L° dos Reis Vizinhos*, No. 2, H. 31, cited in Pissurlencar, *Art. Cit.*, p. 87.

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But what the Viceroy had feared had already come to pass. Before his letter could reach the Mughal Emperor, nay even before it was penned, the Imperialists had evacuated Kalyan. And freed from the Mughal peril, Sambhaji fell upon the Portuguese,[39] certain that he could make short work of their power in the Konkan now that the support of their allies had been withdrawn.

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[39] 2nd April, 1683; Sarkar, *Portuguese-Maratha War, 1683-1684*, *I.H.A.S.*, 1919-20, No. 5, p. 2. (Relaçâo Verdadeira.)

Had the Mayor's Courts (established in India by the Royal Charter of 24th September, 1726), any criminal jurisdiction ?

[By Mr D. N. Banerjee, M.A.]

The object of this paper[1] is to determine, with the help of the relevant official document, whether the Mayor's Courts established at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta by the Charter of Justice granted to the East India Company[1a] by King George I on the 24th of September, 1726, had any criminal jurisdiction. The question arose in my mind in the following circumstances.

When studying the subject of judiciary in connexion with my researches into the early administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal, I was faced with a difficulty, namely, whether the Mayor's Courts referred to above could exercise any criminal jurisdiction. My difficulty was caused, as will appear from the extracts quoted below, by some conflicting (or misleading) views previously expressed on the subject. Thus Russell says in connexion with the Royal Charter of Justice of 24th September, 1726 [2]:

"By this Charter, a mayor and nine aldermen, for each of the said three settlements [3] were named and incorporated, with perpetual succession, with power of acting under a common seal, and of making by-laws, and of holding a mayor's court for the trial of causes *both civil and criminal,*[4] (high treason only excepted)."

Further, I found in a statement entered in the Proceedings[5] of a meeting of the Court of Directors held on Wednesday, the 1st of February, 1726/7 [6]:

"Mr. Woodford acquainted the Court that pursuant to Order, the three Charters were exemplyfied for the Factorys of Fort St. George, Bengal and Bombay, authorizing the Mayor and Aldermen at each of those places to Try Causes Vizt. *Felony,*[7]Injuries, Civil Actions, and Propertys, etc............".

Now, *Felony* being a criminal offence, the implication of Mr Woodford's statement is clear, namely, that the Mayor's Courts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, were to have both civil and criminal jurisdiction.

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1 This paper is based on a certified, exact copy in typescript, of an official record very kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the India Office, London. I take this opportunity of thanking the Superintendent of Records, India Office, and Miss L. M. Austey of the same Office, for kindly sending me the certified copy.

1a Also see foot-note 19 below in this connexion for further details.

2 See F. Russell, *A Collection of Statutes Concerning the Incorporation, Trade and Commerce of the East India Company,* London, 1794.

3 I.e., Madraspatnam (Madras), Bombay, and Calcutta.

4 The italics are mine.

5 Quoted by Firminger in his article entitled *Some Records Relative to the Mayor's Court,* published in *Bengal : Past and Present,* January-March, 1914.

6 I.e., 1st February, 1727.

According to Ilbert, "the double date .... indicates a reference to the three months, January, February (and) March, which according to the Old Style closed the old year, while under the New Style, introduced in 1751 by the Act 24 Geo. II, C. 23, they begin the new year". See Ilbert, *The Government of India,* 3rd Edition, 1916, p. 14, Foot-note 2.

7 The italic is mine.

Again, William Kaye has remarked in connexion with the Mayor's Courts estabilshed in India by the Charter of 24th September, 1726[8]:

"Justice gained little by the establishment of the Mayor's Courts. The Letters Patent of September, 1726, which established these tribunals, really did but little to advance the interests of substantive justice. These Courts were to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of whom, with the Mayor, were to be British subjects. They were, in fact, composed of the Company's mercantile servants—men of the slenderest legal attainments, and the slightest judicial training. They undertook all kinds of business, civil. criminal, and prerogative—but were, to a certain extent, controlled by the executive Governments, which were constituted Courts of Appeal".

Thus according to this writer, also, the Mayor's Courts could exercise criminal jurisdiction.

Moreover, in the course of his first lecture as Tagore Law Professor, Herbert Cowell stated[9]:

"In less than twenty years after the United Company was established under the Act of Queen Anne, its Court and Directors[10] represented by petition[10a] to George I that there was great want at Madras, Fort William and Bombay of a proper and competent power and authority for the more speedy and effectual administering of justice in civil causes and for trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and misdemeanours; and they *accordingly prayed permission to establish Mayor's Courts at those places*[11]. Thereupon the existing Courts, whatever they may have been, were superseded, and in the year 1726 (13th Geo. I) the Crown by Letters Patent established Mayors' Courts at Madras, Bombay, and Fort William".

Now the words in italics in this extract, taken along with the words that precede them therein, seem to imply that the Mayor's Courts were, if and when established, to exercise civil as well as criminal jurisdiction. He added, however, a sentence to the end of the paragraph from which the extract has been taken, to the effect that the Mayor's Courts "were declared to be Courts of Record and were empowered to try, hear, and determine all civil suits, actions, and pleas between party and party". He also stated, it must be said in fairness to him, in the *paragraph* next following, that the Governor and Council at Madras, Bombay, and at Fort William were constituted (by the Charter of George I) "a Court of Oyer and Terminer", and were "authorized and required to hold quarter Sessions for the trial of all offences excepting high treason". But if the two paragraphs referred to above are taken together, there appears to exist

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8 See John William Kaye, ***The Administration of the East India Company; A History of Indian Progress***, Second Edition, London, 1853, pp. 321-22.

9 See Herbert Cowell, *The History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India*, 1872, pp. 17-18; also the Sixth Edition of this book revised by Dr. S. C. Bagchi, 1936, p. 14.

10 It is not very clear whether Cowell meant by the expression *its Court and Directors* both the General Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors of the Company or simply the Court of Directors. The expression does not seem to have been very happily worded.

See in this connexion the preamble to the Charter as quoted hereinafter.

10a See foot-note 20 below in this connexion.

11 The italics are mine.

some incongruity between what Professor Cowell has said in the opening sentence of the first paragraph and what he has subsequently stated in them. At any rate, the whole thing seems to me to be somewhat misleading and does not really satisfy the curiosity of one who wants to know what the exact position was in regard to the question of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Courts established in India by the Charter of 24th September, 1726.

Lastly, with reference to the Mayor's Court established at Calcutta by the Charter of 1726, Miss Monckton Jones has observed[12]:

"In consequence of the Charter erecting his court the Mayor of Calcutta was the *supreme judge* over the entire community in all parts of Bengal, *to decide all disputes between whites*[13]".

This statement is not only vague but also misleading in some respects, and does not really throw any light on the question under consideration in this paper.

On the other hand, I found in a letter[14] of the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, dated at London 17th February, 1726/7:

"The said Charter (*i.e.*, the Charter of 24th September, 1726)......... nominates nine persons to be the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and as such a Court *to* Try *all Civil Causes that may happen*[15]".

Further, according to Morley[16] and Ilbert[17], the Mayor's Courts established at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta by the Charter of 1726, were to have only civil jurisdiction.

In view of these conflicting (or, in some cases, misleading) views on the question of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Courts set up by the Charter of 24th September, 1726, I wrote in 1939 to the India Office, London, requesting it to send me a certified, exact copy of the Charter as a whole, since I could not find anywhere in India an authentic copy thereof. The India Office has since very kindly, as noted before[18], sent me such a copy in type. We shall now see what the Charter itself said on the question of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Courts, as that would remove all doubts regarding its nature and scope.

In the first place, the Charter[19] said by way of a preamble:—

"George, by the Grace of God, etc............"

12 See M. E. Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, 1772-74, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, Vol. 9, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1918, pp. 32-33.

13 The italics in this extract are mine.

14 This letter has been quoted by Firminger in his article in *Bengal: Past and Present*, already referred to in foot-note 5 above.

15 The italics are mine.

16 See W. H. Morley, *The Administration of Justice in British India; Its Past History and Present State*, etc., 1858, pp. 6-7.

17 See his *Government of India*, Third Edition, 1916, p. 32.

18 See foot-note 1 above.

19 See "Letters Patents (*sic*), granted to the United Company of Merchants of England, Trading to the East Indies, Bearing Date the Twenty-fourth of September, in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of George I. Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-Six".—*India Office Records: Charters and Treaties, Charters*, Vol. III.

"Whereas Our Wel-beloved Subjects, The United Company of Merchants of England, Trading to the East-Indies, have, by a strict and equal Distribution of Justice, within the Towns, Forts, Factories and Places, belonging to the said Company, in the East-Indies, and other Parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, very much encouraged, not only Our own Subjects, but likewise the Subjects of other Princes, and the Natives of the adjacent Countries, to resort to, and settle in the said Towns, Forts, Factories and Places, for the better and more convenient carrying on of Trade; by which Means some of the said Towns, Factories and Places, are become very populous, and especially the Town, or Place, anciently called Chinapatnam, now called Madraspatnam, and Fort St. George, on the Coast of Coromandel, and also the Towns, Factories or Places, called Bombay, on the Island of Bombay, and Fort William, in Bengal, in the said East-Indies, and Parts aforesaid: And whereas, in Pursuance of the Privileges and Powers, granted to the said Company, by Our Royal Predecessors, the said Company have constituted and appointed, within the Factories herein before-mentioned, several Officers, by the Names of Governor and Council, or President and Council: And whereas there is great Want, in all the said Places, of a proper and competent Power and Authority, for the more speedy and effectual administering of Justice, in Civil Causes, and for the trying and punishing of Capital, and other Criminal Offences, and Misdemeanors committed, within the Places and Districts aforesaid, and in other the said Company's Settlements within the Limits of Trade, granted to them, and for the better Government of the several Factories, belonging to the said Company, within the same.

"And whereas the said Company have humbly applied to Us, by Petition[20], setting forth, as herein before is set forth, and suggesting, that for as much as the granting, to the said Company, such Powers as may conduce to the punishing of Vice, and administering of Justice, and the better governing the said Company's Factories, and Settlements Abroad, will not only tend to the Advancement of those good Ends, but also to the Increase of that Branch of the National Trade, which is carried on to the East-Indies, as well as to the Increase of Our Revenues arising from the same; the said Company, therefore, by their said Petition, humbly besought Us to grant, to the said Company, the several Powers, Privileges and Franchises, hereafter in these Presents contained; We, having considered the Premises, and being desirous to afford all fitting Assistance, and Encouragement, to the said Company, and for advancing of Trade, and promotion of Justice, and being well assured, that the establishing proper Courts of Justice will very much contribute thereunto, have, therefore, by virtue and in Pursuance of several Powers, granted to, and vested in Us, by several Acts of Parliament, heretofore passed in that Behalf, and in Performance of divers Covenants, between Our Royal Predecessors and the said Company, for the granting to them all further reasonable Powers, and Privileges, for the better Improvement and carrying on their Trade, and of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, given and granted, and, by these Presents, do, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and grant, to the said Company and their Successors, and do, by these Presents, ordain, direct, establish and appoint,

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20 Firminger has given a copy of this Petition in his article in *Bengal: Past and Present*, already referred to in foot-note 5 above.

that there shall be, for ever hereafter, within the said Town or Factory of......................[21], One Body Politick, and Corporate, by the Name of Mayor and Aldermen of...........[22], and that such Body Politick and Corporate shall consist of a Mayor and Nine Aldermen, Seven of which said Aldermen, at least, together with the Mayor for the Time being, shall be natural born Subjects of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, and the other Two Aldermen may be Subjects of any other Prince, or State, in Amity with Us; and that the said Body Corporate, by Name aforesaid, shall have perpetual Succession, and shall and may be Persons able and capable in Law, to sue and be sued, in any Courts and Causes whatsoever; and shall and may have a Common Seal, for the Business and Affairs of the said Corporation, which Common seal they and their Successors may break and change, at their Pleasure".

Secondly, in regard to the question of the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Courts the Charter declared—

(a) For Madras:—

"We[23] do, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and grant, to the said Company and their Successors, and We do hereby ordain, direct and appoint, that the Mayor and Aldermen, for the Time being, of Madraspatnam aforesaid, shall for ever hereafter be, and they are hereby constituted, a Court of Record, by the Name of the Mayor's Court, at Madraspatnam, and they, or any Three or more of them (whereof the Mayor, or the Senior Alderman, for the Time being, to be One) may, and they are hereby authorized to try, hear and determine, all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas, between Party and Party, that shall or may arise, or happen, or that have already arisen, or happened, within the said Town of Madraspatnam, or within any of the Factories, subject or subordinate unto Fort St. George aforesaid, or to the said Governor or President, and the Council of Fort St. George aforesaid".

(b) For Bombay:—

"And We do, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and grant, to the said Company and their Successors, and We do hereby ordain, direct and appoint, that the Mayor and Aldermen of Bombay aforesaid, for the Time being, shall for ever hereafter be, and they are hereby continued, a Court of Record, by the Name of the Mayor's Court, at Bombay; and that they, or any Three or more of them (whereof the Mayor, or Senior Alderman, for the Time being, to be One) may and are hereby authorized to try, hear and determine, all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas, between Party and Party, that shall or may arise or happen, or that have already arisen or happened, within the said Town or Factory of Bombay, or within any of the Factories, subject or subordinate thereunto".

(c) For Calcutta:—

"And We do, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and grant, to the said Company and their Successors, and We do hereby ordain, direct and appoint, that the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta, at Fort William,

21 "Madraspatnam" (Madras), "Bombay, on the Island of Bombay", "Fort William, in Bengal", as the case might be.

22 "Madraspatnam" (Madras), "Bombay", and "Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal", as the case might be.

23 I.e., King George I.

in Bengal aforesaid, for the Time being, shall for ever hereafter be, and they are hereby constituted, a Court of Record, by the Name of the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal; and that they, or any Three or more of them (whereof the Mayor, or Senior Alderman, for the Time being, to be One) may and are hereby authorized to try, hear and determine, all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas, between Party and Party, that shall or may arise or happen, or that have already arisen or happened, within the said Town or Factory of Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal, or within any of the Factories, subject or subordinate thereunto".

It is evident from these three extracts from the Charter (of 24th September, 1726), that the Mayor's Courts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were not vested with any criminal jurisdiction, and that their jurisdiction was, subject to what is noted below, confined to "*all Civil Suits, Actions and Pleas, between Party and Party, etc.*[24]" As a matter of fact, the Charter made provisions for the institution of entirely separate courts of justice, "for the trying and punishing of all Offenders and Offences (High Treason only excepted) had, committed or done, or to be had, committed or done, within the said Town (or Factory) of...........[25], or within any of the.................Factories, subordinate thereunto, or within Ten English Miles of any of the same respectively". I am not, however, concerned here with this question.

In view of what I have shown above, I maintain that those writers like Russell, Kaye, etc., who have stated that the Mayor's Courts set up at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, by the Charter of 24th September, 1726, had criminal jurisdiction, are certainly wrong.

I may add here that, apart from the power of exercising civil jurisdiction as shown before, the Mayor's Courts referred to above, could grant probate to wills and letters of administration, as authorized by the Charter. The consideration of this matter, however, is beyond the purview of this paper.

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24 The italics are ours.

25 "Madraspatnam (Madras), Fort St. George", "Bombay", or "Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal", as the case might be.

Ranjit Singh's relations with some Indian Powers and with Burma.

[By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.]

The treaty of Amritsar, which was concluded in 1809, marked the definite beginning of Anglo-Sikh friendship, seemingly undisturbed during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh. But there is evidence to show that the Sikh chief was not quite unwilling to listen to overtures of a tendency hostile to the British Government. It was, however, very difficult for him to form a combination opposed to the British. He could not be expected to associate himself with the attempts of the ex-Peshwa or the Chief of Bhurtpur. The Burmese were too far to act in concert but the Gurkha Government of Nepal with its military traditions, its anti-British attitude and its proximity, stood on a different footing. Attempts were made by the Nepalese and the Burmese to establish some contact with the Sikh Government of the Punjab. But the British had very little difficulty in finding these out. The evidence of a Sikh plan to combine with other powers against the British is very scrappy. There is no doubt, however, that Ranjit Singh would have been glad to become the ally of the Gurkhas against the British but the difficulties of communication perhaps deterred him and he was far too hesitant to attempt a desperate gamble.

When the East India Company dethroned Baji Rao II in 1818 and threatened the Raja of Bhurtpur, both of them sought Ranjit Singh's help. The letter of the Sikh Chief to the Maharaja of Marwar dated the 25th December, 1822, gives us some inkling of the state of his mind. Ranjit wrote(—) "The envoys of the Peshwa and the Raja of Bhurtpur arrived and stated that if the army of the Khalsa was sent towards Delhi, they each would pay one lakh for it.

"You yourself know well that the condition of Hindusthan has worsened owing to the enmity among its rulers. There is no cordiality among them

"We do not know anyone else in Hindusthan except your noble self who can stand for his religion and words and for this sake we have sent this special messenger with the letter"[1].

In the year 1823 Ranjit Singh was not in a position to act against the British but his sentiments have probably found their true expression in this letter. Even Burma was not outside the range of his interest and inspite of the distance, he strove to keep himself informed of what took place there. In 1838, Ranjit observed to a member of the British mission "I have heard that the Burmese fought well and beat your sepoys"[2].

In 1814, the Magistrate of Chittagong reported that a party of Burmans had arrived there, the head of the party was a confidential man of the king of Ava, despatched under the pretence of trade on a mission to the

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1 A letter of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab addressed to Maharaja Mansingh of Marwar by Pandit Bisweswarnath Reu (Maharaja Ranjit Singh centenary volume (—) Cawnpore).

2 Osborne—Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh. p. 105.

Sikh country. The Collector wrote "I imagined from what I gathered that it must be Ranjit Singh"[3].

In 1818, a letter from a minister of the Burmese king to the Governor-General wanted permits for certain persons to proceed to the Punjab to collect original sacred writings[4].

In 1823, some Sikhs, claiming to be agents of Ranjit Singh, came to Amarapura (Capital of Burma). They said that as a result of shipwreck they lost their papers and presents from their master. They proposed a treaty offensive and defensive to drive the English out. They were honourably received but during the war they were suspected and sent back with letters and a sum of money[5].

The king of Burma and his ministers gave credence to the rumours prevalent in Burma regarding Ranjit Singh. Ranjit was sometimes pictured as the hero of a victorious war with the British or as forming a formidable coalition with the Turks and the Persians against them. The British resident had to deal with these rumours officially[6].

In 1814, during the war between the Gurkhas and the British, Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha general wrote a letter to Ranjit in which he mentioned that the English were contemplating the conquest of Multan and they were on terms of friendship with Muhammad Shah of Kabul, Ranjit's enemy, and it was proper for Ranjit Singh to send him military assistance[7]. The Sikh chief no doubt turned down this request. But in a private conversation with Bhai Gurbaksh Singh, Dhanna Singh Malwai and others he used the following very significant words(—) "Though apparently sincere friendship is supposed to exist between myself and the English people, yet in reality our relations are merely formal and conventional. Therefore I had thought out to myself that if ever the English should act differently in their dealings with me, I would call upon the Gurkhas and make friends with them and in case they showed any hesitation I intended to make over the fort of Kangra to them to win their comradeship. Now they have been expelled from the mountains and it cannot be said when they would cherish a desire for the above mentioned region. I never expected such a thing to happen that the mountainous region would be evacuated by them so suddenly"[8].

By the treaty of Sagauli, the Nepalese ceded Garhwal and Kumaon to the west of the Kali river and most of the Tarai. Ranjit lost all prospect of a direct contact with them. This might explain why Ranjit approved of Gulab Singh's conquest of Ladak in 1834, when the new outlines of British policy of prescribing limits to his power, became clear to him. In 1834 a Nepalese agent arrived at Amritsar. In 1837, a

3 Political consultations—June 23rd, 1814, No. 42. Letter from Magistrate of Chittagong, dated June 11th, 1814.

4 *Ibid*—January 30th. 1880. No. 85.

5 Wilson—Documents illustrative of the Burmese war. No. 174C Evidence of Dr. Judson.

6 Desai—History of the British Residency in Burma—Bengal Secret and Political Consultation Vol. 361, August 1831.

7 Punjab Government Record Office Monograph—No. 17, 1814 (40). p. 182.

8 *Ibid*—1815 (4) p. 192.

mission came openly to Lahore from the Court of Nepal. It was well-received. About this time, Nepalese relations with the British Indian Government were not very cordial. The Sikh conquest of Ladak opened up the possibility of a direct intercourse with Nepal provided further advance could be made down the course of the Spith. If we take into consideration the words used by Ranjit Singh in 1814, this sudden importance of Sikh-Gurkha contact will be seen in its proper perspective. In this connection Wade's despatch to the Chief Secretary contains the following significant paragraph—"The information gained by me in my late visit to Lahore was that among other objects of ambition Raja Gulab Singh had in taking Ladak one was to extend the conquest down the course of the Spith until they approached the north eastern confines of the Nepalese possessions in order that he might connect himself with that Government ostensibly with the view to promote the trade between Lassa and Ladak, which the late commotions in Tibet have tended to interrupt, but in reality to establish a direct intercourse with a power which he thinks will not only tend greatly to augment his present influence but lead to an alliance which may at some future period be of reciprocal importance"[9].

When the official Nepalese mission came to the Punjab in 1837, Wade wrote—"With whatever views the Nepalese may have now opened a communicaiotn with the Sikhs, it is evident to me from the pains which they have taken to establish relations with a people whose territory is not contiguous to their own, that they have some stronger motive than a mere exchange of compliments * * *. To suppose that Ranjit Singh is attached to us by any other principle than that of self interest would be a delusion which neither I nor my able predecessors in office Sir David Ochterloney and Captain Murray have allowed ourselves to entertain"[10].

Thus even if we dismiss as inconclusive the evidence of Ranjit's contact with Marwar and Burma, we have to admit that Ranjit visualised an anti-British compact with the war-like Gurkhas and the British records furnish us with unmistakable evidence of British uneasiness on that account. Wade's letter dated 2nd October, 1837 contains the following very significant sentence. "He and his people are more ready to attend to whatever they may hear in disparagement of our power than to give us credit for purity of motives in our professions of friendship or regard for the preservation of their power as well as our own"[11]

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9 Political Proceedings (—) 12th June, 1837. No. 41.

10 *Ibid,* 20th October, 1837 No. 61.

11 Wade to Secretary—Political Proceedings 16th October, 1837, No. 86.

Notes on Trimbakji Danglia.

[By Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.]

Baji Rao II surrendered to Sir John Malcolm in May 1818, and on the 29th June, Captain Swanson with a party of Poona Auxiliary Horse arrested Trimbakji Danglia in the village of Ahirgaon[1]. Elphinstone who was then the Commissioner of the territories conquered from the Peshwa, considered that to punish Trimbakji with death would be inexpedient. His life had been formerly "spared to gratify Baji Rao" and afterwards promised by Sir John Malcolm ; and that it would be undignified "to show less mercy" when he was entirely in the hand of the British[2]. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to the Governor General suggesting that Trimbakji should be "restored to his former confinement" at Thana, from which he had made his escape in September 1816, provided the Bombay Government did not object[3]. The Governor General agreed with Elphinstone and ordered Trimbakji to be sent to Thana, and at the same time suggested that he should be removed from Thana at a future period for ensuring "more secure custody". It was also pointed out that one of the hill-forts in the Konkan might be adopted for his future residence[4].

Trimbakji's imprisonment at Thana was short. The Governor General's order regarding his removal to Thana was dated the 7th August 1818, and about the end of the same year reports of a conspiracy to free Trimbakji from prison reached the Bombay Government. The informations received by the Bombay Government were rather vague and from them it is difficult to come to any conclusion as to the exact nature of the conspiracy. But it seems that two attempts were made to rescue Trimbakji from prison. It is not however unlikely that they were parts of the same plot.

In December 1818, Robertson the Collector of Poona learnt about a plot to liberate Trimbakji. One Niroji Patel was discovered carrying a letter written by Kusaji Patel Danglia and addressed to Ramchandra Madhav Gore of Poona, the purport of which was that Niroji was attempting to obtain the release of Trimbakji[5]. Ramchandra Gore gave Niroji some clothes and fifty rupees in cash[6]. Ramchandra was arrested by Robertson but let off after his statement was recorded. Robertson did not consider this incident "to be of sufficient importance to require to be made the subject of a public representation", and concluded that "it only showed a willingness on the part of Trimbakji's old adherents to exert themselves on his behalf, if they had an opportunity".[7]

Early next year the existence of another plot was reported to the Bombay Government. Raghu Patel, a sepoy of the first company of the marine battalion of the 11th Regiment stationed at Thana, proposed to Bowaji More, another sepoy of the light company, that he should join him in an attampt to release

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[1] Sec. Cons. 7 Aug. 1818 (24). Imperial Record Department.

[2] Sec. Cons. 7 Aug. 1818 (28). Imperial Record Department.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Sec. Cons. 7 Aug. 1818 (29). Imperial Record Department.

[5] Sec. Pol. Diary 17 Feb. 1819. Deposition of Ramchandra Gore, Bombay, Record Office.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Sec. Pol. Dairy 17 Feb. 1819. Robertson to Elphinstone, Bombay Record Office.

2

Rāghava Siṁha mentioned in the document in question was one of his ancestors. The Maithils have got a distinct culture of their own. Their language and culture are more closely related to that of the Bengalis than that of the Biharis.

The document records the sale of one's own self by a person who thereby accepted slavery. Such documents in Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian-Bengali, etc., have been discovered in different parts of Eastern India. The present record shows that slavery was prevalent in Mithilā in the 18th century. It refers to the purchase of a person named Duliyā or Dullī Dāsa, who belonged to the Āmātmya or Amātaka caste and was about 10 years of age, by another person named Kamalanayana Śarmā Jyotirvit. Both the persons were inhabitants of the village Saurāshṭra in the *Tappā* of Hāṭī in the kingdom of Mithilā. Hāṭī is the village of the same name under the Madhubanī P. S. of the Dārbhaṅgā District. It is about 6 miles from Koilakh. Saurāshṭra, now called Saurāṭh, is about 6 miles from Hāṭī and is under the same Police Station. Āmātmya or Amātaka is now known as Āmāt. Persons belonging to the Āmāt, Dhānuk and Kevaṭ castes even now serve respectable people as Khāvās or personal attendant.

The price of the slave was Rupees 11½ which amount was received on behalf of Dullī Dāsa by his relative Parālī Dāsa whose ward has been called a Vahika. This word possibly stands for the modern Miathilī word *Vahiyā*, *i.e.*, a slave. The condition of the purchase was that the slave could by no means flee away and that he could be forcibly carried away by his master even in case of his taking shelter under the king's throne. Parālī also gave a guarantee to the effect that, in case the slave would flee away within one year from the date, he would without fail find him out and bring him to the master. Apparently Parālī sold the boy ; but as he had no right to do that, the document was prepared in the name of Dulli who was however a minor.

The document bears the names of a large number of witnesse including a Mahopādhyāya. Their names were not signed by themselve, but were written by the writer of the document who claims to have drawn it with the permission of both the parties. The scribe also wrote the names of Dullī Dāsa and Parālī Dāsa who apparently did not know how to write their own names. The scribe received a fee of Annas 11½, *i.e.*, one Anna per Rupee. An interesting feature of the record is that the names of the Brahman witnesses have been written together with their Mūla-grāmas, *i.e.*, the villages with which the families of the Brahmans are alleged to have been originally connected. The same custom is noticed in other parts of India, *e.g.*, in Marāṭhī family-names like *Bhāṇḍār*-kar, *Pusāl*-kar, etc., and in Telugu-Kanarese names like *Sarvapallī* Rādhākrishnan, Mallam-*pallī* Somaśekhara Sarmā, etc., in which Bhāṇḍār, Pusāl, Sarvapallī and Mūllampallī are the Mūla-grāmas. The Gāñis of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brahmans of Bengal are also similar Mūla-grāmas, though a fiction over their origin has been created by the authors of *Kula-pañjīs* and foolish attempts have been always made to trace them all in and about Rāḍha and Varendra. The document refers to a Brahman of the Sakarāḍhī-Mūla-grāma as *Sakarāḍhī-saṁ* so-and-so. *Saṁ* here seems to stand for the Sanskrit word *sambhūta*. In the epigraphic terminology of the early medieval period the expression would be *Sakarāḍhī-vinirgata.* The Mūla-grāmas mentioned in the document are Sodarapura, Śakarāḍhī, Baliyāsa, Bābhaniāma, Gaṅgaulī, Śatalakhā, Phanadaha (now called Phannahavār), Khauyāla and Budhavāla. No satisfactory identification of these places is possible in the present state of

our knowledge. It may however be suggested that Śatalakhā is the place of the same name in the Dārbhaṅgā District and Baliyāsa is modern Balliyā in the District of that name in U. P. Sakarāḍhī can not have any thing to do with Rāḍha in Bengal; but Gaṅgaulī is no doubt the same as Gāṅgulī, a Gāñi of the Sāvarṇa-gotra Rāḍhī Brahmans of Bengal. I am inclined to believe that this Mūlagrāma is to be connected with some place outside Bengal and not with the village of Gāṅgur under the Sātgāchhiā P. S. of the Burdwan District of Bengal as is usually supposed.

There are some other interesting features of the document. It begins with the expression *Siddhir-astu* which no doubt stands for the auspicious symbol at the beginning of many inscriptions. In a paper read before the third session of the Indian History Congress, 1939 (*Proceedings*, p. 474), I remarked, "The symbol pronounced as *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* in the *Kṛishisaṁgraha* is doubtless evolved from the word *siddham* found in a number of earlier inscriptions. It may be suggested that *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* may not have been the only pronunciation of the symbol; that is to say, it was differently pronounced in different parts of the country. Al-Bīrunī's *Om* and Bhattasali's *siddhir-astu* have however not been supported by literary evidence, as *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* has been by the *Kṛishisaṁgraha*." The present document proves that *Siddhir-astu* was also a pronunciation of the symbol in question.

The name of the Mughal Emperor has been written at the top of the document marked with a sign called *bhervā* in Maithilī. In the body of the document the same sign has been put in the place where the Emperor's name is required. I have noticed the same custom in some Bengali documents of the time of Aurangzīb. It is also observed in East Bengal even at the present time, where in invitation cards, *e.g.*, for the Śrāddha ceremony of one's own father, one would write ˇ *gaṅgā* at the top and in the body of the letter only *āmār pitṛidev* ˇ *prāpta haiyāchhen* with the ˇ mark, called *chandrabindu* (corresponding to the Maithilī *bhervā* and sometimes pronounced *īśvara*) in the context requiring the expression *gaṅgā*.

The passage *paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalī-pūrvaka* with which the document introduces the era of Lakshmaṇasena is again extremely interesting. In early medieval inscriptions, in which the name of the reigning monarch is usually preceded by those of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, epithets like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Parameśvara-Mahārājādhirāja* and others were generally applied to all the names. To avoid this lengthy and tedious duplication and re-duplication, copyists of MSS who also referred to the reigning king in the colophons introduced a sort of abbreviation. We have several MSS whose colophons run *Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalī-pūrvavat-Śrīmad* (—) *Govindapāladevānām Sam*, etc. The Belkharā inscription of a feudatory of the latest Gāhaḍavāla king is known to have utilised the same abbreviation. The expression *rājāvalī* of these passages evidently means by *lakshaṇā* "epithets or titles of the king". Similarly *rājā-trayādhipati* means "lord of the three royal titles". (Rapson's view in *Woolner C. Vol.*, p. 196 f seems to be wrong).

श्रीरामः ।

V श्री महम्मदसाह

1. सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ परमभट्टारकेत्यादि-राजावलीपूर्वक (-) गतलक्ष्मणसेनदेवीय (-) विंशत्यधिक (-)

2. षट्शते लिख्यमाने यत्राङ्केनापि ६२० ल-सं । पुनः परमभट्टारकाश्वपति-गजपति-नरप—

3. ति-राजत्रयाधिपति-महासुरत्राण-श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री V पालिते धरा मण्डल तत्प्रेषित-कु-
4. सुमपुरावस्थित-श्रीश्रीमत्फकरओदओलाखान-समुल्लासित-महाराज-श्रीश्रीमद्रा-
5. घवसिंहदेव-पालितायां मिथिलायां हाटी-तप्पान्तर्गत-सौराष्ट्र ग्रामवासी सो-
6. दरपुरसं-श्री कमलनयनशर्मा ज्योतिर्वित् शूद्रक्रयणार्थं स्वधनं प्रयुंक्ते । धनग्राहको-
7. प्येतत्सकाशात् सौराष्ट्रग्रामवासी स्वयमेव दुल्लीदासः परालीदासश्च । यथा के-
8. नापि परालीदासेनात्मीयेन नानामध्यस्थकृता राजतः सार्द्धैकादशमुद्रा मू-
9. ल्यमादायास्मिन् धनिनि स्वयमेव दुल्लीदासः स्वात्मानं विक्रीतवान् ।
10. आमात्यजातीयं गौरवर्णं तर्कितदशवर्षवयस्कं दुलियानामानं स्वयमा-
11. त्मानं विक्रीतवान् । यत्र अत्र ? विक्रीतप्राणी १ मूल्यं मुद्राः ११।। । यदि क्वापि प्रपलाय्य गच्छ-
12. ति तदा राजसिंहासनतलादप्यानीय दासकर्मणि नियोजनीय इति । अत्रार्थे
13. साक्षिनः सकराढ़ीसं श्रीशतञ्जीवशर्म–वलियाससं श्रीगणपतिमिश्र–सकराढ़ी-
14. सं श्रीवासुदेवझा–बभनिआँमसं श्रीबान्धवझा–गङ्गौलीसं श्रीकृपाराम-
15. झा–[illegible]खासं श्रीरामजीवशर्म–फनदहसं महोपाध्याय श्रीरुचिपतिमिश्र–
16. खौयालसं श्रीभीषणशर्म–बुधवालसं श्रीगोननशर्मानः सौराष्ट्रवासिनः ।
17. लिखितमिदमुभयानुमत्या सार्द्धैकादशाणकानादाय सकराढ़ीसं-श्रीतारा-
18. पतिशर्मणेति शिवं । चैत्रासित ३ कुजे शाके १६५१ सन ११३६ साल ।।
19. सही दुल्ली अमातक । साड़े एगारह रुपैआ लए विकएलहु । सही
20. पराली । वहिक वर्षमध्ये पड़ाए तओ हमे निसाकरीअ वेउजुर ।।

Translation.

Śrī-Rāma.

Let there be success.

When it is six hundred and twenty years of the era of the past (king) Lakshmaṇasenadeva with the royal epithets beginning with *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* (before his name); and (when the date) is in figures *La. Sam* 620;

When again the earth is being protected by His Imperial Majesty Muḥammad Shāh, the Mahā-Suratrāṇa, the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and the lord of the three royal titles—— "lord of the horses or cavalry", "lord of the elephants or elephant force" and "lord of the men or infantry";

When Mithilā is being protected by His Highness Mahārāja Rāghava Simha, caused to shine excessively by His Excellency Faqr-ud-Daulah Khān, sent by the (Emperor) and stationed at Kusumapura (Pāṭnā);

Kamalanayana Śarmā, an astronomer belonging to the Sodarapura Mūlagrāma and an inhabitant of village Saurāshṭra in the Hāṭī Tappā, invest

his own money in the purchase of a person belonging to the Śūdra caste. The money is accepted from him in person by Dullī Dāsa and Parālī Dāsa, inhabitants of village Saurāshṭra. Dullī Dāsa himself accepts through his relative Parālī Dāsa the amount of Rupees 11½, fixed by several intermediaries, and sells his own person to the man whose money he takes. (He) sells his own person—of the Āmātmya caste, of fair complexion, of about 10 years of age and of the name of Duliyā. In this case the number of person sold is 1 ; the price is Rs. 11½. If the slave flees away, he must be dragged out of his shelter even from below the king's throne and must be engaged in the duties of a slave.

In this matter the witnesses are the (following) inhabitants of Saurāshṭra —Śrī Śatañjīva Śarmā of the Sakrāḍhī Mūla-grāma, Śrī Gaṇapati Miśra of the Baliyāsa M. G., Śrī Vāsudeva Jhā of the Sakarāḍhī M. G., Śrī Bāndhava Jhā of the Babhaniāma M. G., Śrī Kṛipārāma Jhā of the Gaṅgaulī M. G., Śrī Rāmajīva Śarmā of the Śatalakhā M. G., Mahopādhyāya Śrī Ruchipati Miśra of the Phanadaha M. G., Śrī Bhīshaṇa Śarmā of the Khauyāla M. G. and Śrī Gonana Śarmā of the Budhavāla M. G.

The (document) is written with the permission of both the parties by Śrī Tārāpati Śarmā of the Sakarāḍhī M. G. who received a fee of Annas 11½.

The date is Tuesday, the 3rd day of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1651, the Sana (Faslī) year 1136.

Signed (for) Dullī Amātaka—— "I sell myself at Rupees eleven and half."

Signed (for) Parālī—— "In case the slave flees away, I shall offer myself as responsible without fail".

The French Menance in Burma

(1793-1810)

[By Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A.].

The outbreak of war between England and Revolutionary France in February, 1793, had important repercussions on the foreign policy of the Government of British India. All readers of modern Indian history are familiar with the diplomatic measures adopted by Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto for the protection of the North-Western frontier. In the present paper an attempt has been made to describe very briefly the measures adopted by the Company's Government for the protection of the eastern frontier. It will be noticed that the apprehension of French invasion did not originate in the excited brain of Lord Wellesley[1], nor did the revival of the French menace follow the rise of Napoleon.

Towards the close of 1794 Sir John Shore decided to establish direct political relations with the Court of Ava[2]. His primary aim was to secure commercial advantages for British merchants, but he was fully aware of the political and military value of Burmese friendship. He observed, "........in the event of a war with any maritime Power[3] we might avail ourselves of amicable intercourse to induce the King of Ava to refuse the benefit and freedom of his ports to the enemy ".[4] Accordingly Captain Michael Symes, an officer 'who had directed his researches very particularly to the little known countries and constitution of Arracan and Ava', was asked to proceed to Burma (February, 1795). The Governor-General personally drafted the instructions[5] which were to regulate the activities of the Agent. His 'primary object' was to be the promotion of Anglo-Burmese friendship. He was to convince the Burmese Government that " commerce, and not conquest, is the object of the British nation in India." Among the specific concessions that were to be demanded were the exclusion of French ships from Burmese ports and the expulsion of all Frenchmen living in Arakan. The Supreme Government had reasons to believe that some Frenchmen living in Arakan were instigating the Burmese officers in that province[6] to enter into British territory in the district of Chittagong[7] in order to seize some Arakanese rebels who had taken shelter in that district. In January, 1794, a Burmese army actually crossed the frontier and advanced a few miles within British territory.

Captain Symes left Calcutta on February 21, 1795, arrived at Rangoon on March 20, and reached Amarapura on July 18. No exception could be taken to

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[1] Kaye (*History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol.I, pp. 52, 53) says that Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto 'grappled the shadowy danger (of invasion from the north-west) as though it were a substantial fact'.

[2] Ava was the capital of Burma during the years 1765—1783 and 1823—1837, but in all English documents down to the days of Lord Dalhousie we find expressions like 'court of Ava', 'King of Ava', etc. Amarapura was the capital of Burma during the years 1783—1823 and 1837—1857.

[3] The reference is obviously to France. She possessed a strong naval stronghold in the Mauritius.

[4] Political Consultations, Bengal (Imperial Record Department), November 10, 1794, No. 46.

[5] P. C., February 6, 1795, No. 39.

[6] Arakan was annexed by the Burmese in 1785.

[7] This district is separated from Burmese territory (*i.e.*, Arakan) by a small river (the Naf).

the reception accorded to him[8]. The Governor-General's letter to the King was read informally by the ministers on July 28. The effect of the letter on the conduct of the officials was excellent : "They have now added confidence to the respect which they before observed towards me "[9]. The King received him on September 30, but did not speak to him[10]. Captain Symes left Amarapura on October 29. He had succeeded in securing certain commercial concessions[11], which, however, later on proved to be altogether illusory.

As regards French vessels in Burmese ports, two ships took shelter in Mergui in August and sailed in October. Another ship came to Rangoon from the Mauritius[12]. The Burmese Government "refused her a cargo of provisions and likewise rejected a requisition made by the master for Burman colours which he was very desirous of procuring "[13].

Captain Symes reached Calcutta in December, 1795. The detailed report of his activities which he submitted to the Supreme Government convinced Sir John Shore that his policy of sending an official Agent to Burma was justified by the results[14]. The Governor-General was naturally anxious about the growth of the French menace in Burma, and in his view one of the most important effects of sending the embassy to Burma was to counteract that threatening prospect. Burma might injure British shipping by cutting up the supply of timber. She might allow French engineers to build ships in Rangoon. She might allow French war ships to take shelter in, and to draw provisions from, her ports. 'To frustrate these consequences' it was necessary to cultivate freindly relations with the court of Ava. Captain Symes had showed the way ; others might follow. So Sir John Shore decided to appoint an Agent who would reside in Rangoon. The person selected for this responsible post was Captain Hiram Cox[15].

Captain Cox went to Amarapura in January, 1797[16], and submitted to the King three documents in which he gave a detailed account of the concessions he wanted. The third document[17] referred to political questions. He demanded that the Burmese King should not in future " permit the enemies of

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[8] P. C., May 8, 1795, No. 18; June 5, 1795, No. 14 ; October 21, 1795, No. 4. See also Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, Vol. I, pp. 178—187 and Chap. XI. Captain Cox, however, reported later on that Captain Symes had been laid about by the Burmese officials 'like a wild beast for the amusement of the multitude'. (P. C., March 2, 1798, No. 5).

[9] P. C. October 21, 1795, No. 5.

[10] *An Account of an Embassy*, Vol. II, pp. 162-166.

[11] Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, Vol. II, pp. 27—33.

[12] This ship brought "unfavourable report about Europe". At Amarapura a Burmese official " promulgated it with an addition, that a powerful fleet was on its voyage from France to India, and that four French ships of war were triumphantly cruizing the Indian seas. This intelligence..... was diligently improved by the Armenian and Mussulman merchants, who insinuated that, if our present overtures sprang not from treachery, they originated in fear ; at the same time renewing a report....of a combination of all the powers of India to deprive Great Britain of her possession in the East...."—*An Account of an Embassy*, Vol. II, p. 147.

[13] P. C., December 21, 1795, No. 38.

[14] Furber, *The Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship*, p. 88.

[15] P. C., September 19, 1796, No. 21.

[16] See his *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire.*

[17] P. C., March 2, 1798, No. 3.

the English nation to take shelter within his dominions or refresh their crews and repair the damages of their vessels at his ports—much more permit them to sell their prizes as has lately been done by the French privateers ". All French ships arriving at Burmese ports were to be ordered to leave within 48 hours under pain of confiscation. All Burmese officials and subjects were to be ordered not to sell provisions or warlike stores to, and hold communication with, any French vessel. The Burmese Court paid no heed to Captain Cox's demands ; he had to return to Calcutta without receiving any assurance from the King[18]. He suspected that the King was " either fearful of the consequences or desirous of enhancing the value of the favour by increasing the difficulties of attainment "[19]. He observed in his final report[20] to the Supreme Government, " A firm and solid alliance with this nation is absolutely necessary for the security of your Eastern dominions, for if they do not place themselves under our protection, or we do not acquire a right to protect them, the French will be masters of the country in a very short time[21].............."

In 1802 Lord Wellesley sent Colonel Symes to Burma again. One of his primary objects was to counteract French intrigues in that country. England and France were then at peace[22], but Lord Wellesley seems to have anticipated the renewal of war at an early date. He observed, "........although the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and France precludes the British Government from requiring any engagement for the exclusion and expulsion of the subjects of France from the Dominion of Ava, it would not be inconsistent with the amicable relations subsisting between His Majesty and the French Republic to require from the King of Ava an obligation to expel from his Dominion the subjects of any European State with whom we may hereafter be engaged in war........"[23]. It is interesting to note that Lord Wellesley contemplated the extension of the system of Subsidiary Alliance to Burma in order to consolidate British influence in that country. Information had been received in Calcutta to the effect that King Bodawpaya intended to abdicate in favour of his eldest son. The claim of the eldest son was likely to be resisted by one of the King's younger sons, in whose favour the Siamese, the hereditary enemies of the Burmese, were likely to intervene. Lord Wellesley anticipated that both parties would take advantage of the British Envoy's presence in Burma to ask for military assistance from the Government of Bengal. Colonel Symes was explicitly authorised to offer military assistance to the eldest son and to induce him ' to subsidize permanently ' the British force which might be sent to place him on the throne. His consent to this proposition was, however, not to be insisted upon as the indispensable condition of granting the military aid asked for. Even if no direct application was made by the eldest son for British aid, Colonel Symes was asked to offer it, " provided that the state of affairs in that country should be such as to induce you to expect that the offer will be accepted and that the Court is merely withheld from a direct application by considerations of fear or jealousy "[24]. These specualtions proved to be quite premature; Colonel Symes did not notice the symptoms of a civil war in Burma.

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[18] P. C., March 2, 1798, No. 10.

[19] *Journal of a Residence*, p. 289.

[20] P. C., March 2, 1798, No. 5.

[21] Towards the close of 1796 a French naval squadron tried to make the island of Cheduba (near the coast of Arakan) a place of rendezvous. (Secret Consulations, Bengal, January 6, 1797, No. 2; March 6, 1797, No. 8, 9, 10.)

[22] Peace of Amiens.

[23] S. C., September 2, 1802, No. 4.

[24] S. C., April 29, 1802, No. 23.

Colonel Symes received a very unfavourable reception from Burmese officials on his arrival in Burma[25]. A French ship from the Mauritius had arrived at Rangoon a few days before the British Envoy's arrival at Amarapura. That ship brought a letter from the French Governor of that island, expressing a strong desire for the establishment of friendly relations with Burma and containing a promise to the effect that the French authorities were prepared to supply arms and ammunition to the Burmese King. The letter was carried by one Mr. Bevan, an American of French connections. As soon as this news reached the capital the King changed his mind. He sent orders that no respect should be shown to the British Envoy, but the French Envoy—Mr. Bevan was taken as such—should be brought to the capital with proper ceremonials. " It was to be proclaimed to the world that deputies from the two greatest states of Europe came at the same time to court his alliance and ask his protection ". The King openly referred to the English with contempt and betrayed his pro-French inclinations. Those members of the court who, like the Viceroy of Pegu, were really suspicious of the French and friendly to the English did not dare to contradict the King[26].

At this unexpected crisis Colonel Symes tried to take advantage of the favourable disposition exhibited by the Viceroy of Pegu. He explained to him in detail ' the national character and sinister views of our rivals, their spirit of aggrandisement '. He asked him ' to warn the King of giving encouragement to a people who were looking for a country to conquer '. He narrated how " Tipu had brought down destruction on himself by founding an alliance with the French ". The Viceroy admitted the ' justice ' of these remarks but said " it was difficult to combat the King's prejudice ". He asked Colonel Symes to tell him clearly what the Governor-General wanted. The Envoy took this opportunity to send to the Viceroy the following statement of British demands classified under four articles[27].

(1) Perpetual peace and friendship.

(2) No immunity or territorial concession to be granted to any European nation without similar and equally advantageous concessions being granted to the English.

(3) Confirmation of the concessions granted in 1795.

(4) All diplomatic negotiations to be conducted through the British Agent in Rangoon.

The papers containing these demands were submitted to the King, but he was really unwilling to arrive at a final decision till he saw the French ' Envoy '. In vain did Colonel Symes point out to the Viceroy ' the impolicy of treating the master of a ship as an accredited minister '. Towards the middle of November the French party arrived at Amarapura. It was composed of four persons, of whom Mr. Bevan was the chief. Although their ' humble appearance and manners' disappointed the King[28], yet he formally received

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[25] S. C., September 2, 1802, No. 3, 9. *Journal of Symes* (Ms.), Imperial Record Department, Foreign Miscellanoues No. 109, pp. 5-6, 10-11, 24, 57, 63, 69-70, 79, 80, 85, 91, 93-94, 108, 118-119, 132, 136-137.

[26] *Journal*, pp. 25-28, 41, 48, 50, 54-56, 100-101, 107, 109, 111-113, 115, 121, 475.

[27] *Journal*, pp. 132—140.

[28] *Journal*, pp. 186-188, 207-211, 223-224, 226, 229.

them, but with very little ceremony. Colonel Symes received audience two days later. His reception was far more flattering. The King expressed friendly sentiments, and the French were suffered to sink into neglect. " They have been ", says Colonel Symes, " the pageant of a day, answered the foolish purpose for which they were called at Amarapura, and have gained nothing ". They sent certain proposals to the Viceroy, who refused even to submit them to the King[29].

Colonel Symes now found it possible to discuss specific proposals with the Viceroy of Pegu. The latter said that the King was ' determined not to grant lands or settlements to any European Power .[30] An Italian priest, who had been living in Burma for many years, told Colonel Symes a story which, if true, proves that as early as 1783 the French had thought of occupying the province of Pegu in order to make it a base of operations against British Bengal. The famous French admiral de Suffrein met the Bishop of Pegu, who was a friend of the Italian priest, in Europe in 1783 and ' was particularly inquisitive about the local and political circumstances of Burma '. The admiral told the Bishop that " he soon expected to see him in that part of the world, for Pegu was the country through which the English might be attacked in India with most advantage ". The plan was frustrated by the outbreak of the Revolution and the death of the admiral, ' the chief promoter of this scheme '[31]. The materials at our disposal do not allow us to verify the accuracy of this story but there is nothing inherently improbable in it. Intelligent Burmese officials were quite aware of the seriousness of the French menace to their country. The Viceroy assured Colonel Symes that so long as he and the heir-apparent retained any influence on the King, the French would never obtain ' a settlement or permanent footing of any kind in his country '[32].

Colonel Symes returned to Calcutta with nothing more than an empty letter written by ' four chief Ministers of Burma ', which made no reference to the French question[33]. He claims, however, that " a very detrimental alliance between Burma and the French has been prevented, and French influence, if not eradicated, has at least been considerably diminished even in the King's mind ". His own *Journal* makes it clear that this desirable result arose, not from his own diplomatic skill or even from the presence of the British Mission at the critical hour, but from the character of the persons composing the French ' Mission '. True to the optimism which spoilt the value of his diplomatic career, he asserts, " ....a powerful party has been formed in favour of the English which, let the result be peace or war, cannot fail to give us an advantage, either a preponderating weight in the council, or, if such aid were necessary to our success, an easy conquest in the field ". It was certainly too much to expect that the Viceroy of Pegu and the King's eldest son would assist the countrymen of Colonel Symes to effect 'an easy conquest in the field ' if the King decided to favour the French. " I am decidedly of opinion ", says he, " that a paramount influence in the Government and administration of Ava, obtain it how we may, is now become indispensably necessary to the interests and security of the British possessions in the East". Unfortunately he failed to point out how that ' paramount influence , could be obtained[34].

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[29] *Journal*, pp. 246] 253-254, 256-257, 259-262, 267, 270-276, 282-284, 289-294.
[30] *Journal*, p. 295.
[31] *Journal* pp. 325-327.
[32] *Journal*, pp. 363-364.
[33] *Journal*, pp. 541-543.
[34] *Journal*, pp. 429-445.

When Colonel Symes was on his way to Calcutta clouds of war were gathering on the European horizon : the Peace of Amiens was about to be broken[35]. Lord Wellesley now ' deemed it of great importance that we should possess the means of obtaining authentic infromation of transactions in the Burmese Empire '. So Lieutenant Canning was sent as Agent to Rangoon. His primary duty was to deal with the French menace. Lord Wellesley apprehended that the French would try to obtain a footing in Burma ' either by sinister negotiation or by force of arms '. They might even be invited by the King of Burma to assist him against the Siamese and allowed to use Burma as a base of operations against the English. Such a contingency Lieutenant Canning was expected to prevent[36]. But the persistent hositility of Burmese officials in Rangoon compelled him to return (November, 1803) empty-handed[37].

During his stay in Rangoon Lieutenant Canning was told by a European priest that though the King was willing to give the best terms to the highest bidder, he would never enter into a specific treaty with the French, nor grant them any territorial concession[38]. In the long run this analysis of Burmese policy proved to be true[39]. The war with Siam was going on as before ; in addition, the Shans had invaded Burmese territory[40]. Yet the King showed no signs of invoking French assistance. French ships and French officers were, indeed, coming to and leaving Burmese ports ; but no definite information was available regarding their intention or the real attitude of the Burmese court towards them. Lieutenant Canning, however, suspected that the French were trying ' to feel their ground '[41]. He apprehended a repetition of Dupleix's exploits : " The Burmans ", wrote he, " strong and robust, free from all shackles of caste, satisfied with the coarsest fare, and insensible to the hardships of the climate, if disciplined by French advanturers paid by their own Government, and supplied with warlike stores by France, or taught to manufacture them themselves, might, at a future period, prove to us very troublesome neighbours "[42].

Lord Minto had to deal with the question of French trade with Burma. By an Order in Council dated November 11, 1807, it was declared that all ships trading to or from countries excluding British ships and goods, or their colonies, together with all merchandise and produce belonging thereto, were henceforth to be lawful prize[43]. If this order was to be rigidly enforced, the ' extensive trade carried on between Pegu and the French islands' would be severely curtailed and the Government of Burma compelled to suffer loss of revenue. Lord Minto apprehended that the King of Burma would not accept this loss as a necessary ' evil eventually inseparable from a maritime war between other states '. " In the East ", he observed, " where these laws (*i.e.*, laws of maritime war) are utterly unknown, their observation must excite the resentment of the neutral states whose interests are affected by them. The prohibition of the trade to the blockaded ports and the penalty of infringing that prohibition will be deemed on our part acts of hostility ". Such an interpretation was to

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35 War began in May, 1803.
36 *Journal*, pp. 594-606. P. C., May 12, 1803, No. 27.
37 S. C., June 20, 1805, No. 440, 443.
38 S. C., June 20, 1805, No. 440.
39 Lieutenant Canning agreed with this conclusion. (S. C., July 5, 1804, No. 134).
40 S. C., July 5, 1804, No. 130.
41 S. C., July 5, 1804, No. 124 : June 20, 1805, No. 443, 446, 447.
42 S. C., July 5, 1804, No. 134.
43 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 366 (Cheap edition).

be expected particularly from Burma, which might adopt retaliatory measures[44]. So Lord Minto sent Captain Canning to Burma in July, 1809. His principal object was to explain the significance of Blockade and to convince the Burmese Government that the measures adopted against the French were not acts of hostility against Burma[45]. The Agent had to return with an empty letter which 'contained nothing satisfactory' regarding his 'business'; but the heir apparent ordered the Governor of Rangoon not to grant pass ports or protection of the Burmese flag to ships bound for the French islands[46]. The difficulties arising out of the blockade of the French islands came to an end with the seizure of those islands by the British Navy (1810).

[44] P. C., July 20, 1809, No. 11.
[45] P. C., July 20, 1809, No. 24.
[46] P. C., May 29, 1810, No. 1; June 16, 1810, No. 64.

Clive and Illicit Arms Traffic

[By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.]

Among the many minor problems that Clive had to face after the assumption of the Diwani of Bengal by the East India Company, one which has escaped the notice of historians so far was the clandestine smuggling of arms into different parts of Bengal and Northern India by the captains and sailors of French and Dutch ships visiting Indian sea-ports. Secret arms traffic of this kind is known to be prevalent even in recent times, and the authorities have got to exercise the utmost vigilance and take all possible precautionary steps in their efforts to check it. It is interesting to discover that it was during Clive's second governorship that this problem was first officially recognised by the Calcutta authorities, and the attention of the Directors was pointedly drawn to the serious dangers likely to result from an unrestricted importation of arms from Europe into India.

That this clandestine traffic in arms was definitely alarming to Clive is clear from his letters, and the reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, it was apprehended that the contraband arms might ultimately reach the neighbouring country powers such as Oudh and others. This would be detrimental to the interests of the East India Company. Actually, some concrete evidence regarding the illicit smuggling of arms out of Bengal to Northern parts of India came to light shortly after Clive's final departure from India. (*Vide* Letters from T. Rumbold, June 19, 20 and 30, 1768. Letter from Mr. G. Waller to Mr. T. Rumbold, June 18, 1768. Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold to Mr. G. Waller, June 19, 1768. Statement of Agha Riza Mughal. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, July 23, 1768). In the second place, it was feared that the illicit arms traffic might enable "*the natives*" to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition to a degree that might prove dangerous to the safety of the Company. (*Vide* Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765). In the third place, Clive has referred in more than one place in his letters to "*the dangerous insolence and turbulent spirit of the black infantry*" and to the necessity of "*keeping the black troops in awe and subjection*!" (*Vide* Letter to Court, Dec. 9, 1766, etc.). It was naturally suspected that the possession of contraband arms might even enable the Company's Sepoys to rise in rebellion against their foreign masters. In the last place, some amount of contraband arms was bound to reach the rival European settlements in Bengal and other Presidencies, and thus endanger the position of the English East India Company. Evidence was not lacking to show, for example, that the French authorities at Chandernagore secretly imported arms into Bengal both during and after Clive's governorship. (*Vide* Persian Correspondence—Trans. R. 1768. Nos. 278, 297, etc.).

Clive's letters do not reveal any particulars regarding the volume of the secret arms traffic, or its *modus operandi*. It appears, however, that the crew of the French, Dutch and other European ships from Europe sold the small arms they brought with themselves to Indian agents or middle-men at the port towns, and the latter secretly conveyed these by various river routes to the remotest parts of India. Sometimes, the clever smugglers eluded the search of the Company's officers by "*sending round small vessels to meet the Europe captains at sea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriss and St. Jago or elsewhere out of the reach of your enquiries.*" (*Vide* Letter from Clive to the Directors, Sept. 30, 1765).

That this trade was fast becoming very profitable even in Clive's time is attested by Clive himself. (*Vide* Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765). This was particularly so because of the presence of a large number of European vagabonds at the port towns. (*Vide* Letter from Clive to the Select Committee. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, Jan. 16, 1767).

Clive warned the Directors in the following words :—

" It merits your serious consideration to provide, by every possible means, against the illicit importation of small arms to your settlements in India, and particularly to Bengal. Of late years, this has become a profitable branch of trade with the Europe captains, as well as that of furnishing the natives with ammunition........However, as their continuing such practices any longer *may prove fatal in their consequences* to all your possessions in this country, we earnestly exhort that you will immediately apply the most effectual remedies you can suggest, either by way of prevention, or by the rigorous and exemplary punishment of the offenders. At the same time, you may be assured, we will take every step in our power to defeat the least breach of your orders on this head, and *to obstruct the sale of all kinds of fire-arms.*"

Once again, on the eve of his departure from Bengal, Clive reiterated his warning thus, " We beg leave once more to repeat the necessity of your pursuing the most vigorous steps to prevent the exportation of fire-arms and ammunition to any part of India. It is not sufficient that we guard against this illicit and perhaps *fatal trade* at your Presidencies of Fort St. George, and Fort William, unless the same care be taken at Bombay, Bencoolen, and your factories at Malabar coast ". (*Vide* letter to Court, Dec. 9, 1766.)

The Directors do not appear to have taken any serious or immediate notice of the repeated warnings of Clive. All that they actually did in this matter was merely to prohibit the export of arms and ammunition from Bengal to Oudh. (*Vide* Letter from Court, Nov. 11, 1768). The evil of illicit arms smuggling at port towns therefore remained practically unchecked owing to lack of adequate police and intelligence staff.

A Narrative of the Kingdom of Oudh

[By Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D. Litt.]

The miscellaneous records of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department contain a manuscript volume entitled " An Abstract of the Political Intercourse between the British Government and the Kingdom of Oudh ". The author of this narrative is Captain Paton, who was Assistant to the Resident of Oudh for a number of years and who held the charge of the Residency and performed " the duties of Resident at Lucknow " in 1834 and possibly in 1835. The narrative covers 398 pages (folio) and to it are appended (*i*) the treaty with Nawab Saadut Allee, (*ii*) the minute by Lord William Bentinck and (*iii*) the minute by Sir Charles Metcalfe, covering another hundred pages.

This narrative seems to have been written in the latter half of the year 1835 as is evident from two notes dated 8th September 1835 and a reference in the last chapter to the establishments of the Oudh Government " at this moment, November 1835 ". But certain marginal postscripts or footnotes are dated June, July and August 1836. It may be presumed that this paper was submitted to the Government of India sometime in 1836.

Captain Paton did not indulge in the luxury of writing this paper for mere self-satisfaction or flourishing his literary accomplishments to the English public. The paper was not meant for publication then. It was written under the orders of the Government of India who, it may be presumed, desired to possess a full and frank statement of the relations between the Calcutta and Lucknow governments and of the working of the Residency at Lucknow. The author mentions that " For drawing out this paper, the instructions of Government are, that it should point out the good or bad consequences of our measures " (Chapter 17, paragraph 2). It may be inferred from the arrangement of the chapters that the purpose of this paper was to throw light on the working of the 1801 settlement made by Lord Wellesley, at a time when the Company's Government was contemplating a revision of the existing political relationship. This report may have been called for by the Government of India in connection with their recommendations about Oudh culminating in the abortive Treaty of 1837.

This volume is divided into 19 chapters. The narrative commences with " the first contact of the British with the Oudh dominions " when in pursuit of Mir Kasim the British forces were brought face to face with Shujaddaulah and his ally the Emperor. Chapters one to five bring the story of British relations with Oudh to the period of Sir John Shore when he dethroned Vizir Ali and a treaty was made with the new ruler Saadat Ali. To a large extent this part is based on Mill's History of India, extracts from which are quoted frequently. Paton is highly critical of British policy particularly in respect of the Rohilla War, Warren Hasting's dealings with Begams of Oudh and the high-handedness of the Resident at the Oudh Court. Chapters six and seven are devoted to the measures adopted by Lord Wellesley in reducing and disbanding Oudh battalions and superimposing a subsidiary force there and the consequent cession of territory. At the end of chapter seven the author gives his reflections on the Treaty of 1801, which may be said to be the main thesis of this work.

Later chapters are devoted to an exposition of the consequences of the 1801 arrangements both as regards the Company and the State of Oudh. In chapter eight are found instances of the use of British troops for the support of oppressive and corrupt administration of the Amils. Chapter ten describes the raising of the Vizier to kingship, ostensibly with the purpose of creating " a division of interests between the two chief Musalman courts in Upper India." In chapter eleven the author gives an account of the loans advanced by the King of Oudh to the East India Company to enable the latter to tide over the serious financial stringency which it then faced. Paton quotes some official and demi-official letters extracted from published Oudh Papers (1808-15) which most unequivocally explode the myth of voluntary contribution by the King to his benign protector, the Company. No less than four crores of rupees were given by the King to the Company on two occasions, "but to obtain it was no easy matter ". " It must have been a most ungracious and difficult task ". The second and third crores could not be secured without the aid of the Chief Minister whose co-operation seems to have been purchased.

Chapter thirteen is another important chapter as it gives us an insight into the policy of Lord William Bentinck towards Oudh, as well as into the misgovernment which prompted the orders of the Court of Directors in 1835 " to assume charge of Oudh if no amelioration have taken place ". The author quotes " extracts from note of the conference between the Governor General and the King of Oudh at the Lucknow Residency on the 20th January 1831 ", when Lord Bentinck exhorted the King to " introduce a general system of reform of his administration." There is also reference to the dismissal of Nawab Mehdi Ali Khan, the Minister, and the description of a conference between himself, the King and the Minister by Major Low, the Resident, is quoted by the author. There is also quoted Lord Bentinck's letter of warning to the King of 5 February 1835.

Chapters 12, 14, 15 and 16 throw considerable light on the system of government in Oudh and the working of the Residency and its interference in the affairs of that government either on behalf of the Sepoys, or the European residents or the British guarantees. Chapter 17 reports the working of the commercial treaty and disregard of its stipulations by the state authorities. Chapter 18 is both interesting and important in so far as a Resident or the Assistant, who had an inner knowledge of the working of the system gives an account of the " deportment " of the British Resident towards the King and the authorities of the State to which he was accredited. As an introduction to this chapter the author writes, " As the instructions of the Government for the preparing of this narration of British intercourse with Oudh directs that the effects of our measures may be pointed out, it is necessary to offer some observations upon a main cause of many effects good and evil, the Deportment of the Resident ". And with perfect candour the author describes people's impression of the immensity of influence and power to do injury which Resident wielded. At the Resident's darbar was paid homage by the high and the low, and his approbation was sought for even by the Prime Minister of the King. The author points out in a footnote that even the Prime Minister had not the privilege of smoking a hookah in the presence of the Resident, and Capt. Paton was the first officer who allowed the Minister to smoke.

The last chapter gives a resume of the position in 1835 and discusses the various projects which had been suggested to the Paramount Power for the amelioration of the Kingdom of Oudh. He is of opinion that " the King has broken this treaty (1801) " and " the British Government is therefore absolved

from adhering to the treaty as it originally stood ". About Oudh government he writes it " is unequivocally bad depending more upon accident than upon any satisfactory cause." The pity is that the King knew " nothing of the state of his kingdom ", and it was heading towards bankruptcy. The author discusses various alternative proposals then put forward and inclines to the view that either the British should withdraw and leave the King to his fate or that he be deposed or that his state taken over for some time for purposes of administration. The paper is concluded by an estimate of the King's treasure which had melted away by the year 1836.

The author has based his narrative on the official records and has given long extracts from official correspondence, most of which has been published by the Government, or as Parliamentary papers. Nevertheless, there are some letters and reports which have so far remained hidden secret. Most valuable is the information contained in the later chapters for it relates to the affairs which the Resident had to deal with and about which no authentic version is available in the published papers and accounts.

This " abstract " is a critical and judicious commentary on the policy of the British Government in its operation in Oudh. It is a successful endeavour to paint in their true colours Lord Wellesley's policy and achievements.

Chandrabhān on the Mewār Episode of 1654.

[By Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, Ph.D.]

Rāi Chandrabhān was Brahman by caste and a resident of Lahore. It was his father Dharma Dās who discarded the traditional profession and joined government service in the revenue department. Of his three sons only two Udai Bhān and Chandrabhān took to literary pursuits. The latter became the pupil of Mullā 'Abudl Karīm, a celebrated scholar of Lahore. He acquired proficiency in the art of *belles lettres*. He was successively patronised by Asaf Khān, Afzal Khān, Islām Khān, Sa'dullah Khān, Mu'azzam Khān and Jāfer Khān; and he acted as literary secretary to these premier officials of the realm. His main duty was to draft official letters. He also attracted the attention of Dārā Shikoh and the Emperor Shāhjahān. He wrote a number of short treatises and pamphlets, of which Chār Chaman and Munshā't are very well known.

It is in the latter work that we come across four dispatches written from Udaipur in 1654, whither Chandrabhān had been deputed to conduct negotiations with Rānā Rāj Singh who was the object of the Emperor's displeasure for his misconduct. Contemporary, and even modern historians do not precisely indicate the nature of the charges against the Rānā, and the only one that is repeatedly emphasized is that he and his predecessor Jagat Singh had, in contravention of the terms of the treaty concluded between Rānā Amar Singh and the Emperor Jahāngīr, repaired the fortress of Chitor.* This treaty of 1615 had four clauses: (1) that the Rānā would never be required to attend in person the Imperial Court, (2) that he would be represented there by his eldest son; (3) that he would send a contingent of 1,000 troops to be at the disposal of the Imperial military department for service in the Deccan; (4) that Chitor would never be repaired again.*[1]

And it is only the defalt of the last condition which is generally emphasised. This, however, fails to carry much conviction when attention is paid to the extensive preparations which were made for the enforcement of the Imperial will on the Rānā of Mewār. Shāhjahān himself had moved to Ajmir,[2]* though on the pretext of paying his customary visit for tendering his respects to the tomb of the saint Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī. The Prime Minister Sa'dullah Khān was asked to enter Mewār at the head of 30,000 troops; and Shā'istah Khān and Aurangzeb were duly warned to keep ready for emergency. All this be tokened a bravity of situation, that has so far been overlooked.

To appreciate it properly let it be noted that for some time past the Moghal military prestige had been moving on a downward path, and that faint rumblings of outbreaks in the various parts of the extensive Empire were audible. The disasters at Balkh and at Qandahār must not have gone unnoticed by those who were smarting with the humiliation of subjection to the Moghul authority. Mewār was one of those states where traditions of independence had not yet died out. The deterioration of the Imperial fear

* Waris of 208 b. Allahabad University Manuscript: Saksena—Shāhjahān page 320 Sarkar—Aurangzeb, Vol. III, page 337; Ojha—page 843.

*[1] Gauri Shankar H. Ojhā—Rāputānā kā Ithihās, page 809; Beni Prasad; Jahāngir, p. 239.

*[2] Waris f 208 b.

and the preoccupation of the Emperor with affairs in other regions of the Empire gave the Rānā the long sought for opportunity of reasserting his position, and of reviving his status of pre-eminence among the States of Rajputānā. He had not only the temerity of repairing the fortress of Chitor, but he also omitted to place at the disposal of his liege-lord the stipulated quota of troops in the Deccan. On the top of this all the Rānā during the absence of the Emperor on a distant campaign", moved with a large army, possibly towards Ajmer, on the pretext of having a "holy bath". Finally, he took into employment a large number of fugitives from the Emperor's wrath. These were sure signs of the beginning of repudiation of Imperial authority in Rājpūtānā, and the situation called for strenuous exertions. Shāhjahān was adept in such a plan of action, the timeliness of which saved the situation. Otherwise, there was a likelihood of a refractory movement spreading in Rājpūtānā. It was, however, deferred for another quarter of a century.[3]

The details outlined above with regard to the attitude of the Rānā of Mewār are set forth very clearly in an *arzdásht* of Chandrabhān a passage from which is reproduced below in its original. It convincingly portrays the perspective in which the Mewār incident of 1654 occurred.

عرضداشت کمترین بندهٔ درگاه عقیدت نشان - بعد از اداے لوازم بندگی و
عبودیت و تقدم مراسم اخلاص و عقیدت ذره وار بموقف عرض باز یافتگان محفل
جاه و جلال و ایستادهاے بزم دولت و اقبال میرساند که روز دسهره از خدمت
سراسر سعادت مرخص گشته میخواست که در عرصه یک هفته بمطالب برسد اما
چون رفاقت کسان زبدهٔ راجهاے والا تبار مامور بود بپاے آنها طی مسافت نموده
روز مبارک دو شنبه بیست و یکم ذی الحجه به اودیپور رسیده آخر روز را درجاے
که بجهت اقبال مقرر است آمد - بورود منشور لامع الانوار و عنایت خلعت و
سرپیچ مرصع مشرف گردید بعد از اداے مراسم آداب کمترین بندگان بندهٔ درست
اعتقاد برهمن صافی نهاد از جناب عالمتاب دانسته بر خلاف دیگر فرستادهاے در
کنار گرفت و بتواضع که در خود فرستاده هاے آستان دولت نشان باشد پیش آمده
در سواری حرف زنان تا خانه خود برده از انجا رخصت کرد - روز دیگر در خلوت
طلبیده بحضور معتمدان مدار علیه خود استفسار مضمون احکام لازم الانجام نمود
و خواست که بر جرایم و تقصیرات خود مطلع گردانیده [شود] بدا بر مزید احتیاط انچه
از زبان معجزبیان اشرف اقدس ارفع اعلی ارشد هدایت یافته بقید قلم در آورده
بود انرا در مد نظر داشته بزبان فصیح قریب الفهم عام فریب خاص پسند شروع در
گذارش مقدمات لازم الاعلام نمود و برانا گفت که الحال وقت شنیدنی حکمات هوش
افزاست - لحظے حواس ظاهر و باطن خود را فراهم آورده احکام مطالعه را بگوش هوش

[3] During Shāhjahāns illness and the consequent uncertainty prevailing in the Empire the Rānā invaded and occupied the territories. Ojha, pages 845—47.

بشنوند و بر تقصیرات پدر خود مطلع شوند - اول تقصیرے که از پدر شما بوقوع آمده ساختن قلعه چتور است - در واقعه قلعه را که پادشاه آفاق ستان بضرب شمشیر عالمگیر مفتوح ساخته خراب مطلق گردانیده بخاک برابر ساخته باشند و روز اول شرط بمیان آمده بود که اصلا جاے در آن قلعه نسازند و تعمیر نکنند بلکه پیرا مون آن نگردند چنانچه هست بحال دارند - تصرفے در آن نکنند - پاس این حکم نداشته آن عهد موکد را فراموش گردانیده چشم بصیرت پوشیده از قبح این فعل نه اندیشیده شروع درساختن جاها نموده - بمرور ایام که کار باینجا رسانیده باشد داخل چه حساب و شایسته کدام عقل دوربین است - این تقصیر عظیم است که از پدر شما و شما که در زندگی پدر شریک این مصاحت بوده اید و هم بعد از پدر دست درین کار داشته اید بظهور آمده و در درگاه سلاطین پناه هیچ تقصیرے عظیم ترین نیست که اندیشه خلاف حکم و عهد و قول کسے بگذرد - دیگر وحینے که رایات جاه و جلال بعزم مهمے بسرحد دور دست تشریف برده باشد از او دیهور جمعیت بسیار از سوار و پیاده بر آمدن و در آمدن بملک پادشاهی والا زیارت غسل گنگ نامیدن بر همه حمل توان نمود ؟ پیش پادشاهان عظیم تقصیر کلان است - دیگر انکه برعالم و عالمیان ظاهر است که این دولت خدا داد مرجع و باب پادشاهان هفت اقلیم است - امروز سلطانان و خانان و مرزایان عراق و خراسان و ماور النهر بلخ و بدخشان و کاشغر در رکاب ظفر انتساب کمر خدمت بسته حاضر اند - تادر بنیاد ران دکن که حلقه بندگی در گوش و غاشیه عبودیت بر دوش این درگاه سلاطین پناه دارند چه رسد - و در هر ماه و سال طبقه طبقه مردم از هر قسم و از هر قوم از اطراف و جوانب بدرگاه معلی آمده بمناصب و مراتب سرفرازی می یابند - یکے از لوازم این دولت ابد پیوند آنکه هر کرا در جاے دیگر جانباشد جاے او درینجا است و هر که اینجا آمده بجاے دیگر نمیتواند رفت و اگر کسے را ضرورتے روے دهد تا از حضرت خلافت رخصت حاصل نماید (نرود) این ضابطه مخصوص پادشاهان عظیم الشان است بدیگر نمیرسد - بنده که ازین پایگاه آسمانجاه از بے سعادتی برود (کسے پیش خود نگاه ندارد) - هرگاه قاعده چنین باشد - جمع که بآرزوے تمام بندگی این درگاه والا اختیار نموده منصب و جاگیر یافته در سلک بندها منتظم گشته باشند - ومر دمه بعضے ازان طلب و مطالبه سرکار والا بوده باشد محض از روے جهالت بے اجازت حضور راه پیش گیراند و پدر شما و شما اینها را پیش خود جا داده مدار علیه خود سازند و از باز پرس این معنی حذر نکنند - داخل چه کردار از مرد صواب اندیش است ؟ دیگر انکه در وقتیکه مهم قندهار درمیان بود وهنگام امتحان عیار

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جواهر اخلاص بندہ هاے عقیدت کیش بود جمع را که عدم و وجود آنها مساوی باشد فرستادند و در دکن که قرار داد نگاه داشتن هزار سوار بود قلیلی نگاه داشتند - این چه حسن اخلاص است ؟ پیش پادشاهان ممالک ستان کوتاهی خدمت خصوص در هنگام ضرورت تقصیر کلان است - چون اینقسم تقصیرات از جانب شما بظهور پیوست دریذوقت که خاطر ملکوت ناظر اشرف اقدس اعلی از هیچ طرف نگرانی نداشت بجهت پاداش این جرایم عساکر ظفر طراز از اندازه و حساب افزون و بیرون طلبداشته متوجه اجمیر کردند و افواج قاهره منصورة بر چتور تعین فرمودند خاصه عزم اقدس آنکه بارانا بملازمت سراسر سعادت اشرف اقدس مستفید گردد یا هرچه بیند از خود به بیند - درین اثناء فرستاده هاے شما رسیدند و بوسیله بار یافتگان محفل بهشت آئین استعفاے تقصیرات شما نمودند - بندگان اقدس اعلی بمقتضاے فتوت ذاتی و مروت جبلی جان ومال آبادان چندین سال شما را که نزدیک بزوال اختلال رسیده بود بحال داشتند و اکتفا بهمین فرمودند که افواج قاهره منصورة بقلعه چتور رسیده جاها که ساخته و مرمت کرده باشند مسمار نموده برگردند شرطیکه (پسر رانا) در اجمیر بملازمت اشرف اقدس رسیده سعادت ابدي حاصل نموده رخصت شود - و جمعیت مقرری اما بوجودی نه کاغذی همیشه بابرادر شما تعینات دکن باشد و در اینده امرے خلاف از شما سر نه زند - در باب عنایت پرگنات نواحي اجمیر در انچه رضاے مقدس باشد بعمل خواهد آمد - قدر این عنایت را بواقعی باید دانست و شکران نعمت را بسیار بجا باید آورد - خود را زود روانه باید ساخت و تاخیر درین کار جائیز نباید داشت . . . .

(Munshā't-i Chanderbhān : Subhānullah Collection, Aligarh University

Some Indian Collections of the Tārīkh-i Alfī.

[By Dr. A. Halim, M.A., Ph.D.]

The compilation of the Tārīkh-i Alfī[1] was begun in 993A.H/1585 at the orders of Emperor Akbar, the principal contributors being Mulla Ahmad of Tatta and Khān Khānān Aṣaf Khān. It is a universal history, intended to embody the chronology of one thousand years of Islam, and was named so because Akbar entertained the belief that the maximum life span of a religion is one thousand years after which it decays. Akbar also gave instructions to the compilers not to use the Hijri years, but to commence its writing from the Rihlat or the death of the prophet and use the Riḥlat years as the basis of chronology. He also instructed the compilers to avoid the conventional style with similes and metaphors, use the plainest language and lay especial emphasis on the history of the ancestors of the Mughal rulers and make the account worthy of the dynasty. His order is embodied in the Tārīkh-i Alfī as one of the events of the year 889 A.H/1581.[2]

The very absence of the reference of this stupendous work as authority in modern research works, made me take an especial fancy to this work and search for the MSS which could be available in northern India. In the following pages I have tried to invite the attention of the research workers to its existence and have tried to add some information on the basis of my study.

From Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badāuni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh[3], Shāh Nawāz Khān's Ma'asirul-Umara[4] and Abul Fazl's Āīn[5] we get a clear information regarding the authorship of the work. According to Badāuni the history of the first 35 years after the death of the prophet was written in a week's time by a number of scholars, including Naqīb Khān, Badāuni, and Mulla Aḥmad. Shah Nawāz Khān narrates a story[6] to the effect that Akbar who used to listen to the Tārīkh-i Alfī being read out to him questioned the Mulla Ahmad regarding the enormously lengthy treatment of the Caliphate of 'Usmān. To this he replied that he had purposely done so because the Sunnis are especially sensitive regarding the history of Caliph 'Usman and regard it " as the grave of myrtyrs ". It is quite possible that Mulla Aḥmad subsequently wrote the whole of the first two volumes including the history of the first thirtyfive years. This belief is strengthened by the bitter condemnation by Badāuni of the contents as being full of sectarian bias when the latter was commissioned by Akbar at Lahore to revise it in 1000 H/1591. Badāuni excused himself from changing the materials which to his eyes were too full of sectarian prejudices to be set right, and contended himself with correcting the construction alone of the first two volumes and left the third volume to be revised by Asaf Khān.[7]

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[1] From Arabic 'Alf', one thousand.

[2] In the M. U. MS., f 121 b, the date is given as 589 After Riḥlat, in the proper sequence of dates. Apparently the date is wrong. It ought to be 989 A. H. and not A. R., even supposing that the insertion of five instead nine was an accident. Badauni gives 990 H. 1582 as the date of the royal order.

[3] Lowe's Tr, Vol. II., p. 406 ff.

[4] Beveridge's Tr, Vol. I, p. 36 ff in connexion with the life of Asaf Khān, and p. 565 ff in connexion with Mirzā Fulād.

[5] Āīn Jarrett, II, 206-7.

[6] Ma'aSir-ul-U'mara I, Beveridges Tr. 568.

[7] Muntakhabut Tawārīkh II, Lowe, p. 329.

Mulla Ahmad of Tatta[8] who made his debut in Akbar's court in Fatehpūr-Sīkrī in 990/1582,[9] was the son of Qāzi Naṣrulla who belonged to the Fārūqī sect of the Hanafīs. Early in youth Aḥmad became a convert to the Imāmiya religion through an Irāqī missionary visiting Tatta. While he was only 22 years old[10] he made extensive tours of Meshed, Yazd, and Shīrāz, and studied theology and asceticism and medicine under renowned teachers. He next went to Persia and entered the service of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī (930-84H./1524-76), but when his successor Shāh Isma'il II (984-86H/1576-78) turned a Sunni and began to persecute the Shias, he left Persia and visited the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and Iraq and came to India by the sea route to enter into the services of Sultān Qutb Shāh of Golconda. In 990H/1582, he came to Akbar's court and through the recommendation of Hakīm Abul Fath was entrusted with the task of compiling the Tārikh-i Alfī.[11] The work was begun in 993H/1585 and continued for three years till his murder on the 15th Safar 996H/Jan. 14, 1588. Mulla Ahmad's open partiality for shiism and his indiscreet propaganda,[12] added to Akbar's open-hearted toleration of all creeds roused the alarm of the Sunni zealots. One Mīrza Fūl ād Barlās,[13] a fanatical Turki noble, whose predatory instincts, laments Shāh Nawāz Khān, could not be cured even by the conversion to Islam, sent two hirelings to the house of the Mulla to murder him. These men pretended to be the royal messengers to summon him to the court. As soon as he rode out to accompany them, one of them struck a blow with his sword and ran up on the assumption that he had severed his victim's head. Actually Mulla Aḥmad's hand above the elbow had been severed and bleeding and smarting with pain, he carried his hand to the house of Hakīm Hasan for medical aid. Akbar became very angry on hearing the news and ordered Mirza Fulād and his accomplices to be tied to elephant's feet and dragged to death, in spite of the intercession of the ladies of the harem.[14] Three or four days later the Mulla died an agonising death. The year of his death is commemorated by the Sunnis by the chronogram " zihi khanjar-i Fūlād ", (hail the sword of Fulād) and " khok-i saqarī " (hellish pig[15]). Even the dead body of the Mulla was not spared ignominy. Soon after Akbar's departure to Kashmir, his grave at Lahore was opened by the Sunni zealots and the remains burnt in spite of a strong guard placed on the spot by Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi.[12]

The life of Aṣaf Khān is discussed in Ma'āsirul-Umara under the head Ja'āfar Khān. He held the office of the Diwān after Humayūn's conquest of Delhi in 1555. He held a manṣab of 3,000 under Akbar and was the governor of Delhi when Akbar marched against Bairām Khān. He distinguished himself in the capture of Chunār, Gondwāna and Chitōr. Chitōr Sarkār was given him as a fief in 1568.[16] He died in 1021H/1612, in the reign of Jahāngīr.

[8] In Sind.

[9] Muntakhab, p. 327.

[10] Ma'āsirul-Umara, Beveridges Tr. I, p. 567.

[11] Muntakhab Lowe, II, p. 328.

[12] Ma'āsir, Bev, I, 567.

[13] Ma'āsir, Bev, I, 26 ff.

[14] *Ibid*, 567.

[15] The orthodox Mulla Badāuni who hated Mulla Ahmad for his being a Shia adds that his face resembled that of a pig at the time of his death.

[16] Ma'āsir, Bev, I, 40.

Mulla Ahmad could bring his history upto the time of Changhiz Khān in two volumes. Aṣaf Khān who wrote the third volume writes in the preamble,[17] that " Mulla Ahmad being mortally wounded on Safar 15, 996H/14 January 1588, by the hand of Mirza Fūlād Barlās, had brought it in course of three years upto the year 684 A.R. "/(694 A.H/1294 A.D). The second volume ends in the middle of the account after the accession of Ghāzan Khān (694-7034/1295—1304) rather after an account of his early life. It is really creditable to think of this voluminous work to be finished thus far in three years. Aṣaf Khān finished the third volume from 684 A.R. upto 987 A.R/997 A.H/1588,[18] at any rate, before 1000 A.H., *i. e.* the date of its revision.

The only complete copy of this work is to be found in the India Office—Ms. No. 3293, Cat. No. 112, Vol. I, (by Ethe). None of the Indian MSS goes beyond 974R/984 H/1576 A.D. It is difficult to say when and where the first volume of the work ended. From the examination of the various MSS in the India Office, British Museum, and Indian Libraries, nothing definite can be established, and no volume of the same category in two libraries would agree with one another. Sometimes confusion is worse confounded by the marking of the volumes as 1, 2, 3, and 4, by the library authorities.

My examination of the reference catalogues yielded the following information :

(a) India Office MSS of Tar Alfi.[19]

Ms. No. 836, Cat. No. 110, p. 39, Vol. I, contains Vol. I from 1—134 R/(11—144 H/632—761 A.D.); and Vol. II from 135 R/732A.D., bound in one volume.

Ms. No. 10, Cat. No. 111, another copy of Vol. II from 135 to 506R/145 to 516H/752 to 1122 A.D.

Cat. No. 112, Ms. No. 3291-92-93 comprising the so-called Vols. II, III, IV. The second begins in 183R/193H/808 A.D., with the Caliphate of Muhd Amīn b Hārūn and goes upto that of Muqtafi in 520R/530H/1138 A.D. The third beginning from 521R/531/1136 A.D breaks off in the year 682-3R/1292 A.D. The fourth begins with a preface of the continuator Aṣaf Khān in the end of the year 684R/694H/1294 A.D. and goes down to 987R/997H/1588 A.D. It is the only complete third volume (original) known to me.

4. Ms. No. 312, Cat. No. 113 second, third and fourth Vols. from 484R/484H/1100 A.D. to 975R/985H/1577 A.D.
5. Ms. No. 121, Cat. No. 114,—another copy of the above Vols. 545R/555H/1160 A.D. to 974R/984H/1576 A.D.
6. Ms. No. 316, Cat. No. 115—a portion of the above Vols. from 585R/595H/1198 A.D. It breaks off with the words, " Yāzda kas az naṣl-i Shāh Isma'il etc. ".[20]

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[17] Fol. 97 (*b*) Br. Mus. Ms. No. 465, Cat. Vol. I, Rieu, p. 119 and India Office Ms No. 3293, Cat. No. 112, Vol. I, Ethe., p. 39.

[18] The account of Ghāzan Khān begun by Mulla Ahmad and continued by Asaf Khān is fully detailed in acc./with Akbar's instruction. In the Aligarh Ms. of the same work there is no landmark to suggest the beginning of a new volume but Ghāzan Khān's history is continued without interruption. There is, however, one difference. The dates in the first two volumes are given in Persian, but those in the third are given in Arabic.

[19] P. 39, Cat. Vol. I, Ethe.

[20] The India Office MS 312 and Murshidabad MSS No. 41 end in the same spot.

7. Ms. 152, Cat. No. 116, from 553R/563/1167 A.D. to 932R/942H/1535
Ms. 835, Cat. No. 117 from 501R/511H/1117A. D. to 679R/689H/1290 A.D.

The following are the Br. Museum MSS mentioned by Rieu in Vol. I of the Cat., p. 117-19 :—

1. No. 142 consisting of 673 folios, beginning from 351R/361/971 A.D. to 649R/659H/1260 A.D.

2. No. 465 beginning from 650R/660H/1261, a continuation of No. 142.

3. Nos. 6550-51, two uniform Vols. from 1R/11H/632 A.D. to 503R/513H/1119 A.D.

The following are the results of my analysis of the MSS I examined in Northern India :—

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta MSS of this work are in my opinion, the oldest to be found in India. They are written in very fine Nastaliq hand. The characters are so fine that it is difficult to imagine that they could be written without the help of magnifying glass. But unfortunately the collection is incomplete and almost useless to students of Indian history. They are in many places spoiled by damp and exposure and require very sympathetic handling.

Ms. No. 41, Vol. IV, of the descriptive Cat. of Pers MSS, p. 472, covers the years 1 to 96 R(11 to 106H/632 to 724 A.D.),with dates marked in red ink upto 58 A.R. after which the space reserved is left blank. It ends soon after the accession of the Umayyad Caliph Umar b 'Abdul 'Azīz (99-101H/717-19 A.D.), thus, " When ' Abdul 'Azīz ascended the pontifical throne, he wrote to Maslama b 'Abdul Mālik, who was engaged in besieging Constantinople, ordering him to withdraw. The soldiers departed to their homes and he himself went towards Damascus. "

No. 241, of the descriptive Cat. of Pers. MSS, Curzon Collection (Ivanow) contains the history of the years 1 to 503R/11 to 513H/632 to 1119 A.D. It ends with the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad (S/o Malik Shāh Seljūq) ,of Basra. It is divided into two Vols. (Vol. 1, 1 to 170R/11 to 180H ; Vol. II, 171 to 503R/181 to 513H). There is an Ms. of this work in the Muslim University Aligarh Library, bearing the title " Tarikh-i Alfiya ".[21] Its pages are missing both from the beginning and the end. It begins with an account of Sultan Muḥammad, second son of Malik Shāh which is finished in the first half of the folio 1(a). The next heading on the next half of the folio marked as 1 concerns, " Events of the year 509 from the death of the Holy Prophet ". It contains 374 folios and is chronologically traced upto 825R/835H/1431A.D. From fol. 336(b) the events of the year 695 A.R. open with Arabic dates. Its last fol. 374 b concerns the history of Mālwa. It describes the war between Sultāns Hoshang Shāh of Mālwā and Aḥmad Shāh of Gujerāt, and ends with the mention of the unsuccessful investment of the Māndu Fort by Aḥmad Shāh and his return to Gujerāt. The volume embodies the original Vols. II and III, from which the earlier and later pages are missing. It may be regarded as a continuation volume of R. A. S. B, Cal. Ms. 241, though the Aligarh Ms. does not appear to be a very old one.

[21] I am told by the cataloguer recently put in charge of the Oriental Section that it will be re-christened " Tārīkh-i-Alf ī", in the new catalogue in preparation.

Working on the clue supplied by Elliot, I discovered seven volumes, rather seven MSS of this work in the Nawāb Bahādur of Murshīdabād's library.[22] In Ms. No. 40 of the Catalogue marked as Vol. I, the author is named Maulāna Aḥmad son of Naṣrulla al-Dabhali al-Mashadi. The remark in the front page gives it the credit of being transcribed by Mulla Aḥmad himself, an assertion whose authenticity I very much doubt. It contains the history of the years 1 to 571R/11 to 581H/632 to 1185 A.D., in 748 folios. It ends with an incomplete account of Shahābuddīn Ghorī's invasion of India; to be more accurate, with the events of the year 588R/598H/1201 A.D. in which Shahāb-ud-din returned from Lāhore to Ghaznīn.

In No. 42, marked as Volume I, the pages are not enumerated. This and No. 40 seem to be written by the same hand. The date portions are left blank, probably to be filled in at a later date. It deals with the events from 1 to 120R/11 to 130H/632 to 747(2), the last page concerns Abu Muslim's rebellion in Khorāsān and the march of the rebel armies upon Irāq.

No. 46 also marked as Vol. I, covers the years 1 to 120R/11 to 130H/632 to 747 ; it abruptly ends after narrating a page of the events of 120R.

No. 43 marked as Vol. II, starts from Abu Muslim's mach into Irāq and continues upto 499R/509H/1115 A.D., in 488 folios. Apparently it is a continuation work from Nos. 42 and 46. It has also got an index at the beginning probably appended at a later date or at the time of getting the Ms. copied, for the facility of rich men like the Nawāb Sāheb.

No. 41 marked as Vol. II, covers the years 500 to 974R/510 to 984H/1116 to 1567A.D.[23] It begins thus, " In the beginning of the year 501A.R. Sultān Sanjar assembled the army of Khorāsān.... " and ends abruptly in the middle of the page with the same sentence as in No. 44 of the Murshidabād Ms. and No. 835 of the India Office Ms. already discussed, in connection with the history of Shah Tahmāsp Safawī.

No. 45 marked as Vol. III begins with the year 553 and goes upto 924R /1167-1527A.D. in very closely written pages and very minute characters. It is, in consequence of a very handy bulk. Its pages are not enumerated. It begins thus, " In the beginning of the year Zainuddīn Kūtchak, Naīb of Qutbudīn Maudūd had resigned the duties of the ' diwāni ' due to old age.... "

No. 44 marked as Vol. IV, concerns the history of the years 673 to 974R/683 to 984H/1284 to 1576 and abruptly ends in fol. 537 (a) with the same closing sentence as in No. 41 (Mursh. Ms.). It also has a list of contents. The closing sentence reads thus, " Wa Murtaza Qūlī Khān ba sūfiyān-i be-gunāh-i bechāra jung karda, ishān ra munhazam gardānīd wa yak hazār wa do-bīst az ishān ba qatl āwardand. Maḥmūd dar in rōz ba khūn-i nā-haq-i vāzda kas az nasl-i- Shāh Taḥmāsp-i Shāh Isma'ail ", and breaks thereafter in the middle of the page. This is really the third volume of the original work contributed by Aṣaf Khān plus the events of 11 years from 674 to 684R from the second volume and minus the history of 13 years (874 to 97) from the third volume.

Leaving out of discussion the R. A. S. B. Cal. and the M. U. Aligarh incomplete MSS, those of the Murshidabad Estate Library are the most complete to be found in India. Ms. Nos. 46 (or 42), 43, and 41 are continuation works upto 974R/1576A.D. Also Ms. 40, 45, and only events after 924R in No. 44,

[22] I am extremely thankful to the Nawāb Sāheb and the Estate Manager Rai Bahadur K. P. Ghosh for providing me with all sorts of facilities. The Lb. is still rich in MSS and is little known to the orientalists because its catalogue is not printed.

[23] Acquired by the library in 1897.

would make another set. Thus there are two complete sets upto 974R/1576 A.D., and one additional copy of volume I, *i. e.* No. 46. The division of Tarikh-i Alfi into four volumes is arbitrary and misleading.

Elliot who had not had the opportunity to examine all the copies as some were not shown to him as a white man who had been in the habit of removing valuable things from India,[24] and some copies had not come to the library till then, even thinks that there ought to be two more volumes (in addition to four enumerated by him) as continuation works from 974 A.R. We have the most categorical evidence of Badauni, Abul Fazl, and the continuator Aṣaf Khān that the work was completed in three volumes only, the first volume upto 35 years being written by Naqib Khan, Badauni, and Mulla Ahmad. Thereafter Mulla Ahmad continued the first volume and wrote the second volume. The third volume from 684R was exclusively written by Asaf Khan. The classification of the work into four volumes is due to the ignorance of the average historian and arbitrary marking of the caligraphists. It is difficult to say where the first volume ended and the second began. Personally I am inclined to the view that the first ended with 120 or 122R/130 or 132H with the march of Abu Muslim's army into Iraq resulting in the seizure of the Caliphate from the Omayyad by the Abbasides. More than one Ms. in the different libraries end with an incomplete account of the events of 120R.

The utility of this stupendous work as a source of history is marred by the selection of a novel era by which years were counted from the death of the prophet. Sometimes the Riḥlat years are confused with the Hijri years. No other work on mediæval Muslim history has been written in any other than in the Hijri years. Even modern scholars have not escaped from the pit-fall. Before converting the dates into Christian years the numeral ten should be added to convert the After Richlat years into Hijri years.

Secondly the method of treatment is crude and primitive. Like the ancient Greek and early Arab histories, events are massed serially under each year and the histories of all Mahomedan countries are discussed without a break with only a remark " and other events of the same year". It is in fact a descriptive chronological chart in which sometimes important events are omitted.[25] I am not in a position to assess its value so far as it discusses the history of Islam outside India. To a student of Indian history, the book is not of much real worth, because Indian history is briefly treated along with the histories of Persia, Konia, Iraq, Egypt and other sundry lands. India has suffered thereby at the expense of other lands. A scholar will take years before he can form a judgment on the accuracy of facts gathered round the years nor will its study be very inviting or interesting. In many places the authors quote wrong names and wrong dates. Yet a compilation of the extracts relating to the history of India from this work will be worth while and will for ever lift the veil with which this work is still enshrouded.

[24] Elliot, Vol. V, p. 157.
[25] Elliot has pointed out the omission of the battle of Qadsia, 15 March 636 A.D.

A few Letters of Lord William Bentinck.

[By Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, M.A.]

While looking for material in the Imperial Library I unexpectedly came across an important series of twelve autograph letters, nearly 100 pages. Written by Lord William Bentinck from St. George and Calcutta (1806-1828) to Thomas Grenville, George Tierney and Lord Melville many marked private or confidential. I was told that the Library authorities had got the collection from London. It was available for sale along with other private collections of historical relics. I am giving below relevant points from the various letters.

Calcutta December 16, 1828, Lord William Bentinck to Lord Melville.

"We are thoroughly impressed with the necessity of reducing to the utmost our expenditure, and I am sanguine in the hopes, that you will think we have heartily set to work in the execution of this object."

"In the civil salaries we have made considerable diminution without interfering materially with the interests of the service at large."

"You will at a very early period receive a plan about to be immediately carried into effect for improving the control over the revenue officers and for expediting the administration of the court of Circuit by substituting independent Commissioners for the judges of Circuit to each of whom three or four revenue distts. are to be confided and to whom also the collectors will be subordinate as they are before the Boards."

The above extracts indicate how retrenchment was the order of the day and the administration needed to be placed on sounder footing.

Calcutta dated Aug. 14, 1828, Bentinck to Lord Melville.

"We are about to make an experiment for ascertaining the practicability of establishing steam navigation up the Ganges. If we can effect in a week what it has heretofore required a month to perform, both our political and military communications will be very much expedited and the general efficiency and the strength of the Empire very much promoted."

The above extract is a very significant one. We all know that during the early years of the 19th cent. vigorous steps were taken for developing Steam Communication between India and England. The object of steam navigation has been made very clear by Lord William Bentinck.

Calcutta, July 21, 1828, Bentinck to Lord Melville.

This letter deals in detail about the differences existing between Mr. Lushington the Governor of Madras and Mr. Greene the senior member of the Council. Mr. Greene had been removed by the council of Madras, and an appeal had been made by him to the Supreme Government. "In regard to that appeal" Lord William wrote, "my opinion from old time had always been that the less the supreme Govt. interferes with the local governments the better:—that such interference should only be given in extreme cases involving the general welfare and that in the present case there were peculiarly strong objections to our doing so. The question in no

way affected the general interests. It was confined entirely to the local administration for which the governor in council is solely responsible."

Cape Town, May 14, 1828, Lord William Bentinck to Lord Melville.

"I shall from the moment of my landing in India communicate to you most unreservedly everything relating to India and I ask as the best favour you can do me to withhold no objection or dissatisfaction that you may feel with any part of my conduct."

Though not a very significant remark yet it reveals how anxious the Governor General was to secure the hearty support of the President of the Board of Control which ever since the institution of the Board had become more necessary than the Court of Directors.

Reference may here be made to another letter which is a copy only of the original letter but bears the autograph of Lord William Bentinck. It is a very long letter bearing the date Dec. 1st, 1806, addressed by Lord William Bentinck to Rt. Hon'ble Thomas Grenville when the former was the Governor of Madras. The letter has been written in peculiar code, a specimen of which is as follows:—

"One 9, 59, 54, 67, 66, 9, 87, 74, 102, 112, 86, 37, 85, 9, 99, 76, 40, 100, 111, 120, 37, 55, 74, 54, 85, 9, 90, 66, 8, the last despatch which sailed from here on the 18th of October will have acquainted you with the 53, 70, 35, 47, 79, 50, 84, 90, 37, 100, ...".

And thus the letter goes on merely in figures and if reproduced might extend to several pages in print. May be that such letters written in Cypher contain some valuable information and which can be read with the help of some key.

On the whole this collection is quite an interesting one. At least half a dozen letters are in code. I hope researchers in this period of history who have been in touch with the private papers of Lord Bentinck now in possession of Mr. Philip Morell in England will throw some light by finding out if really a code existed and was used in correspondence with Home authorities or it was a way of Lord William Bentinck summoning his correspondence and keeping it a secret.

The Kanungo in the North-Western Provinces
(1801-1833.)

(By Mr. R. N. Nagar, M.A.)

The Kanungo was an important link in the Indian Revenue system. He bore considerable responsibilities—his main duty being to provide the Government with, and to keep a record of the fullest details regarding the land, its owner, and cultivator. In fact, Davis[1] mentions sixteen distinct responsibilities attached to his office.

The office underwent considerable deterioration in Oudh and Central India owing to the weakness and unstability of Government. Integrity and efficiency could not be expected to be maintained under chaotic circumstances; and it became particularly difficult for the Kanungo to preserve his office intact, because he remained practically sandwiched[2] between the rapacious Amil and the turbulent zamindar. To save his own skin, or to gain his own end, he was compelled to side with the party which happened to be stronger at the moment.

After the acquisition of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, the British did not put the office immediately on a permanent basis. Meanwhile, all the collectors were asked to investigate into its utility and to opine whether it should be continued. It received its formal sanction of continuance by a circular issued[3] on 10th February, 1804, and it was stabilised finally by the Regulation IV of 1808. The original intention of the Government was to abolish[4] it after the promulgation of a permanent settlement.

The office as reorganised now, under the British Government, differed considerably from its original position, the most important difference being the preservation of the interests of zamindars and farmers at the expense of those of the ryots. In this respect the Government followed, more or less, its own model in Bengal where, "a minute local scrutiny[5] into the circumstances of a zemindary", became contrary to the declared policy of the Government.

Even then the Kanungo had to carry out multifarious duties. He was required[6] to keep a counterpart of the jamma-wasil-baqee, an account of the collections of Tahsildars, and of khas and rent-free lands. He had to maintain a record of escheats, lists of Patwaris, registers of Pottahs, transfers of estates, accounts of boundaries, etc. He had to aid in measurements, attend the courts whenever required, and to report the death of malgoozars. He was associated with village punchayets also.

Some of the measures of the Government, intended to reform the office were swift and decisive, but it failed to tackle satisfactorily the subsequent reactions to these measures.

The abolition of the hereditary nature of the office, and the retention of only the required number of kanungos were the inevitable steps in the direction of an efficient reorganisation. But they presented two difficulties.

[1] Fifth Committee Report.
[2] Letter from the Collector, Gorakhpur, 25th July 1802.
[3] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.
[4] Circular 10th Feb. 1804.
[5] Fifth Committee Report.
[6] The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal, Vol. I.

Under the Indian Government sometimes a whole family participated [7] in the duties of the office, and claimed allowances accordingly. They, and even otherwise, a large number of others, were thrown out of employment. But the greater evil was that these disgruntled persons refused to surrender the valuable records in their possession, which they had come to view as their family property.

The measure by which the kanungo was hit hardest was the drastic abolition of all his emoluments which he had hitherto received, and the assignment, instead, of a meagre salary.

Unde ;the Indian Government his emoluments were proportioned according to the extent of his jurisdiction, local usage, and the degree of favour which he enjoyed of the superior authority. Often, it used to be the last factor. The Collector of Cawnpore observed,[8] "No regular system seems to have had a place either in the number allotment or the allowances—the latter have evidently been proportioned to the degree of favour in which the individual stood with the aumil." He received Nankar in return for his services. It used to be either Nukdee or Suddoee, or both. Nukdee was a fixed money allowance, and Suddoee was a commision of two per cent on the jumma. Sometimes in lieu of them, or otherwise as a mark of favour, he was given rent-free villages. It is also possible that under the illusive denomination, Russom, he might have levied illegal cesses, which are wont to crop up when Government loses its vigilance. Then, sometimes he possessed his own land and engaged for it like any other malgoozar.

The allowances varied from individual to individual and from place to place. The following quotations may give an idea. In a particular pargana the allowance ranged[9] from Rs. 10 to Rs. 1,285. Of the sixteen kanungos, thirteen received an allowance of over hundred rupees, while three received below fifty. The figures regarding Nukdee and Suddoee allowances [10] in some of the parganas are given below :—

Perg.	Suddoee.	Nukdee.
Conee	3529	1275
Kalpee	3529	3815
Khurkaiti	2624	3815
Reath	5788	3815
Punwari	4346	3815

Under the British Government the salary of a Kanungo was fixed on a monthly basis—the maximum being Rs. 25. But it varied from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 per mensem "in every instance proportioned [11] to the trust reposed in them". It was out of this salary that the Kanungo was expected to maintain [12] his own office, which included a Potdar, sometimes a vakil, a Moharrir, and peons and he had also to meet stationery and other contingent charges as well.

[7] Letter from the Collector of Bundelkhand, 18th July 1807.

[8] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 30th December 1803.

[9] Letter from the Collector of Etawah, 6th June 1806.

[10] Letter from the Collector of Bundelkhand, 10th May 1807.

[11] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 2nd April 1811.

[12] The Regulations of the Government of Fort Williams in Bengal, Vol. I.

The following figures indicate the position [13] when the office was finally stabilised :—

District.	No. of perganas.	No. of kanungos.	Salary.
			Rs.
Allahabad	26	48	1,260
Agra	21	29	685
Aligarh	31	47	1,173
Bareilly	24	33	40
Bundelkhand	13	36	1,080
Cawnpore	13	26	750
Etawah	13	21	660
Furrukhabad	20	26	560
Gorakhpur	40	68	1,299
Moradabad	46	47	985
Saharanpur	60	54	1,207

There is no doubt, therefore, that the office was put on a systematic basis and that great economy was effected. Its consequences, however, were far-reaching.

Sudden and absolute discontinuance of all his customary allowances; with no compensation whatsoever in return, left the kanungo completely stranded. It was out of the Nankar allowances that he had paid the revenue of his land. The rent-free villages were in the possession of his family for generations past. All these he lost. The result was, as the collector of Moradabad observed,[14] " They (kanungo) sustained a greater proportion of loss than the generality of the malgoozars ".

His salary was very inadequate. The Collector of Bundelkhand pleaded,[15] " It appears to me that in any pergunnah of a moderate extent, it will be impracticable for a canoongoe to preserve his records complete, and at the same time, perform other necessary duties without the assistance of at least two moharrirs, whom it will be impossible to maintain upon the allowance above mentioned. The allowance, I conceive, is not more than merely sufficient to maintain the canoongoe himself on a respectable footing ".

A heavy responsibility, a meagre income, and an absence of future prospects would hardly have attracted men of intelligence and ability to the office. Then, it provided him with a direct temptation to augment his income by questionable means. The danger became very real when an effective supervision could not be maintained over him. The Collector of Etawah made a pertinent observation.[16] " I am confident that in these provinces, particularly the realization of the revenue depended most materially upon the office of the chowdhri or the canoongoe, and that too upon a liberal footing, for if the allowances were much reduced, discontent, disaffection, or supineness in discharge of duties might inevitably induce an infinitely greater loss than could be made up by the frugal curtailment of a portion of the former and long established stipends ". The truth of the observation was fully borne out by a complete fulfilment of the apprehensions. The kanungo came to be regarded as one of the most corrupt and unreliable officers of the Government.

[13] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 2nd April 1811.
[14] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 6th June 1806.
[15] Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 26th April 1807.
[16] Letter from 6th June 1806.

Besides the unsatisfactory state of his finances, there were several other serious difficulties in his way. He was neither taken into the complete confidence of the Government, nor was he given ample protection and support to carry out his duties. Unarmed, unprotected, and well under the thumb of the Zamindar, as he lived in his estate, it became difficult sometimes impossible, for him to carry out his duties satisfactorily. This was further enhanced because, specially during the earlier period, armed defiance of zamindars and farmers became a matter of common occurrence. An instance may be quoted.[17] The Collector of Aligarh reported, " The revolt took place in the town of Coel. From that time till January, and even from that time until nearly the present moment, this division has been the scene of anarchy and civil commotion—the Canoongoes, in some instances, have joined the rebels, and the others have fled from the rapacity and violence with which they were threatened ".

Then, the Government discarded all at once the old modes of keeping accounts and records. This meant that the kanungos had to start anew with their work, and this they could familiarise only in due course of time. The Board of Commissioners complained,[18] " Various attempts have been made by Government, and by the Board of Revenue to cause those registers to be prepared, and a great expense has been incurred in their formation; but we doubt whether they have yet been completed in a single district; and we are apprehensive that serious inconveniences will be experienced by Government at some future period from the want of these similar records ".

Again, the policy of the Government had brought [19] in such a complete change in the ownership of the land, the land passed hands so rapidly and frequently, and short term settlement interfered with his work so much that it became extremely difficult for him to keep pace with the changes.

Then again, there was no [20] survey, for the major part of this period, no standardised measurement, no distinct boundaries between estates which would have both helped and restrained the kanungo in his work.

Finally—if the office had acquired an exclusive character under the Indian Government due to its hereditary trait, under the British it took up a more anomalous character. Due to its hereditary character the kanungo had obtained a monopoly of records concerning revenue. These records were indispensable for the completion of revenue settlements. Those persons who were not retained to the office refused to surrender them and they were lost to the Government. But even those who were retained, did not give them up. The Patwari who used to be an excellent counter-balance to the Kanungo, was relegated to the background and was now regarded as a mere henchman[21] of the zamindars.

The Collector failed [22] to grasp the intricacies of the customs, tenures and other details, and as such could not keep a watchful eye over the subordinate officers. Thus there was no alternative left to the Government but to accept the facts and figures supplied by the Kanungo.

[17] Letter from 5th November 1805.

[18] Letter to the Governor-General in Council, 17th December 1807.

[19] Early Revenue Policy of the E. I. Coy. in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces by the Writer, (U. P. Historical Society Journal).

[20] Early Revenue Policy of the E. I. Coy. in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces by the Writer. (U. P. Historical Society Journal).

[21] Government Revenue Records. (1818-20).

[22] Employment of Indians in the North West Provinces by the Writer. (U. P. Historical Society Journal).

These circumstances could only result in inefficiency and dishonesty. Even so late as 1829 Begbie reported [23] to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, "The records in the Canoongoes' office in this district are so incomplete (few of those officers having in their possession papers for more than ten, twelve years antecedent to the acquisition of the provinces by the Government) that little information is to be derived from the wasil Baqees given in by them, and what little is obtainable is not, in my opinion, entitled to credit, as these records might readily have been prepared by the candidates for the office". In fact the indifference to Persian records was so pronounced [24] that even under the direct supervision of a Collector they were kept in a most confused state.

Worse than inefficiency was the corruption that prevailed in the office. Thus,[25] "The chowdharies and Canoongoes........succeeded in obtaining in various ways large talookas consisting of numerous villages, for the revenue of which they became hereafter responsible."

The damage inflicted on agriculture and on the Government as a result of the withholding, forging, mutilating or the supplying of false data was irreparable, and no amount of beneficial efforts, later on, succeeded in ameliorating it fully. In fact, this may be easily imagined when it is pointed out that the earlier revenue settlements were suspected to be based on an entirely fictitious data.

This, however, did not diminish the utility of the office in itself. The vast data in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, collected month after month, and year after year is the fairest index of the services rendered by the office inspite of the severe handicaps. As the turbulence of the zamindars lessened, it worked with greater speed and efficiency. The institution in itself deserved no condemnation even if a few kanungos proved dishonest or inefficient. The Board of Commissioners made a most apt observation,[26] "At a period when the Native Government had lost its vigor, and when our own had scarcely acquired efficiency from our own ignorance of every thing relating to the country, which we were suddenly called upon to govern, the office of the canoongoes may have become susceptible of great abuse; the canoongoes no longer subjected to the same checks and restraints, may have failed in their duties, and the same individuals who under a vigorous and efficient control might have been rendered more useful instruments, may unquestionably under different circumstances have betrayed their trust, and have assisted in exposing to frauds and impositions that Government whose interests they were specially bound to watch. Every institution, however, is liable to degenerate, and if the abuse of an establishment be admitted as a ground for its condemnation, there is no public establishment perhaps which may not be considered liable to objection".

[23] Letter to the Secretary, Central Board of Revenue, 31st January, 1829.
[24] Letter from the Collector of Agra, 27th March, 1832.
[25] Government Revenue Records. 1821.
[26] Letter to the Governor General in Council, 17th December 1807.

"Dasturul Amal" of Jawahar Mal Baikus (1144 A. H.)

[By Dr. Mohd. Aziz Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.]

No other period in the Muslim History of India is as rich in its sources as the Moghul Empire. Apart from the official and non-official histories, autobiographies and biographies, literary and other private works, there are various administrative records. Of the latter, a number of *Dasturul-Amal* are available.

The *Dasturul-Amal* as the word signifies means such "Rules of Procedure" as are adopted in the method of administration.. The *Dastur* is not only a reliable record of the administrative machinery of the government, but also deals with the system of land revenue and occasionally the political problems of the day. A detailed study of these records has not so far been made by scholars of Indian History.

There is a rare manuscript of a *Dasturul-Amal* (numbering 954/4), Subhanullah Oriental Library, Muslim University, Aligarh. It is 5-in. by 7-in., with 17 lines in each part of the folio and written in a clear but stylish hand. It is a learned account with literary representation and flavour.

The *Dastural-Amul* [1] dates as far back as 1144 A.H. [2] (1731 A.D.) The author's name is Jawahar Mal Baikus Sahswani, Munshi Sher Afgan Khani[3], who compiled the work under the direction of Abul Fatah Nasiruddin Mohd. Shah (1719-48 A.D.)[4] at the order of *Wazirul Mulk Aitamadud Daula* Qamruddin Khan [5] and dedicated it to Mir Ahmad Khan, the ruler of Moradabad, a dependency of Sambhal [6].

The work is divided into seven *Kachehris* or Courts [7]. The first court is concerned with the appointment of officers and servants. The second deals with the functions of revenue officers and others; the third with Workshops; the fourth with assessment and collection of land revenue; the fifth with Justice; the sixth with Enjoyment and the seventh with miscellaneous things.

For the organization of the Empire there were appointed in every *Subah* a *Nazim*, and in every *Sarkar* a *Faujdar* and in every *Muhal* one *Amil*. A number of instructions are given for the guidance of the *Amil*, who must of necessity be endowed with many good qualities of heart and soul [8]. A certificate (*Sanad*) was drafted by the *Munshi* and authenticated by signature to the effect that "let the *Choudhris*, *Qanungoyans*, *Muqaddams* and the public know that in the *Parganah* of Islam Nagar, in the *Sarkar* of *Sambhal*, in the *Subah* of Shahjahabad, the Capital, a *Faujdar* (Commander of troops), *Amin* (revenue officer) and *Shiqdar* (Governor) is appointed". The function of the officer is described not only to realise revenue but also to maintain law and order in the territory by suppressing oppression and tyranny, punishing the rebels and thieves [9]. The form and details of *tamassuk-i-zamin* (deeds of

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[1] f: 2-*b*, 4-*b*.

[2] f: 2-*b*.

[3] f: 2-*a*.

[4] f: 2-*b*. After the cruel murder of Furrukhsiyar, the Syed Brothers placed on the Moghul throne several "phantom Emperors". Mohd. Shah ruled from 1719-48.

[5] f: 3-*a*.

[6] f: 3-*a*.

- که ار جناب کرم خدمت مراد آباد - گرفت زیب ز ذات مراد بخش نظام -

- بہار گلشن ایجاد میر احمد خان - که جوئے بہار کند سیم و زر مدام ,نعام -

[7] f: 6-*b*. I have dealt with the first two Courts in some detail, which cover half the Mss.; the other Courts may be dealt with in another paper.

[8] f: -7-*a* 7-*b*: 8-*a*.

[9] f: 8-2.

security) and *muchalkas* (bonds) as executed in favour of the employee are also mentioned[10]: The *Faujdar*, who combined with himself the posts of *Amin* and *Shiqdar*, forwarded[11] a *Wajib-ul-arz* (a representation or petition), mentioning the services he rendered, [12] as for example the realisation of revenue, raising of troops, payment of subordinate officers, expenditure on the establishment of office and the final adjustment of yearly accounts duly signed by the *Fotadar* (treasurer). It is further mentioned how the appointment of a *Karkun* (collector of revenue) was made [13].

The *Fotadar* remained in charge of money realized by the officer and was forbidden to incur any expenditure without the explicit permission of the *Diwan* [14]. In the same connection i.e., appointment of *Fotadar*, similar *tamassuk* and *Muchalka* were executed. The *Fotadar* could, like-wise, submit a *wajib-ul-arz*, as for example, applying that two *Sarrafs* (bankers) and one *Muharrir* (clerk) were needed and be sanctioned [15].

The appointment of a person as *Waqai-nigar* (Intelligencer) and *Darogha-i-Khazana* (Superintendent of the Treasury) is also mentioned [16]. His extra duty was to keep an eye on the proceedings of the Court, detention or release of prisoners (both in civil and criminal cases) and to communicate forthwith matters regarding the personal conduct of state-officers and subjects. He was further required to keep in his custody the deposit of the day as realised through the *Amils*, *Karkuns* and the purse of the *Fotadar*, who was forbidden to retain any money with him. The opening and closing of the treasury was to be conducted with mutual consent, and weekly income as authenticated by the *Shiqdar* and *Fotadar* was to be forwarded to the royal court [17]. All servants such as *Ammals*, *Choudhris*, *Qanungo*, *Muqaddams* and others were ordered to keep the *Waqa-i-Navis* informed about the happenings of the *Muhal*. The *Waqa-i-Nigar* also submitted a *Wajib-ul-arz*, mentioning among other things, the services of two clerks employed to pen the events of the day [18]. The function of the *Baramad Navis* (informer, particularly of bribery) was to translate into Persian in consultation with the *Choudhris* and *Qanungo*, the statement of accounts entered by the *Patwari*, and to forward the same to the royal presence so that the *mustaufis* (auditor of accounts) may call upon the *Patwari* to explain any misstatement and require him to execute bonds [19]. Deeds of security (*Tamassuk*) and bonds (*Muchalka*) were executed in the same way as explained before. Two clerks were employed to assist the *Baramad Navis* in his translation work. Certificates of dues were also granted and *Wakalat Namas* accepted. The *Wakil's* duty was to be present in the court, to submit applications and to provide all information regarding the case [20]. The servants of the court handed over the certificates and files to the *Wakil*.

A number of qualities and characteristics are mentioned, which were requisite for the *Diwan* (Vizier), *Bakhshi* [21] (pay master) *Khan-i-Saman*

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[10] f: 9-*a*. 9-*b*.
[11] f: 9-*b*.
[12] f: 10-*a*: 10-*b*, 11-*a*.
[13] f: 11-*b*.
[14] f: 12-*b*.
[15] f: 13-*a*.
[16] f: 13-*b*.
[17] f: 14-*a*.
[18] f: 14-*b*.
[19] f: 15-*a*.
[20] f: 16-*a*.
[21] f: 16-*b*.

(Steward) and *Darogha-i-Topkhana* (Superintendent of Artillery) who was further required to remain well informed of every weapon of war. The requisite qualifications for the post of *Mustaufi* (Accountant) and *Munshi* are also narrated [22].

The *Hazur Navis* (Secretary at the Court) had to attend the Court twice during the day and wrote every detail about all departments and to despatch to the royal presence an account of all property, presents, rarities, treasury, income as realized by the *Ammals* and *Muhals*, repair of *Karkhanajat* (workshops), appointment and dismissal of officers, despatch of forces and their return, war or peace and acquirement of booty.

The duties of the *Diwan* were multifarious—general organization and supervision, litigation, checking of accounts and demand of dues, appointment and dismissal of *Mutasaddiyan* (clerks) and *Ammals* (tax collectors) of *Parganas*, increase or decrease in the pay of soldiers, means of livelihood for the people, detention or release of prisoners and other governmental affairs [23].

The function of the *Bakhshi* was to pay the army and other departments, to make provision for the injured and disabled and to supply means of livelihood to the dependants, to provide facilities to the soldiers by way of granting horses and arms [24].

The *Khan-i-Saman* supervised the affairs of *Karkhanajat*, appointment and dismissal of servants and increase or decrease in their pay, the audit of accounts and the demand of dues [25].

The *Darogha-i-Topkhana* demanded a *Muchalka* from the servants of the *Topkhana* that they would not absent themselves on the day of battle or other ceremonies otherwise their services would be dispensed with [26]. When an *Amil* applied to his office, it was his duty to check the statements of accounts minutely and with a critical eye, and prepare a report on the application of the *Amil* to submit it to the *Darogha-i-Kachehri* (Superintendent of the Court) for disposal [27].

The duty of *Darogha-i-Khazana* was to keep in his custody money collected during the day according to the drafts of *Mushrif* (Treasury officer, who authenticated accounts and writings) and *Fotadar* along with his own signature in the Treasury House, the opening and closing of which was to be conducted with mutual consultation and information. No money was to be withdrawn without a certificate from the *Diwan*. The salary and allowances of the servants and soldiers were to be directly paid to the persons concerned. He was required to keep an account of income, deposit and other departmental details according to the law and practice. The *Mushrif's* duty was to keep an account of the daily income and along with his account the statement of the *Fotadar* and seal of the *Darogha*, and to deposit every thing in the treasury office [28].

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[22] f: 17-*a*.

[23] f: 17-*b*: f: 18-*a*: 18-*b*.

[24] f: 19-*a*.

[25] f: 20-*a*: 20-*b*.

[26] f: 21-*a*.

[27] f: 21-*b*.

[28] f: 25-*a*. 25-*b*.

The duty of the *Darogha-i-Kachehri* was to act as the Superintendent of the Court, to supervise the work of the servants of the court and to be present in the court twice morning and evening and to see that none of the servants stayed at home without permission, neglecting his duties at the court [29]. He had to keep law and order in the court, for on account of the multitude of people and the gathering of applicants, affairs of the court fell into disorder. With the exception of the *Bakhshi*, *Diwan*, *Khan-i-Saman*, *Munshi*, *Huzur Navis* and *Mustaufi* and others, office peons, horsemen and footmen, none else was to be admitted except on business [30]. A *Peshkar* (Assistant) was appointed to assist the *Darogha-i-Kachehri* in his work.

A *Kotwal* was appointed for every *Qasbah* and sometimes for the whole of *Pargana*, whose function was to remain well informed about the affairs of the people, to secure the safety of their person and property. He conducted the affairs in such a manner that the nobility was not disgraced. The *Chaukidars* and *Shab-Gardan* (watch-men) were warned that they should perform their duties carefully [31], so that no thefts occurred in the *Qasbah*. In case of theft, the stolen property was handed over to the owner and the criminals were punished accordingly. The *Kotwal* employed a number of spies for the same purpose. If any person violated the honour of women or children, the offender was paraded through the city with a blackened face, head-shaven and riding a donkey. He also investigated that no person used any intoxicating drugs [32].

A person was appointed as a *Mushrif* (Inspector) of the *Qasbah* and *Darogha* of the *Pargana* and kept miscellaneous receipts regarding decision of cases, detention and release of criminals, local news, demand of dues and income, fine and presents and other affairs that were dealt with on the *Chabutrah* (the platform) [33]. He submitted all these details to the office according to the rules and convention.

The *Darogha-i-Adalat* (Inspector of the Court) was strictly forbidden to show any favour to any one, and to conduct his duties according to the dictates of the *Shariat* and traditions of the court. He was required further to administer absolute justice and to give exemplary punishment to the evil doers [34]. A *Mushrif* was also attached to the court known as the *Mushrif-i-Adalat*.

The *Darogha-i-Baghat* (Superintendent of gardens), as the name signifies, looked after the gardens and supervised the work of *Baghbans*. There was also a *Mushrif-i-Baghat* (Inspector of gardens [35]), who kept an account of the fruits and proceeds of every garden. The *Atlaq Navis* meant the writer of diverse applications and deeds [36].

The *Sadrus Sudur-i-Sadr-i-Jahan*[37] (Chief Judge) was appointed for a *Sarkar*; his duty was to conduct the affairs of the court according to the provisions of the *Shariat*. He could not deviate from the path of virtue, did not

[29] f: 25-*b*.
[30] f: 26-*a*.
[31] f: 26-*b*.
[32] f: 27-*a*.
[33] f: 27-*b*.
[34] f: 28-*a*.
[35] f: 29-*a*.
[36] f: 29-*a*.
[37] f: 36-*b*.

molest any person without some offence and never accepted anything from any party [38].

The *Qazi* of the *Pargana* was sometimes assigned some land, the proceeds of which formed his means of sustenance[39]. A mention is made about the appointment of a *Mufti* and a vivid description of his facial expression is also given [40]. The *Muhtasib* was the censor of public conduct and held an important position : his duty was to enforce right and forbid wrong and called upon people and officials to keep up prayer [41]. A *Mutawalli* (trustee) of the *Pargana* was appointed and was in charge of stipends. The *Khatib's* duty was to lead the *Juma* and *I'd* prayers [42].

Then follows an account of various recorders of rates and duties of the *Choudhri*[43] and *Qanungo* [44].

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[38] f: 37-*a*.

[39] f: 37-*b*.

[40] f: 38-*a*.

[41] f: 38-*b*.

[42] f: 39-*a*.

[43] f: 41-*a*.

[44] f: 43-*b*.

Was Banda a Sikh Guru?

[By Mr. Haridhan Singh Bhayee.]

Mystery surrounds the romantic career of Banda who took the title of Guru after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh. According to historians like Irvine, (1) he impersonated Guru Gobind Singh, while others like Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar call him "a false Guru"(2). While in search for old manuscript materials for the history of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States, I recently came across a hitherto unnoticed and unpublished letter which refutes the spiritual leadership of Banda and others in unmistakeable terms, and throws some new light on the history of the period. The original letter is in Gurmukhi and may thus be translated into English:—

"Onkar (God) is one! Victory to the Supreme Guru (God)!! (3) The Khalsa of the Immortal Being (Akal Purakh), who have visualized the One (Ykrang), may they remember the Wahguru! written to Bhai Sahib Dan Singhji, Bhai Duni Singhji, Bhai Jagat Singhji, Bhai Gurbaksh Singhji, Uggar Singhji, Bhai Ram Singhji and to the Sarbat Khalsa of the Wahguru, The Akal Purakh. The slaves of the Khalsaji, Kahn Singh, Niwal Singh, Mool Singh, Raja Singh, Mahan Singh wish "Wahguruji ki Fateh" to Sarbat Khalsa of Wahguru Akal Purakh. Be blissful in the thought that the Wahguru, the Akal Purakh, always remains with you. May you have happiness. May the Khalsaji reign supreme.

Your petition reached us through Bhai Dulcha Singh(?)

The Khalsaji was very much delighted to read it.

The Khalsaji is pleased to salute you, which may be accepted: "One who serves God, God helps him."

Recite the name of the Guru, The Supreme Guru (Wahguru) is Omnipresent, through His kindness you will be protected. Mata Sahibji has appointed Bhai Kahn Singh as the gumashta in Sri Amritsar. The Khalsaji, after a Gurumatta, have started the repairs of Hari Mandir and the garden etc. Sri Mataji has written that Sri Amritsar is the city of Wahguru Akalpurakh so it should have a free kitchen. Therefore two hundred Singhs of the Khalsa are here in Amritsar. Wahguru and the Khalsaji are to look after them. Go about and collect the money contributed to the name of the Guru; Singhs are following (the bearer of this letter) immediately; convert the money into Hundis in the name of Bhai Kahn Singh and send the Hundis to Amritsar through them. You will ever remain at one with Wahguruji and Khalsaji! You will be honoured in every path of life, this and the other world will be preserved for you!

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1 Irvine's later Mughals, Vol. I, P. 94 and 319-20.

2 Fall of the Mughal Empire "Vol. I. P. 422, Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, P. 322.

(3) Words "Wahguru" and "Wahiguru" are exclusively used for God and not for Guru.

The Khalsaji of the Wahguru should be alert, discriminating and wise; who does not acknowledge any one but the Akalpurakh. Ten Gurus had temporal existence (amongst us); It is sin to put faith in Bandas and Ajitas etc.—as the eleventh or twelfth. Other Sins can be absolved by worshipping the Guru but this sin is unpardonable. Those who put faith in the body of a man "turn away their face (from the true path) and blacken it". Khalsaji you are not to acknowledge anyone else but the Akal. The quest of Shabd should only be upto the Tenth Guru. "One who endeavours to find his Goal through the Shabd, Nanak is his servant." The Guru resides in the Shabd. The Shabd was preached to us by the Guru. "The Soul of the souls is the Shabd through which the Lord can be attained". Wahguruji ki Fateh! Remain under the husbandry of Bhai Mehr Singh attendant of Bhai B—(?)'s son, "You will be united to the Guru".

This letter was found at Bhai Rupa, a village in Nabha State. It is now in the possession of the descendants of Bhai Rup Chand, a well known figure in Sikh History, who got the title of "Bhai", *i.e.*, Brother, from Guru Har Gobind, along with the orders to preach Sikhism in a tract of the Punjab now called Malwa (1630) (1).

This letter appears to be addressed to the Sikhs in general through the persons mentioned therein, who were expected to proclaim it to all and sundry; and act according to the other instructions. No date is given in the manuscript. But it may be inferred that the letter was written after the rupture with Banda. The ex-communication of Banda as mentioned by several Sikh historians took place on the 1st Baisakh 1774 Samwat, about April 1718, (2) at the Baisakhi meeting of the Khalsa.

The first thing in this letter that strikes one is that "God is one! Victory to the God!!" is written instead of "God is One! Guru is true", *i.e.*, Ek Onkar Wahguru Ji ki Fateh instead of 'Ek Onkar! Sat Guruji!!' or 'Ek Onkar! Guru Sat!!' which used to be written during life time of the Gurus.

The latter part of this letter is most important from the historical point of view. In these few lines the ideals and principles of Sikhism are fully discussed: The Khalsa at Amritsar proclaims by virtue of this letter that there was no Guru in existence after Guru Gobind Singh with whom the Guruship terminates. The contention of some modern historians that Banda was proclaimed as their Guru by the Sikhs is refuted. He could not have been an imposter either; had he impersonated Guru Gobind Singh, the step taken by the Khalsa in 1717 would have been taken in 1709 or near about that, when he came and appeared in the Punjab. It is difficult to hoodwink people for such a long time; especially when people like Baba Kahn Singh and Binod Singh had come with him from the Deccan (3), and personal attendants like Bhai Dharm Singh etc.: met him near Sirhind. How could he deceive, 40,000 people? It was later, when, flushed with success, he aspired to become Guru and deviated from the principles and teachings of the Gurus, that he was ex-communicated.

1 Macauliff's Sikh religion, Vol. IV, P. 150. Itihas Riasat Bagrian.
2 Shamsher Khalsa 201.
3 Shamsher Khalsa.

This letter categorically defines the attitude of the Sikhs towards Banda. After the death of Guru Gobind Singh Khalsa as a whole became the Guru[1]. How then could Banda be tolerated as Guru?

It may be inferred from this letter is that the excommunication of Banda was not brought about by Mataji. It was a voluntary act on the part of the Khalsa. Some historians think that Mataji, who resided at Delhi, was coerced to write to Banda to cease hostilities. On his refusal to do so, Mataji was instigated to ask the Khalsa to sever all connexions with him. This letter mentions the orders of Mataji with regard to the appointment of Baba Kahn Singh and the establishment of a free kitchen. But there is no reference to any letter concerning Banda.

From the above analysis we come to the following conclusions:—

(1) Banda was neither an imposter, nor was he produced by the Sikhs as "Guru Gobind Singh miraculously brought back to life".

(2) Banda was a Sikh, a Jathedar or military leader in battles at the most, but the Khalsa was Supreme in matters religious, social and political. As soon as they saw the signs of apostasy, *i.e.*, when he aspired to Guruship, the Khalsa excommunicated him.

(3) The Guruship terminated with Gobind Singh, the last of the Sikh Gurus. No one was ever acknowledged as his successor.

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(1) Shamsher Khalsa.

(2) Khalsa mero rup hai khas ; "Khalsa" men haun karon Niwas.

Afghanistan at Shah Zaman's accession, 1793.

[By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.]

Source.—In the early nineties of the 18th century there were wide rumours of a foreign invasion from the north-west. The British Government in India had their territories almost beyond the reach of the invader; but they were anxious to defend the country of their ally the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, which in those days served as a buffer state. This could be effectively done by possessing the exact knowledge of the actual resources and strength of the king of Afghanistan. Consequently, Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, sent one Ghulam Sarwar to Afghanistan to procure as authentic an information as he possibly could.

Ghulam Sarwar left Lucknow on the 10th March, 1793, and after the lapse of nearly two years came back on the 12th February, 1795. He spent Rs. 3,305 in securing intelligence, and the British Government paid him Rs. 14,500 in all.

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, while presenting his minute dated the 5th July, 1797, to his Council, spoke of Ghulam Sarwar's account in these words:—"It contains the best procurable account of the dominions, forces, revenues and character of Zaman Shah who, since his expedition to Lahore, has become a more interesting object of political attention."

The original papers of Ghulam Sarwar which were compiled in Persian could not be traced in Imperial Record Department, with the exception of an application from him claiming money from the Government; but an English translation full of mis-spelt names of persons, and places is available there[1]. This lengthy document covers about 100 closely-written pages. I have condensed and arranged this matter in a logical order, and made an attempt to correct various wrongly-spelt names. This account pertains to the Hijra year 1207 to 1208, commencing from August 19, 1792 to August 8, 1793.

Shah Zaman succeeds, May, 1793.—Timur Shah, the son and successor of the famous Ahmad Shah Abdali, died at Kabul on the 20th May, 1793, without nominating next heir to the throne. He left behind him twenty-nine sons and nineteen daughters[2]. Several princes held the charge of various provinces. The eldest son, Humayun,[3] "cruel but generous", was at Kandahar. The second son, Mahmud, a wise prince, was the lord of Herat, while his brother Firoz-ud-din, noted for bravery was with him[4]. Abbas, the chief of Peshawar, brave and generous, "renowned for

1 Imperial Records, Secret Department, 7th July, 1797, Nos. 1-8.

2 Malleson in his History of Afghanistan, p. 300, and Ferrier in his History of the Afghans, p. 106, state that Timur Shah left twenty-three sons and thirteen daughters.

3 His mother belonged to the Sadozai tribe.

4 The mother of Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din was of the Isakzai tribe.

Herculean strength was the popular favourite"[1]. Zaman, who was intelligent, foresighted, cautious, economical and patient of labour; but pleasure-loving, avaricious and haughty, was at Kabul. His real brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, was at Ghazni[2]. Kohandil was the Governor of Kashmir.

Humayun and Mahmud were on the best of terms with each other, and Mahmud promised to support Humayun. They remained at their respective governments, while all other princes hurried to Kabul. Zaman, however, with the powerful influence of the imperial harem, and the strong support of the great Barakzai chief, Payendah Khan, was raised to the sovereign power. Shah Zaman, by imprisoning all his brothers present in Kabul, secured their submission. He then marched to Kandahar and defeated Humayun at Qalat-i-Ghilzai, and the Prince sought refuge in flight to Baluchistan. Shah Zaman appointed Shuja-ul-Mulk to the Governorship of Kandahar, came to terms with Mahmud, and returned to Kabul. He thus succeeded for a time in effectually establishing his authority as ruler. Shah Zaman is well known in Indian History for being the last invader from the north-west.

Extent of the kingdom.—At the time of his accession the kingdom of Afghanistan extended in the east from Bahawalpur on the Sutlej to Khorasan, Iran and Kerman in the west; and in the north from Akcha on the Oxus to the sea of Oman in the south. It comprised of a space about 1,600 miles in length between Kashmir and Herat, and 1,000 miles in breadth between Bahawalpur and Akcha. This vast territory comprehended the principalities of Bahawalpur, Sind, Multan, the Derajat, Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Baluchistan, Herat, Persian Khorasan and Balkh.

Revenues.—The total sum of revenue in 1793 amounted to Rs. 2,71,78,400, according to the following specification:—

	Rs.
Remitted to the royal treasury	67,25,000
Jagirs	47,64,400
Expenses of establishment	38,21,000
Charity	5,06,000
Appropriations in lands paying quit rents [?]	1,13,62,000
	2,71,78,400

Of Rs. 67,25,000 remitted to the royal treasury Rs. 46,15,000 was appropriated to the fixed expenses of Shah Zaman, in accordance with the following schedule:—

	Rs.
Privy purse	12,00,000
Artillery expenses	2,70,000
Troops of slaves khas	11,90,000
Stable expenditure	1,50,000
Elephants	50,000
Mules	80,000

1 Malleson, 300.

2 The mother of Zaman and Shuja-ul-Mulk was of the Yusafzai tribe.

	Rs.
Camels expenditure	1,10,000
Tosha Khana	3,20,000
Heram Khana	5,60,000
Farash Khana	70,000
Royal Kitchen	2,20,000
Grant for Akcha	70,000
Grant for Balkh	1,15,000
Royal buildings.	2,10,000
	46,15,000
Balance .	21,10,000
	67,25,000

Army.—As regards Shah Zaman's forces the particulars are as follows:—

Standing army.—

	Rs.
Risala Iltafat Khan Khwaja Sara	4,900
Risala Haji Amir Khan	2,400
Risala Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan	5,900
Risala Arsalan Khan Jawan Sher	3,700
Risala Jafar Khan	1,800
Risala of nephew of Sadiq Khan	1 600
Risala Yusaf Ali Khan Khwaja Sara	3,000
	23,300
Slaves Khas	9,780
Troops detached throughout the country	35,750
	68,830
Large pieces of cannon	644
Camel artillery fit for service	2,600
Camel artillery unfit for service	3,270

There were 195 forts, besides innumerable petty fortified places.

Courtiers.—Of the numerous big courtiers Imam-ul-Mulk Ghazi Faiz-ullah Khan was Sadar-i-Sadur of the Kingdom. Rahmatullah Khan held the title of Wafa War Khan and the office of Sadar-i-Sadur. Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan Babri was the superintendent of the Treasury, Tosha Khana, Jawahir Khana, and also had the charge of inspecting the papers of the subahdars, farmers and 'amils of the country. Mukhtar-ud-daulah Sher Muhammad Khan, son of Shah Vali Khan, was Wazir. Sardar-i-Sardaran Payendah Khan who had the title of Sarfraz Khan was Amir-ul-Umara-Shaikh Yusaf was vakil of the Ryot and Mustofi-ul-Mumalik. Mirza Ali Khan held the title of Khanazad Khan Bahadur. Shakur Khan was Vakil-i-Mumalik. Kallu Khan had the title of Vakil-ud-daulah. Karim Khan, son of Sardar Jahan Khan, held the rank of Sardar, and was Darogha of the Stable. Ahmad Khan was Shahanchi Bashi, Mulla Yaqub Khan Topchi Bashi, Daud Khan 'Amlah Bashi, Yar Muhammad Khan Nasaqchi Bashi and Azim Khan Farrash Bashi. Yusaf 'Ali Khan Khwaja Sara was commander of the contingent of the Slaves Khas. Rahimdad Khan was Daroga of the Daftar.

Foreign Relations.—The political situation of Shah Zaman should be determined relatively to the King of Turan, King of Iran, Prince Mahmud of Herat and the Sikhs in the Punjab.

Abdul Ghani Khan was the nominal king of Turan with his capital at Bokhara. He was blinded by his Wazir, Shah Murad, in whose hands lay the real authority. Hostilities had broken out between Shah Murad and Timur Shah, a little before the latter's death chiefly regarding the claims of the two kings to Balkh and Akcha (50 miles n. of Balkh). Ultimately peace was patched up, and these places were retained by Timur Shah. Shah Zaman, was, however, under constant alarm respecting the attempt of Shah Murad.

Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer was the virtual ruler of Iran, and his ambition and power was a permanent cause of apprehension to Shah Zaman.

Prince Mahmud, the Regent of Herat, was in secret correspondence with Shah Murad and Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer with a view to secure the throne of Afghanistan. He possessed no resources to contest with his brother, but nevertheless he was a source of anxiety to the Shah.

The Punjab, the richest part of Abdali Kingdom, was in possession of the Sikhs, a warlike and numerous people. Though divided by internecine dissensions, they were not prepared either to relinquish their hold on the province or to allow the Shah to pass through their country to Delhi unmolested. The Sikhs were therefore an ever-pinching throne in the side of Shah Zaman.

Provinces:—

1. *Bahawalpur*.—Bahawal Khan, son of Fateh Khan, was the ruler. In his relations with Shah Zaman, he was "apparently well-affected, but in his heart most rebellious". He had an army of 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, but could further collect 17,000 horse and foot in an emergency. There were 19 forts in the province. The fort of Derawal commonly called Dilawar Kot stood in a sandy desert, where no water was available within a radius of about 50 miles. The fort contained two wells of good water, and close to its walls there was a large tank which had water throughout the year. The fort of Khanpur was also situated in a waterless tract. The well-water in this fort was so saltish that it was unfit for human consumption, and could be used only by sheep, goats and camels. Rukanpur had a masonry fort. The forts of Ahmadpur[1], Dingarh, Khairpur, Garhi Ikhtiar Khan, Maujgarh, and Kot Lashkar Khan had no artillery. The total income of the province in 1793 was Rs. 11,07,000[2], and expenditure as given below:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	1,00,000
Talukdars	1,40,000
Charity	60,000
Bahawal Khan's expenses	8,07,000
	11,07,000

[1] This place was the principal residence of the Khan. *cf.* Masson's Narrative of various journeys, i, 22.

[2] Shahamat Ali estimates the gross income of the Khan about 1830 at 14 lakhs, and net saving at 5 lakhs. *cf.* Bahawalpur, XI.

2. *Sind.*—At this time Sind was divided into parts. Bukkur and Sukkur were under Shah Zaman's officers stationed here at the head of 1,700 horse with 143 pieces of cannon. This district transmitted to the royal treasury Rs. 65,000.

Hyderabad was under Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc. the Talpura Chiefs, who had thrown off allegiance to the Shah. Their income was Rs. 51,13,000, and the expenditure:—

	Rs.
Expected to pay to the royal treasury .	10,00,000
Officers and relations . .	11,00,000
Privy purse of the rulers . .	28,13,000
Charity . . .	2,00,000
	51,13,000

The revenues of Shikarpur amounted to Rs 5,93,000 as detailed here:—

	Rs.
Expected to pay to the royal treasury	3,91,000
Talukdars	1,45,000
Administrative expenses	52,000
Charity	5,000
	5,93,000

Amarkot was at that time under the Raja of Jodhpur, and the total income of this district was Rs. 23,000

Karachi was under Nasir Khan Baluch of Qalat, and its revenues amounted to Rs. 6,16,000.

The Talpura chiefs entertained a force of 11,000 horse and 19,000 foot. There were 23 forts in all. Hyderabad had a masonry fort built on a hill. Bukkur, a strong hill fort, stood on an island in the middle of the river Indus. The other important forts were Rohree, Sukkur, Amarkot, Shikarpur, Khudabad, Fatah Yehsan Kot and Karachi. Sind was a "flourishing, well-watered and well inhabited" country. Its fertility depended not on rains but on its rivers and canals, and in consequence it yielded a large revenue.

3. *Multan.*—Muzaffar Khan, son of Shuja Khan, was the chief He was a "capable man but haughty" and "not well affected" towards the Shah. He commanded 1,500 horse, and could muster 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot more. There were 11 strong forts such as Multan, Shujakot, Sikandarabad, Muzaffarabad and Talamba. They contained many pieces of artillery. There were many garhis besides. The total income was Rs 6,73,400. The expenditure is given below:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	2,55,000
Talukdars	3,23,400
Expenses of establishment	45,000
Charity	50,000
	6,73,400

4. *Dera Ghazi Khan.*—A son of Payendah Khan was the sardar of the place. He had 2,300 horse, and could collect 3,000 horse and 8,000 foot more. There were 14 forts such as Derah Ghazi Khan, Taunsa (4 miles w. of the Indus), Mangrotha (4 miles w. of Taunsa), and Tarund (on the Western bank of the Indus), besides innumerable small forts (kotlahs). Total income of the district was Rs. 10,97,000, and the expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	6,70,000
Talukdars	3,20,000
Expenses of establishment	62,000
Charity	45,000
	10,97,000

5. *Leiah.*—Muin-ul-Mulk Abdul Nabi Khan, nephew of Khudadad Khan Letee, was formerly ruler of Sind; but he was expelled by the Talpuria chiefs, Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc. He was sixty years of age and "imbecile". He was not truly loyal to the Shah. He commanded a contingent of 600 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. His total income was Rs. 3,47,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	1,50,000
Talukdars	89,000
Expenses of establishment	1,02,000
Charity	6,000
	3,47,000

6. *Derah Ismail Khan.*—Nusrat Khan was stationed here with a body of 700 horse. "He is most oppressive, but has not the ability to rebel." He could collect about 3,000 horse and foot. There were 6 forts in all, and many kotlahs. The fort of Derah Ismail Khan had masonry fortifications, but it was breached and out of repair. Tirgarh (4 miles w. of the Indus) and Naushahra (in the middle of the Indus) were other important forts. The total income amounted to Rs. 2,99,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	1,20,000
Talukdars	1,54,000
Expenses of establishment	15,000
Charity	10,000
	2,99,000

7. *Bangash Ghat.*—Nawab Khan was the Chief. "He has no thought of disobedience". He commanded 500 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. There were 3 middling forts and several kotlas. The annual income was Rs. 1,00,000.

8. *Attock.*—Shahbaz Khan Khattak at the head of 3,000 horse and 9 pieces of cannon ruled over the place. There were 6 forts and several fortalices. The fortress of Attock was the strongest. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 1,10,000.

9. *Kashmir.*—Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi was the Governor. He had a force of 5,000 horse and 7 pieces of cannon. Lately, an extra detachment of 11,000 horse and 416 pieces of camel artillery on the part of the King had been stationed there. There were 21 strong forts and numerous kotlas in the hills. The total income was Rs. 40,18,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	22,50,000
Talukdars	6,28,000
Expenses of establishment	11,40,000
	40,18,000

10. *Chhach Hazara.*—This district was administered by the 'amils of Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi. They had a body of 4,000 horse, but could collect 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot in addition. There were 4 middling forts and several fortalices. The total income was Rs. 2,30,000.

11. *Peshawar.*—Haji Rahmatullah was the head of the district. He commanded a contingent of 3,000 horse with 9 pieces of cannon. He could collect 4,000 horse and 11,000 foot. In addition to the masonry fort of Peshawar, there were many small forts. The total annual revenues amounted to Rs. 11,91,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	2,95,000
Expenses of establishment and charity	8,96,000
	11,91,000

12. *Jalalabad.*—Ghani Khan was stationed here with 1,000 horse as an administrator. He could gather 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot more. There were 3 middling forts and many fortalices. The annual income amounted to Rs. 2,00,000.

13. *Kabul.*—It was under the direct administration of the King. In addition to 7,000 horse there were many contingents of slaves with 107 pieces of cannon. There was the strong fortress of Bala Hissar, and many other forts and fortalices. The total income was Rs. 9,95,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the royal treasury	2,65,000
Talukdars	2,55,000
Expenses of establishment and charity	4,75,000
	9,95,000

14. *Ghazni.*—It was ruled over by the officers of Payendah Khan, who commanded 300 horse. The fortress of Ghazni was breached and out of repair. There were many forts besides. The annual income was Rs. 1,10,000, out of which Rs. 50,000 was paid into the King's treasury.

15. *Ghorebund.*—It was administered by the 'amils of Payendah Khan at the head of 300 horse. This place had a masonry fort, besides many other forts. The total revenues amounted to Rs. 90,000, out of which Rs. 40,000 was paid into the treasury.

16. *Ghori.*—It was also under the administration of Payendah Khan's men, stationed with 300 horse. There were several forts and fortalices. Ghori paid no money in cash to the treasury, but presented to the King 250 horses and 9,000 sheep each year.

17. *Kalat-i-Ghilzai.*—It was in the direct possession of the King. There was a very strong hill fortress. It submitted to the treasury a sum of Rs. 1,02,000.

18. *Kandahar.*—Prince Shuja-ul-Mulk was the Governor. He had a force of 4,000 horse with 342 pieces of cannon. There was a strong masonry fort, besides 13 others. The total income was Rs. 9,61,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	2,10,000
Talukdars	4,20,000
Expenses of establishment	2,81,000
Charity	50,000
	9,61,000

19. *Kalat.*—Nasir Khan Baluch was the head. He commanded a force of 33,000 cavalry. He was expected to attend the Shah in time of war, but paid no tribute He was not obedient to Shah Zaman. The hill fortress of Kalat with seven towers was exceedingly strong. There were 17 other forts and many fortalices. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 34,00,000.

20. *Farah.*—Rahmatullah Khan was the chief of the place He commanded 250 horse. He paid into the treasury Rs. 65,000.

21. *Herat.*—Princes Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din, sons of Timur Shah, were the rulers. They commanded a force of 15,000 horse with 12 pieces of cannon. They were disaffected to Shah Zaman. Herat had a strong masonry fort, nine other forts and many fortalices. Total income was Rs. 11,81,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	4,21,000
Talukdars	4,50,000
Expenses of establishment	2,40,000
Charity	70,000
	11,81,000

22. *Nabhalook.*—Mir Ali Khan was the chief. He commanded a force of 35,000 cavalry. He possessed 24 forts as Toon and Tibs. The country of Nabhalook was adjacent to Herat. Mir Ali Khan resided at Tibs. He was disaffected to the Shah, but paid tribute in the form of products of his country such as tobacco, saffron, Persian carpets and horses to the yearly value of one lakh of rupees. The coin was struck and prayers were read in Shah Zaman's name. His revenues amounted to Rs. 39,00,000.

23. *Charikar and Panjshir.*—The annual income was Rs. 2,10,000, and expenditure:—

	Rs.
Paid into to the royal treasury	1,00,000
Talukdars	65,000
Expenses of establishment	35,000
Charity	10,000
	2,10,000

24. *Maimana.*—Jahan Khan was the chief. His annual income amounted to Rs. 1,00,000. He sent to the Shah 1,200 horses and 11,000 sheep each year as a tribute.

25 *Balkh.*—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the Chief who commanded a body of 3,900 horse with 11 pieces of cannon. There were 4 forts and many kotlahs. The revenues were Rs. 4,00,000, which were supplemented by a special grant from Kabul amounting to Rs. 1,15,000. The expenditure was as follows:—

	Rs.
Talukdars	1,50,000
Troops	3,20,000
Charity	45,000
	5,15,000

26. *Akcha.*—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the head of the district. The annual collections were Rs 1,80,000, and Rs. 70,000 was sent from Kabul. The total expenses amounted to Rs. 2,50,000. A tribute of 1,700 horses and 22,000 sheep was submitted to the Shah by Hakumat Khan for Balkh and Akcha. There were 4 pieces of cannon in the fort of Balkh.

27. *Khulam and Andkhui.*—These places were under Alivardi Khan. The annual expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,30,000. No money was paid into the treasury, but 1,000 horses and 15,000 sheep were sent each year by way of tribute.

28. *Qunduz*—Khaliq Ali Khan was the administrator of the district His annual expenses were Rs. 2,10,000. He sent to the King 1,000 horses and 10,000 sheep every year as a tribute.

Some Tibetan References[1] to Muslim Advance into Bihar and Bengal and to the state of Buddhism thereafter.

(By Dr. S. C. Sarkār, M.A., D.Phil.)

I.

[Tibetan Text.]

Thā. ma. Kha. che. Paṇ. chen. Śākya. śrī. ste., ahdi-ahi. dus. su. O. tanta. pu. ri. daṅ. Vi. kra. ma. la. śi. la. nub. bo./De-ahi. rgyu. rkyen. yaṅ. Se. na.-ahi. thog. ma. nas. bsuṅ. Ma. ga. dha-r. yaṅ. Mu. stegs. Kla. klo. Stag. gśigs. je. ahphel. du. soṅ. shiṅ./ Khyad. par. du. Rgyal. po. La. waṅ. Se. na.-ahi. dus. su., dge. sloṅ. ahgaah. shig. gis. pho. ña. byas. pa-ahi. rkyen. gyis., Gaṅgā. dan. Ya. mu. nā.-ahi. bar. gyi. Antara. ve. dī.-ahi. Tu. ruś. ka.-ahi. rgyal. po., Sla. wa. daṅ. Bhaṅ. ga. la. sogs. kyi. Tu. ruś. ka.-ahi. rgyal. phran. kun. bsdoṅs. te. dmag. Ma. ga. dha-r. byuṅ. nas. yul. bcom. shiṅ., O. tanta. pu. ri. daṅ. Vi. kra. ma. la. śi. la. bsig. ciṅ., rab. byuṅ. wa. maṅ. po. bsad. che., Śākya. śrī. Śar. O. ḍi. bi. śa-ahi. Ja. gadha. la-r. bros. nas. lo. gsum. nas. Bod. du. byon. te. sdom. rgyun. spel. la./Gshan. dag. Bal. po. daṅ. Lho.-Nub. daṅ. Lho. phyogs. daṅ. Śar. Ara. khaṅ. daṅ. Mu. ñaṅ. daṅ. Kam. po. ja. la. sogs. su. bros. nas.. Ma. ga. dha-r. bstan. pa. nub. bo.//De-ahi. che. Go. rak. śa-ahi. rjes. ahbraṅ Jo. gi. blun. po. ahgaah. shig. Dwaṅ. phyug. gi. rjes. su. ahdraṅ. la./ Na. ṭa sva-ahi. naṅ. pa. ñuṅ. śas. śig. gnas. so.// De. phyin. gyi. Se. na-ahi. rgyal rgyud. dag. gis. Tu. rus. ka-ahi. rgyal. po. las. luṅ. len. dgos. byuṅ. yaṅ. naṅ pa. la. mchod. la./Khyad. par. du. Bud. dha. Se. na-ahi dus. Nā. len. dra-r. rim par. Rā. hu. la. śrī. bhadra. daṅ. Bhu. mi. śrī. bha. dra. daṅ. U. pā. ya. śrī. bha. dra. dag. byuṅ. nas. ahkhor. ñuṅ. du. re. la. chos. ahchad. la./ De. dus. Ka. ru. ṇa. śrī. bha. dra. daṅ. Mu. nin. dra. śrī. bha. dra. sogs. kyaṅ. ahkhor.-ñuṅ. śas. re. daṅ. bcas. bshugs. śer./ Spra. ti. ta. Se. na. ahdus. nas. lo. brgya. cam. nas. Bhaṅ. ga. la-r. Ca. ga. la. rā. ja. shes. pa. Di. li. chun. chad. kyi. Hin. tu daṅ. Tu. rus. ka. kun. la. dwaṅ. bsgyur. wa-ahi. stobs. ahbyor. che. wa. can. bram. śe. la. mos. pa. shig. byuṅ. wa. Bcun. mos. blo. kha. naṅ. pa-r. bsgyur. nas. Rdo. rje. gdan. daṅ. Nā. len. dra-r. mchod. ciṅ. sṅar. gyi. lha. khaṅ. ñams. pa. ahgaah. shig. daṅ. khyad. par. du. Gan. dho. la. dgu. thog. gi. steṅ. bśig. pa. yaṅ. gsos. te., Paṇ. ḍi. ta. Śā. ri. bu. ahdra. spyan. draṅs. nas. chos. gshi. cuṅ. śad. bcugs. la./Ahdi. ahdas. nas. sa. ahbrug. ahdi-ahi. bar. lo. sum. brgya. soṅ. śer./ Phyis. su. O. ḍi. bi. śa-r. Chos. rgyal. Mu. kun. dra. de. wa. shes. pa. Ma. ga. dha-ahi. bar. dwaṅ. wa. shig. byuṅ. nas. bstan. pa. cuṅ. śad. mchod. de., ahdi. ahdas. nas. da. war. lo. brgya. daṅ. don. brgyad. soṅ. ṅo.//

Śar. du. sṅar. nas. rgyal. bstan. dar. shiṅ. Ma. ga. dha. bcom. nas. mkhas. pa. maṅ. po. Ko. kri-r. byon. dus. nas. der. rim. par. rgyal. po. Śo. bha. ja. ta. daṅ. Siṅ. ha. ja. ṭi. sogs. kyis. chos. gshi. maṅ. po. bcugs. te. phyis. su-ahṅ. rgyal. bstan. dar. shiṅ. Bod. du. ahoṅ. wa-ahi. Paṇ. ḍi. ta. Va. na. ranta. sogs. kyaṅ. de. nas. byon. la./ Dus. phyis. rgyal. po. Bab. la. sun. dha. ra-s. Lho. Kha. gen. dra-ahi. grub. chen. Shi. va. sbas. pa-ahi. druṅ. du. ahgro. ldiṅ. du. Paṇ. ḍi. ta. maṇ. po. brjaṅs. nas. sṅags. maṅ. du. spyan. draṅs. śiṅ./ Ra. khaṅ. du. de-ahi. bu. Can. dra. vā. ha. na. daṅ./ Cag. ma-r. A. ṭi. ta. vā. ha. na. daṅ./ Mu. ñaṅ. du. Bā. la. vā. ha. na. daṅ./ Nam. ga. ta-r. Sun. dha. ra. ha. ci. shes. pas. bstan. pa. mchod. la./ Lho. phyogs. su. sṅar. nas. bstan. pa. cher. dar. shiṅ. Ma. ga. dha. bcom. rjes. su-ahṅ. Shi. sbas. daṅ. Mi-ahi. ñi. ma. sogs. byuṅ. nas. bstan. pa. skyoṅs. śiṅ. rgyal. po. dag. gis. chos. gshi. yaṅ. bcugs.

la./ De. bshin. du. gliṅ. phran. Siṅga. li-ahi. gliṅ. Saṅs. gliṅ. Gser. gliṅ. Ba. ya. gu-ahi. gliṅ. Dha. na. śrī-ahi. gliṅ. na. sṅar. nas. bstan. pa. dar. nas. da. ahta-ahi. bar. daṅ. aḥgro. ldiṅ. na-ahṅ. phyis. su. cuṅ. ṣad. dar. war. mṅon. no.

[Translation]

Finally[2] flourished the Kāśmīra Paṇḍita Śākya-śrī[3] ; it was in his time that Otantapuri and Vikramalaśila were destroyed.—The cause thereof was this[4] that since the beginning (or the first) of the Senas,[5] even in Magadha,[6] Tīrthikas, Mlecchas and Tājiks became increased to more ;[7] in particular, during the time of King Lavaṅ.- Sena,[8] several Bhiksus becoming Messengers[9] caused the King of the Turuṣkas named ' Moon ',[10] who ruled over Antar-vedī between Gaṅgā and Yamunā,[11] together with the puppet Turuṣka Kings of Bhaṅgala, etc.[12] (*or*,[13] the King of the Turuṣkas who ruled over——, together with the Candras[14] and other puppet kings of Bhaṅgala, etc., under the Turuṣkas),[15] to bring their armies to Magadha,[16]—who having come there plundered the country and destroyed Otantapuri and Vikramalaśila, and killed many ordained monks[17] ;— and thereupon Śākya-śrī fled to Jagadhala in Oḍiviśa in the Prācī,[18] whence after 3 years[19] he came to Tibet and established a New Order there. Other monks fled to Nepal, and South-West and South, and in the Prācī to Ara. khaṅ., Mu. ñaṅ., Kam. po. ja., etc.,[20]—and thereafter the Doctrine declined in Magadha.—At that time the followers of Gorakṣa, some foolish Jogis, became the followers of Śiva,[21] and very few Buddhists of Naṭasva (sect or region) remained there.[22]—From that time though all the descendants of the Senas had to take their orders from the Turuṣka Kings,[23] they showed respect to Buddhism.[24] Particularly, during (King) Buddha-Sena,[25] at Nālendra, serially Rāhula-śrī-bhadra,[26] Bhumi-śrī-bhadra, and down to Upāya-śrī-bhadra, flourished, and preached the Doctrine each to a circle of a few disciples. At that time, also, it is said, Karuṅa-śrī-bhadra and Munindra-śrī-bhadra, etc., preached each to little circles.[27]—One hundred years after the time (*or* the death) of (S) Pratīta-Sena, in Bhaṅgala,[28] one Cagala-rāja[29] by name became King,—who ruled over all the Hintus[30] and the Turuṣkas up to Dili,[31] and was great in power and riches ; (he) was devoted to Brāhmaṇas, but his mind was converted to Buddhism by his Queen,[32] and he worshipped at Vajrāsana and Nālendra, and restored some of the old temples which had been ruined ; specially, he restored the destroyed tower on the 9th storey (*or* the 9-storied tower) of the Gandhola, and invited Paṇḍita Śāripūtra and established a few monasteries.[33] After his death 300 years have passed up to this Earth-Dragon year, it is said.[34] Afterwards, in Oḍiviśa, the Dharma-rāja Mukundra-deva by name,[35] who ruled up to Magadha, respected the Doctrine a little ; and after his death up to now 178 years have passed.[36]

In the East, from ancient times the Doctrine of the ' Jina ' (*i.e.* Buddhism) had been spreading and growing.[36] After the conquest of Magadha, many ' paṇḍitas ' went over to Koki (-land) ;[37] since that time, in that region, in serial order, by the Kings Śobha-jata, Simha-jaṭi, etc., many religious endowments were established and subsequently therefore the Doctrine further increased.[38] To Tibet when Paṇḍita Vana-ranta and others came,[39] it is well known they came from there. In subsequent times,[40] by the King Babla-Sundhara, of Śānti-gupta, the great saint of Khagendra in the South,[41] (being) the near predecessors, many Paṇḍitas in (of) the Dramila (Draviḍa) country having been despatched (invited),[42] by them Tantra works in plenty were brought to sight (introduced), as is well known. In Ra. khaṅ. by that (king's)

son Candravāhana,[43] and in Cag. ma. by (another son) Atīta-vāhana,[43] in Mu. ñan. by (another son) Bālavāhana[43], and in Nam. ga. ṭa. by Sundhara-haci[43] thus named, the Dharma was worshipped. Even subsequently to the conquest of Magadha, Śānti-gupta and Narāditya and others flourished (there)[44] and as is known protected the Doctrine, and from all the various Kings secured (grants for and construction of) religious endowments and edifices. Likewise in the Islands,[45] *viz.* in Siṅgali-dvīpa, Tāmra-dvīpa, Suvarṅa-dvīpa, Bayagu (Yavāgu ?)-dvīpa, Dhana-śrī-dvīpa, the Doctrine from ancient times has been flourishing even up till today,[46]—as also in Dramila (Draviḍa) in times subsequent to the conquest of Magadha, it remained in evidence, flourishing and spreading a little.[47]

II.

[Translation and paraphrase]

The Buddhist scholar, Kama (Kamala)-rakṣita, who was tutor to the great Atīśa-Dīpaṅkara, and was contemporary of King Praiṣṭha (Śreṣṭha)-Pāla,[48] drove away 500 Muslim brigands who had attacked Nālanda.

During the Regency of Caṇaka (maternal uncle of Bheya-Pāla, father of Neya (Naya-Pāla),[49] there were numerous Turuśka Muslim invasions of Northern India,[50] and Baṅgāla became independent by revolt.[51]

Thereafter, just when Bheya-Pāla's son Neya-Pāla[52] became King, 'Jo. wo.'[53] (the Lord Atīśa) arrived in Tibet.[54] By that king when the kingdom had been protected 31 and 5 (36) years,[55]——at that time——the Bhikṣu Paṇḍita Prajñā-rakṣita, by serving Nāro-pā[56] (as 'guru') for 12 years————and by making great votive offerings, succeeded in driving back the armies of the Turuśkas, and later on destroyed them as well, by the Tāntrik magical power[57] of his glance.

'Ri. ri. wa.', a disciple of Nāro-pā, a Śūdra by caste, became a great saint, and by the power of his charms forced the Muslims to retreat when they invaded Magadha for the first time.[58]

In the time of Naya-Pāla, Ācārya Candrakīrti,[59] who was then the Head of Nālanda, helped in repulsing Muslim attacks on the Vihāras ; it is said that the stone lions of Nālanda[60] became alive and slaughtered the Muslim armies.

Ratna-rakṣita, a Buddhist scholar who was the chief professor of Mantra works at Vikramaśila, foresaw that within 2 years the two great Vihāras of Magadha would be destroyed[61] by the Muslims, and so he retired to Tibet beforehand.

[Summary]

The Turuska Muslim general who had destroyed Nālanda and Vikramaśila, also destroyed Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā) thereafter.[62] There was an ancient clay statue of the Buddha at Mahābodhi, which he broke to pieces hoping to find jewels.[63] From that time ill luck pursued him to his destruction ; he was killed in battle with the Tibetans, and his head and flayed skin was taken away by them to Tibet ;[64] they made a 'Mask' out of this skin and head of the sacker of Buddhist holy places and universities, and this Mask is still to be seen in the amous Śākya monastery of Tibet where it is used for ceremonies,—according to the 'Gse. mgon. gyi. lo. rgyus.' or the 'Account of the Mask'.[65]

Details of the sack of Nālanda, etc., are given in a biography of the great Tibetan Translator Chag. lo. the Blo. rca. wa.,[66] a contemporary of Rāhūla-śrī-bhadra of Nālanda,[66] who was his 'guru', and who was an eye-witness of the destruction of Nālanda along with his disciple.

Such details are also given in other well-known biographies, e.g. of Śākya-śrī-bhadra (already referred to).[67]

NOTES.

1. These references are taken from Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsaṅ. by Ye. śes. dpal. ahbyor. Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. (Bhadra-kalpa-druma by Kulācārya Jñāna-śrī of Sum), who compiled this historical encyclopoedia at various dates between 1722 and 1747, at the Ahbras. spuṅs. monastery of Tibet, from earlier histories and original historical materials to which he had access in the Tibetan monasteric libraries. The historically reliable character of the information collected by him I have recently dealt with in several articles in the J. B. & O. R. S. (Dec. '40, June and Sept. '41) and Indian Culture (vol. 7, No. 2).—This Tibetan work was printed long ago by Rai Bahadur S. C. Das in 1908, and is now very rare and out of print; there is probably one copy of it in the A. S. B. Some years ago (1935-'36) I used one copy in the possession of a Lama friend and compared it with a Xylograph copy obtained on loan from another source, and found full agreement except for obvious printing mistakes. The references I have selected may be found in the aforesaid 1908 printed edition, at pp. 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, and 123.

2. I. e., at the end of the long succession of distinguished abbots of the principal monasteries of Magadha (at Nālanda, Vikrama-śila, Otantapuri and Vajrāsana).

3. His full name was Ānanda-Ketu Śrī-bhadra Śākya-paṇḍita Vācaspati (Kun. dgaah. rgyal. mchan. Dpal. bsaṅ. po. Śaah. kya-ahi. dge. loṅ. Rig. par. smra. wa.), as given in a Xylograph copy of his 'Subhāsita-ratna-nidhi' (Legs. par. bśad. pa. rin. po. che-ahi. gter.) in 9 chapters, which I have used; here he is said to have been a 'śrāvaka' from Samudra-Vihāra in Kāśmīra (founded by Samudra-gupta), and to have deposited that work of his in the Śākya monastery in Tibet (in the upland township of '12-monasteries', of Sroṅ. tsan. Gam. po.'s time, in the district of Gcaṅ.); and it is stated that he composed it in the year 'chu. byi.' = 'water-mouse' or 49th year of the 4th cycle, *i.e.*, 1255 A. D. ($1026+3\times60+49$, or $1026+4\times60-11$, $=1255$),—at the age of 75, having been born in 1180. Originally a Kashmir Paṇḍit who rose to fame in Magadha, after his flight to Tibet he wrote there many works in Sanskrit and Tibetan and helped Tibetan monks in translating Sanskrit works. He and his nephew Ārya Mahīpāla or Bhava-śekhara (Ahgro. mgon. Ahphags. pa.) were greatly patronised by the Mongol Dynasty, specially by Kublai Khan, who granted the whole of Tibet as Buddhist Church Domain to the nephew in the 2nd quarter of the 13th century. Other Tibetan traditions state that the revenues of the 13 provinces of Tibet were granted to Śākya Paṇḍita (Sa-paṇ or Sa-paṇchen) by Chengiz Khan's grandson Gotan. Though a youth of only about 20 at the time of the destruction of Magadha, he was already one of the greatest men of his time.

4. This is the first and the only historical cause of the destruction of the monasteric universities of Magadha that has been found stated in any contemporary or subsequent historical work,—and as such deserves very careful study. Of course the cause is analysed from the point of view of the Buddhist monk-scholars who were directly affected by it.

5. 'The beginning of the Senas' would refer to the generations of Vīra Sena—Sāmanta Sena—Hemanta Sena—Vijaysena, *i.e.*, the period c. 1075 to

c. 1125 ; c. 1075 was the close of Naya Pāla's reign. 'The first of the Senas', as *kings*, is said in the Tibetan references to have been Lava-Sena, who usurped the Magadhan throne from the young son of Rāma Pāla, Yakṣa Pāla by name (who had ruled just for 1 year). According to the system of Pāla chronology followed by Tibetan writers like Jñāna-śrī, this event happened in 1173 A. D. (*Vide* Pāla history as summarised from Tibetan sources in J. B. O. R. S., Dec. '40, June and Sept. '41). The period indicated here is therefore about a century since Naya Pāla, c. 1075 to c. 1175,—the period in which the Senas grew from ministerial rank to dominant power in Bengal and Bihar ;—and this period was marked by the growth of both Brāhmaṇism and Islam (and foreign 'Settlements') in the country, at the expense of Buddhism,—a very significant fact.

6. The force of 'even in Magadha' is that under the influence of the Senas the Brāhmaṇas and the Mleccha Muslims increased in other parts of the disintegrating Pāla empire of course, but the process was to be traced 'even in Magadha' the last stronghold of the Pālas and Buddhism.

7. 'Tīrthika's (lit. 'the Pilgrims') originally meant a religious sect distinct from Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand and from Brāhmaṇism and its various divisions on the other ; this position they occupied in the time of Śaśāṅka, according to Tibetan traditions (MMK, etc.) ; later on Tīrthika becomes identical with Brāhmaṇism, their common anti-Buddhist character being emphasised ; in the present context it obviously means 'Brāhmaṇism as patronised by the Senas'. The Tib. word for Tīrthika is 'Mu. stegs'.— 'Kla. klo.' is the Tib. word for 'Yavana' or 'Mleccha' foreigner or Muslim. 'Stag. gṣigs' is the Tib. *original* for 'Tājik', and is used to denote 'Arabs and Persians', of the whole region from Jaxartes to Red Sea. It is to be noted that the Muslim 'settlers' in Bengal and Bihar in this period (1075-1175) are stated to be 'Arabs and Persians' and not 'Turuskas' or Turks. They must have come by sea, along with the maritime expansion of Arabs and Persians in the period 630 to 930 (and later) in the Indian Ocean and its coasts and islands. There is some literary evidence of Muslim saints and orders flourishing in Bengal in the pre-Bakhtiyar epoch. The Karnāṭas of the South must have long been acquainted with Arab-Muslim maritime expansion, and they themselves were a maritime power ; so with the establishment of their dynasty the settlements of Muslims in Bengal may easily have increased. The 'Tājiks' were many of them horse-dealers ; this probably explains the growth of the story that the Khālji (Turk) adventurer imposed upon the citizens of Navadvīpa by entering the city as horse-dealers, and thus a handful of horsemen took that capital ; the Tājiks would of course not be suspect at the Sena capital, and the Turks took advantage of it.

8. Since the reference is to the time of the sack of Nālanda, etc., the king Lavaṅ. Sena. must be the same as Laksmana-Sena ; 'Lavaṅ' may be a misprint for 'Lakhaṅ.' in Tibetan. The Tibetan lists give 4 Sena *kings* in order,—Lava, Kāśa, Maṇita and Rāthika, Lava being the first to usurp kingship in Magadha from the last Pāla king to whom he was Minister. 'Lavaṇ.' in the present text is obviously the same as this 'Lava.' Probably the name 'Lava' is the original of the 'Lāu-Sen' of vernacular traditions. It will be noted that according to the Tibetan accounts Lakṣmaṇa-Sena's accession 'in Magadha' is to be placed in 1173, though as 'Minister' he may actually have been *de facto* sovereign in Bengal much earlier.

9. Apparently the Buddhist monasteries were in this time full of internal dissensions, and some Monks were so bitter in their jealousies that they went to

the length of waiting in deputation on the Turk invaders and conquerors of Upper India, and inviting them to bring ruin upon their own monasteric universities and their country. The special association of this monkish deputation with the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena suggests that it was L.°-S.° who wanted to break the power of the Buddhist Church in Magadha (not only powerful in itself but also the repository of Pāla traditions and loyalties) after his usurpation in Magadha (dethroning Yaksa-Pāla), and to strengthen his own dynastic power and social backing of the Brāhmaṇical party,—by sowing and fostering dissensions amongst the Magadhan monks and encouraging the malcontents to seek Muslim help, while he foolishly himself hoped to profit by the general ruin. Somewhat similar situations favoured the coming of the Muslims into Makran and Sindh and into Afghanistan, Frontiers and Punjab, in the days of the Brāhmaṇical revolutions replacing Buddhist rule in the two Kushān Shāhīya Kingdoms of Alor and Kabul.

10. This Turkish overlord of the Ganges-Jumna Doab may have had a Persian, Arabic or Turki name ; this name denoted the moon. Probably the Tibetan historian has erred a little here ; the name which he has translated as 'moon' may have meant 'bright star' or 'pole-star' or 'star-goddess= moon-goddess' ; it seems he was thinking of either the name 'Shihab', or the name 'Kutb', or the name 'Akhtar' (der. from old Semitic 'Ishtar'—'Ikhtar') ; that is the 'king of the Antarvedī' was either Shihabuddin Ghori, or Kutbuddin Aibak or Akhtaruddin Md. Ibn Bakhtiyar Khālji (also written Ikhtiyaruddin,—where 'Ikhtiyar' is wr. for 'Ikhtar'); the first two could easily be regarded as such king ; but the last had not perhaps that important position in the Antarvedī ; he was a subordinate fief-holder in this region in the service of Hazābr-ud-din Hasan-i-Adíb of Budaun since 1193, and thereafter in that of Hasam-ud-ḍin Aghulbak of Oudh,—both these latter being subordinate to Kutb-ud-din. Akhtar-ud-din of course held a number of fiefs and forts over a wide region from Budaun to Maniari (Maner), within which Chunar and Bhagavat (Bhagavatpura of Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa, where certain later Gupta princes were crowned, — prob. mod. Bhagavanpur) were included. This Tibetan allusion raises the point whether the invasion of Bihar and Bengal, 1199-1203, was due only to the stray adventure of Md.-ibn-Bakhtiyar, or was planned under the direct leadership of the Delhi Kingdom in support of Buddhist Dissenters and of the Senas who patronised Islam and Brāhmaṇical reaction against Buddhists.

11. The Antarvedí is well-known to have been conquered by the Turks between 1194 and 1198, and the city of Kanauj was finally taken in 1202 ; the entire Doab was divided between Turki war-lords who were assigned fiefs and forts during that same period.

12. This reference to the existence of "Turki Muslim puppet kings of Bhaṅgala (*i.e.* East Bengal) and other adjacent regions" is an important revelation ; they evidently acknowledged the suzerainty of the Turuṣka power of Upper India. The question is when and how were these Muslim principalities founded : probably Turki adventurers seized the Arab-Persian (Tājik) trading settlements in the Gangetic ports and deltaic regions which could easily have come into existence in the preceding few centuries,—and these Turki adventurers would subsequently affiliate themselves to the main Turki state of Dehli, in the same way as Md.-ibn-Bakhtiyar did. The Senas, as patrons of 'Tājiks' would of course tolerate these principalities as allies.

13. It is possible to translate the Tibetan text in this way also. In this rendering, the Turuṣka overlordship over principalities in East Bengal, etc., remains, but these principalities themselves are not of Turuṣka origin,—and the Candras are stated to be one of these puppet dynasties under Muslim influence. Even if this translation is adopted, certain fresh points of historical importance emerge.

14. The Candras of Bhaṅgala (East Bengal) in particular, and of the Prācī in general, were an offshoot of the Mauryas and ruled in North-East India, with varying dominions, from the days of Vindusāra Maurya to 581 A. D. (*Vide* details in J. B. O. R. S., Dec. '40, June and Sept. '41). Apart from these 'Major' Candras, some later 'Minor' Candras are known from inscriptions and grants in Candra-dvīpa and Vikramapura (South and East Bengal), and they are placed by some scholars between the close of the 9th and the 1st quarter of the 11th century: but this chronology is still doubtful. Here we get Candras in East Bengal, 180 years after Govinda Candra the last known prince of the 'Minor' Candras (acc. to the aforesaid doubtful chronology). This raises the question whether the 'Minor' Candras should be placed later in time, and regarded as a renaissance of the pre-Pāla 'Major' Candras after the Pāla period, contemporary with the rise of the Senas. Cf. Bhaṅgala revolt and independence temp. Caṇaka (Pāla), 1001-1030. Princes of 'Candra'-dvīpa continued as local semi-independent chiefs even in the later Muslim period.

15. The point to note is that before 1199 princes of East Bengal and other adjacent regions were puppets under the Turuṣkas of Upper India,—while Magadha was still, under the influence of the lingering Pālas and the Monasteric Universities, an isolated region surrounded by Turuska spheres of influence (which were even joined by the Buddhist Candras (owing to antipathy to Pālas who had succeeded to their power: *vide* n 14 above and JBORS *op cit.*) and the anti-Buddhist Brāhmanical Senas).

16. I. e., Magadha was crushed between two allied forces, joint Muslim, Buddhist and Brāhmanical, and it was not a simple case of Muslim invasion from the West which swept across the whole country from the Sone to the Sea at one stroke.

17. The slaughter of ordained Buddhist monks is also corroborated by Muslim writers like Minhāj. The monasteries were deliberately attacked, and not by the way or incidentally or by mistake, as some have supposed.

18. I. e. Jagaddala Vihāra, a monasteric university; In Tibetan references Orissa is an integral part of the Prācī; the form Odīviśa is also general in medieval Tibetan sources. The whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (as also Assam and adjacent Eastern regions) were at this time full of flourishing Monasteric Universities, according to Tibetan accounts; modern writers have made a little too much of Nālanda and Vikramaśila.

19. In 1202,—if the first attack on the universities occurred in 1199; Central and Northern Bengal was overrun by Turuṣkas prob. in 1203; so between 1202-'3 the route from Orissa to Nepal through Central and North Bengal was still somewhat safe. It is well known that the advent of Śākyaśrī and other scholars from Bihar and Bengal opened a new epoch in the Buddhist Church history of Tibet in many ways; *e.g.* he founded the Śākya-pā Priesthood of Tibet. In fact it was 'India flying the Himālayas' in 1203, as 'Greece flew the Alps' after 1453; and it was to the gain of not only Tibet but of India.

20. The range of the dispersal of the Buddhist scholars is very important in history; the diffusion of the Pāla culture of Bengal and Bihar in the 13th century, not only over Nepal and Tibet, but also over the as yet independent

Peninsular India, and over the entire Further India and Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Insulindia, requires further detailed study, and herein the Tibetan sources are very helpful. Ara. khaṅ = Arakan ; Mu. ñaṅ. = Burma (Pegu) ; Kam. po. Ja. = Cambodia ; the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula was counted by Tibetan geographers as included within the 'Prācī' along with Bengal, Orissa, Assam, etc., as an Indian region with Indian settlers.

21. We get nere an useful fact about the religious history of medieval Bihar and Bengal. Nāthism, whose adherents were also called Jogis (Jugis), and which was an offshoot of Buddhism in the Tantra line, developing between the lrst and the 10th century A. D. mostly, —received a set-back after the Muslim conquest of 1203, and probably under the further pressure of Sena Brāhmaṇism, allied itself with Śaivism (which had also its Tāntrik and Yogic aspects), and lost its distinctive Buddhistic character. Goraksa-Nātha is an oft-referred person in Tibetan works ; he was specially associated with Chittagong ; apparently he flourished in the 7th century ; he started the Yogī sect of the Nāthas.

22. I have not found any other details about 'Naṭasva' in any sources, Tibetan or otherwise ; some Tibetans suppose it to be a famous place in contemporary Magadha. There was an early Buddhist place name, Nāṭika in North Bihar, associated with Mahāvīra (Nāṭa-putra).

23. This is important historical information: that Lakṣmaṇa Sena's successors were politically subordinate princes under Muslim kings,—either of Delhi or of Gaur (Lakhnauti),—so that a large part of South and East Bengal remained under direct Hindu rule.

24. This again is an interesting piece of historical information. Though Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his predecessors were strongly anti-Buddhist and sought to destroy Buddhism, yet his successors 'showed respect to Buddhism': apparently the folly of taking the assistance of Muslims and of persecution of Buddhists had now, after 1203, become quite clear to them, and there was repentance and attempt to make amends,—though very late and useless. Or, gradually the inner similarity between Buddhism and Islam was drawing them nearer, and persecuted Buddhists were turning Muslims rapidly, and so the later Senas tried to stem the tide by a tardy and belated patronage of Buddhists.

25. The name Buddha-Sena itself is evidence of patronage of Buddhism. The text seems to suggest that Buddha-Sena ruled as a subordinate chieftain under the Turks in the area where Nālanda was situated. It is not however very likely that this region remained under the Senas after 1203. I think that the Nālendra here referred to is the Nālendra of the Prācī in East Bengal which Gopāla had founded as a great monasteric university, and which was probably situated in the neighbourhood of what is modern Dacca (*Cf.* Nārindā there); (*vide* Indian Culture, vol. 7, No. 2, my article on Ancient Bengal Geography in Tibetan sources). The Later Senas certainly continued in Dacca district. As I have pointed out elsewhere, there has been in subsequent times a good deal of confusion between the two Nālendras of Bihar and East Bengal. If the Nālendra of the present text is the Eastern one, an example of such confusion is to be seen in the very next line of the text.

26. As noted later on, Rāhūla-śrī-bhadra was an eye-witness of the sack of Nālendra (Western), and was the teacher of the famous Tibetan Sanskrit scholar Chag. lo. whose biography gives details of the Muslim sack of Nālanda. So the time of Buddha-Sena would be shortly after 1203.

27. This spiritual succession of 3 'guru's occurred during the reign of Buddha Sena, who therefore reigned for a pretty long period. It is to be noted that though religious headships were continued in the Buddhist Church even after 1203, the 'flock' became very much circumscribed, shrinking to 'scattered little circles', during the 13th century.

28. It seems that this Pratīta Sena (or Supratīta Sena) was the last of the Senas in East Bengal (Bhaṅgala). The phrase 'in Bhaṅgala' may be taken either along with Pratīta Sena, or with Cagala-rāja becoming king, or with both. Pratīta Sena's death may be placed one regnal period before 1345, from the data supplied in the text in the next passages,—*i. e.*, about 1303, 100 years after the Muslim conquest (*vide infra.*).

29. This is a new name in history altogether; but from the context and the chronology given here, he must be either Rājā Gaṇeśa or his son Jaya-Malla whose Islamic name was Jālāl. It is possible that 'Ganeśa' (Elephant) was translated into Tibetan as 'glaṅ. chen.' (lit. 'big bull'), and this was again equated with 'Chag.'=Yak bull, —so that 'Ca. ga. la.' really represents 'Chag. lha.' =divine bull or elephant = 'Gaṇeśa'. Or, Jaya-Malla, Ja' mala, Ja'mala, or its alternative Jalal, Jalala, have been corrupted into the Tibetan Cagala (from Camala or Calala). The former explanation (*i.e.* Gaṇeśa) is the more probable.

30. This is the first (earliest) and probably the only use of the term 'Hindu' in Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsaṅ. or in any Tibetan source. This term is thus used in 1745, referring to conditions 300 years before that, *i.e.* in c. 1445. It is doubtful if scholars of Bengal and Bihar (from whom Tibetans learnt their history) used the term 'Hindu' even in 1445; it is more probable that the Tibetan compiler of 1745 is using the term as gradually popularised in the 17th and 18th centuries.

31. This is historically important: this 'Hindu' prince of East Bengal (whether Gaṇeśa or Jaya-Malla, or any other) ruled over the entire Gangetic region from Sonārgaon to Dehli, or Brahmaputra to Upper Jamunā, and in his time the Muslim Kingdom of Dehli had shrunk to Dehli itself, or even the Turuṣkas of Dehli had to acknowledge the supremacy of this Bengal king,—at least for a time. Such a state of affairs would be possible after 1398 and before the rise of the Lodis,—and it is in this period that Ganeśa rises. Gaṇeśa and his son's intimate relations with Islam agrees with this Hindu prince's rule over both Turks and Hindus; and his great power agrees with the waxing power of Gaṇeśa since 1396, even during the reigns of Hamza and Bayazid (gr.-s. and gr.-gr.-s. of Sikandar), and his ultimate usurpation, and his war with Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (1402-1436), owing to his persecution of 'Turuśkas'.—The Tibetans refer to Dehli (Di. li.) as an important town in the medieval as well as ancient periods, *e.g.* in Kushan and Mauryan periods as well (*vide* J. B. O. R. S. and Ind. Cult., *op. cit.*).

32. Gaṇeśa was well-disposed towards Islam, at least occasionally; it elucidates his character further, when we are told he was at first devoted to Brāhmaṇism, and then was converted to Buddhism under the influence of his Queen who was a Buddhist herself, and became an endower and restorer of Buddhist religious buildings, etc.; it was but another step when the Buddhist convert inclined to Islam, for Buddhism and Islam had much in common.

33. This 'gandhola' or 'gandha-kuṭī' of 9 stories might refer to either Vajrāsana or Nālendra, and the ruins at Bodh-Gayā or Nālanda should yield good traces thereof, since these restoration structures and the new monasteries of Cagala-rāja belong only to the 1rst quarter of the 15th century. Probably

the present Bodh-Gayā Temple is to be ascribed to this Cagala-rāja. It is to be noted that Vihāras were constructed anew at Nālanda and Bodh-Gayā as late as early 15th century, and Buddhist scholars of eminence were still available in Bihar or Bengal.

34. 'This Earth-Dragon Year' refers to the 13th Tibetan cycle of 60 years since 1026 the starting point, *i.e.*, the period 1746-1806. Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. compiled this encyclopoedia between 1722 and 1747, and so the sections of the work must belong to different dates within that range. The 'earth-dragon' stands for the 2nd year of the Cycle; so the date here referred to is 1747-'8. The next chronological datum in the next sentence confirms this (*vide infra.*). Three hundred years back from 1747 would be 1447, and this is given as the date of the death of Cagala-rāja. This raises a difficulty, not quite insuperable. Rājā Gaṇeśa (with whom I propose to identify Cagala-rāja), so far as is known from other sources, seems to have died in 1414 (his rise to power beginning from 1396); his son Jaya-Malla or Jalal ruled till 1431 and his grandson Shamsuddin till 1442. The explanation probably is that this very brief chronicular summary in Tibetan made by Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. from other books and sources mixes up Cagala-rāja's reign with the total regnal period of the Cagala-rāja's Dynasty. The difference between the dates 1442 and 1447 is negligible. This interpretation would mean that on the whole the policy of the Gaṇeśa or the Dinājpur Dynasty remained constant (pro-Buddhistic and impartial to Hindus and Muslims); the view that we get from Muslim sources (or some Brāhmanical ones) *re* Gaṇeśa's times may be one-sided and prejudiced, and this Tibetan version may after all be nearer the truth.—Gaṇeśa was most probably full sovereign, after 6/7 years of dictatorship, in about 1403; so Pratīta Sena the last of the Senas (*vide supra.*) must have passed away by c. 1303.

35, 35. I. e., Mukunda-deva of Orissa. It is important information that he ruled over parts of Magadha as well, and that he was a patron of the still surviving Buddhism in Bihar, as also probably in Orissa itself, and those parts of Bengal which were under him. From other sources it appears that Mukunda-deva died in 1567 (some say 1568); 178 years since then would be 1745-'6 when Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. says he was writing out this portion of his historical compilation. The exact territorial limits of Mukunda-deva's kingdom should be ascertained: the question arises when and how long were certain parts of Bengal and Bihar under him; probably the expansion of Orissa towards Bihar occurred between 1552 and '68 (after Islam Shah and before Daud); Mukunda came to the throne in 1559-'60. Another important consideration is that if Buddhism could be patronised in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Mukunda as late as 1568, Akbar could easily (as he turned East towards Bihar and Bengal, and even Orissa) come into touch with Buddhist scholars just a decade afterwards. Contemporary with Pratāparudra and his Queen Padmāvatī and with Chaitanya during his sojourn in Orissa, was a noted Buddhist scholar Vīrasimha (with many Bengali disciples) in Orissa, and some details are known about Buddhist philosophy and literature in Orissa in the 16th century.

36. The Prācī or the East here means the whole South-East Asia between Assam and Malaya, Chittagong and Annam, and the East Indian Archipelago (*vide* Ind. Cult., *op. cit.*, *re* Prācī); 'from ancient times' refers to the very life-time of the Buddha, and the period of growth of Buddhism refers to the period 6th cent. B. C. to 14th cent. A. D., about 2000 years.

37. For the geographical and ethnic name 'Koki', *vide* Ind. Cult., *op. cit.*; Koki-land extended from the Hills of East Bengal to Cambodia and

Annam. From the account given in this text it would be clear that in the 13th and 14th centuries this entire region was full of Indian principalities, apparently of Bengal origin, which received the dispersed Buddhist scholars and culture of Bengal and Bihar with open arms. The last great wave of colonial emigration from the Lower Gangetic regions to 'Greater India' overseas must have swept across between 1200 and 1500. Apparently this accounts for the striking similarity between Bengali and East Indian culture even today.

38. The Archæological Departments of Burma, Malaya and Siam or Indo-China might come across with remains of these 13th and 14th century Vihāras established in patronage of refugees from Bengal and Bihar by the several kings named here.

39. I. e. Vana-ratna ; well-known in Tibet as the last great Indian scholar who visited and worked in Tibet ; from Koki-land he went to Tibet *via* Chittagong (where Buddhist Vihāras continued long after 1200). Tibetan works speak of Chittagong (Cā. ṭi. gā. vo.) as a great monastoric university centre called the Paṇḍita-Vihāra, which gave to Tibetan universities its 'paṇśva' or academic cap (red or orange, pointed).

40. Apparently in the 14th century. Bāblā-Sundhara seems to have been a mighty king of Greater India, the centre of his power being in the hill country east of Chittagong and Tiperrah, and his territories including Ārākān, Cākmā country of Chittagong hill-tracts, Pegu (Hanthawadi or Hamsāvatī), and Namgaṭa, in which provinces, his several sons were set up as kings ; and he had influence also in the Khagendra country (Orissa) and Dramila or Tamil-land, whence he brought over scholars in Tāntrik Buddhism.

41. Probably either the region of the Khagāsani hills in Ganjam, or Tāmralipti region ; *vide* note 80 in Ind. Cult., VII, 2, on Anc. Ind. Geog.

42. I. e., these Drāvida Tāntrik scholars were the immediate predecessors of Śāntigupta of Kaliṅga. Ajantā ('Acintya-Vihāra' *university*) was one of the early centres of Tāntrik Buddhism (according to Tibetan sources) ; it seems that towards the close of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries, with the Muslim advance in the Deccan, the remnants of Buddhism became concentrated further South in Dramila,—so that Bāblā-Sundhara on the East coast of the Bay of Bengal in the 14th century had to look to Dramila for a further transfusion of Buddhism. Śāntigupta is well known in Tibet.

43, 43, 43, 43. For these place names *vide* Ind. Cult., VII. 2, *op. cit.*, The 4 princes named here were apparently viceroys of the great King Bāblā-Sundhara,—probably a successor of the kings Śobha-Jaṭā, Simha-Jaṭā, etc., of Koki-land, mentioned in the text earlier.

44. In Tibetan tradition Śāntigupta is associated with work in Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, Further India and Tibet ; but I have not got any other references to Narāditya. The point of the text here is that even pretty long after 1203 (*i.e.* in 14th century), Buddhist scholars, of eminence and wide relations like Śāntigupta, worked in Magadha. It is also to be noted that in the 14th century the various princes of the Bengal and Bihar region still patronised Buddhists by endowments and building constructions ; traces of these should be looked for now. It should be remembered that it was in this 14th century that Sahajiyā and other forms of pseudo-Buddhistic Vaiṣṇavism were flourishing in these regions, specially in the age of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa, and that even Muslim princes like Sikandar patronised the Caṇḍīdāsa movement. So our Tibetan text is stating nothing improbable. Note also the phrase 'all the various kings', which is a correct description for these times.

45. The very early spread and long continuance of Buddhism in the islands of the Indian Ocean is nowadays a well established fact. The Tibetan references always regard these Islands as part of India, and in every account of Indian Buddhism or Indian geography or Indian history they say something about these Islands ; it is to be noted that as late as 1747 this was the point of view in the Buddhist land of Tibet.

46. As noted above, this portion of Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsaṅ. was written in 1747, and even up to that time Buddhism was flourishing in these Islands. Of these, Ceylon, Sumatra and Java's retaining considerable traces of Buddhism can easily be understood, though it is only Ceylon that is usually counted amongst persistently Buddhist regions in modern or late medieval times. But the difficulty is about Dhana-śrī-dvīpa (*vide* Ind. Cult., VII. 2, *op. cit.*) or the Kṛṣṇā Delta ; traces of Buddhism flourishing there in the 18th century might however come to light. In the present text, Siṅgali (Simhala) is probably to be distinguished from Tāmra. In Tibetan tradition Padma-sambhava preached on mount saṅs. mdog. Dpal. ri. or Śrī-Parvata in Tāmra-varṇa [wr.? for Tāmra-parṇa (ī)] in the island of Laṅkā ; from this it appears that the whole island was called Laṅkā and the central mountainous part was called Tāmravarṇa (prob. ' parṇa ' is a later corrupt form). Since Tāmra-dvīpa is named here, Siṅgali must be a different place ; since other islands close by are also named, I would take this Siṅgali to be Singapore (Simha-pura) island in Malaya opposite Suvarṇa-dvīpa. 18th century Buddhism in Malaya, Sumatra and Java should form a subject of enquiry.

47. While it ' flourished ' in the Islands down to even 1747, Buddhism only ' remained in evidence ' ' a little ' in Tamil or Drāvida country in the centuries after the 14th ; it is not clear whether right up to the middle of the 18th, unless we infer it from the ' flourishing ' of Buddhism then in the Kṛṣṇā Delta and Ceylon, as noted above.

48. These references collected under Sec. II are fragmentary and scattered in the pages of Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṅ. already noted at the end of note 1 above. Only the English paraphrase is given, the passages being short. For Pāla dynastic history in Tibetan references *vide* JBORS, Dec. '40 and June and Sept. 41, *op. cit.* Here I give the accession dates of the Pāla Kings according to Tibetan references, so that the chronological position of the references to Muslim contact given here may be appreciated :—Gopāla (acc.) 751 ; Deva, 778 ; Rāsa, 818 ; Dharma, 830 ; Masurakṣi, 875 ; Vana, 883 ; Mahī, 893 ; Mahā, 945 ; Śāmu, 986 ; Praiṣṭha, 998 ; Canaka, 1001 ; Bhaya, 1030 ; Naya, 1040 ; Āmra, 1075 ; Hastī, 1089 ; Kṣānti, 1112 ; Rāma, 1126 ; Yakṣa, 1172 (the last) Lava *Sena* (the usurper), 1173.—So it appears that the first Muslim incursion into East India (as far as Nālanda) occurred between 998 and 1001, probably in the latter year. This Tibetan statement necessitates some revision of our estimate of the Ghaznavite invasions. It is quite possible that bands of Turki soldiers, numbering several hundreds in each company, raided a much wider area than is indicated by the comparatively better known and better organised ' 17 expeditions '.

49. Caṇaka was a feudatory prince under the Pāla emperor Mahā Pāla, being ' Rājā of Bhaṅgala ' or Baṅgāla, *i.e.* East Bengal ; his sister was the second Queen of Mahā Pāla, her son being Bhe (a) ya-Pāla,—during whose minority Caṇaka became Regent, or as it is said practically the King ; he retained his position for 29 years, even long after his nephew came of age ; thereafter

he abdicated his kingship in both Pāla empire and Bhaṅgala kingdom, and became minister to Bheya Pāla,—but finally retired into religious life as a Tāntrik Buddhist sage at Bhāṭi (Gaṅgā-Sāgara).

50. Caṅaka's Regency being 1001-1030 (29y.) these numerous Turuṣka Muslim invasions of Northern India are clearly the Ghaznavite ones. It is to be noted that these troubled the Pāla empire as well.

51. Apparently, while the ' Rājā of Bhaṅgala ' became the *de facto* Pāla emperor, some other member of his family, or another family, usurped the rājā-ship of East Bengal, and revolted ; it may be that this internal trouble (the secession of Baṅgāla) compelled Caṇaka to remain rather inactive in the affairs of Upper India where other states sought to confederate against foreign aggression ; it also seems probable that this ' revolt of Bhaṅgala ' refers to the revival of the Candras of Bhaṅgala, who had passed out of the stage in 581, and now reappeared in local history, continuing till at least the invasion of Magadha by the Turks whom they assisted (*vide supra.*), *i.e.* from c. 1001 to 1203 (c. 2 centuries) ; the usually accepted time for the rise of these later Candras is the period in which the Gurjara-Pratīhāras invaded Pāla dominions (temp. Mahendrapāla I Gurjara, 1st quarter of 10th cent.),—but this has now to be shifted by about a century.

52. Bheya, Bhaya, Bhava or Vava, was the 3rd child of King MahāPāla and the only son of his second queen the sister of Caṇaka of Baṅgāla ; he could rule only about a decade (1030-1040), Caṅaka retaining power for a long time. Bheya's son Neya, Naya or Nyāya ruled for 36 years (1040-1075, prob. '39—'40 inclusive).

53. ' Jo. wo.', the Lord (=Atīśa), is the Tibetan favourite short designation for Atīśa-Dīpaṅkara.

54. Atīśa left for Tibet (on invitation from its king, Hod. de., and on contract for 3 years between him and the rector of Vikramaśila, Ratnākara) in the first year of the reign of NayaPāla (1039-'40), after he had brought about a peace between him and Karṇa of Cedi

55. I.e., in 1075, in the last year of NayaPāla's reign occurred this Muslim Turk invasion of Nālanda ; evidently Ghaznavite raids had not stopped with Masud and Maudud (1030-'40, and '40—'49).

56. Prajñā-rakṣita was thus pupil of Nāropā from 1063 to 1075, and that venerable saint was still flourishing ; he was also the ' guru ' of Atīśa-Dīpaṅkara from 1023-'39, and was the disciple of Tilopā ; all the three are famous in Tibetan church history as well as in Indian religious history, and a lot of details are known from Tibetan sources about them.

57. *Cf.* also the magic power ascribed to Ri. ri. wa. and Candrakīrti (*infra.*). Tibetan references to Kauṭilya's expansion of Mauryan empire also ascribes it to his magical powers (*vide* JBORS, ' 40-'41, *op. cit.*).—Prajñā-rakṣita is also stated to have defeated anti-Buddhist Brāhmaṇical movements in Magadha,—a point of great significance.

58. Since Atīśa at the age of 43 became a disciple of Nāropā in 1023 Nāropā must have been about 48 then, or he is to be taken as having been 26 in 1001, when in the reign of Praiṣṭha Pāla Kamala-rakṣita repelled a Turk invasion of Nālanda ; since it is stated that Ri. ri. wa. repulsed the *first* Muslim invasion of Magadha, he *either* assisted Kamala-rakṣita, *or* repelled a subsequent attack, after 1001,—the one of 1001 being regarded as a *raid* on Nālanda, and that of a subsequent date temp. Ri. ri. wa. being regarded as a full-fledged

invasion of Magadha ; this latter is more probable, as at the time of this 'invasion of Magadha' Nāropā was already a noted 'guru' having disciples, and so he must have been older than 26 (his age in 1001).—Probably 'Ri. ri. wa.' is a misprint for 'Ri. ah or. wa.'= Girika, Giriśa, *or* for 'Ri. rab.' = (Su-) Meru, which was perhaps the original proper name of the Saint. It is to be noted that a Śūdra could still become a leader in Buddhist monasteries.

59. Acc. to Tibetan accounts, Ācārya Candrakīrti, originally of Suvarṇabhūmi, was a contemporary of Atīśa Dīpaṇkara who went overseas to study with him, and also of Candra Gosvāmī or Candra-Gomi (born in Viārendra and settled in Candra-dvīpa), the author of Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa, the original of which C.°-G.° threw into a well at Nālanda, thence called Candra-Kūpa (a students' shrine), as he felt it was inferior to Ācārya Candrakīrti's grammar ; this Candra Gomi was offered the contemporary Pāla King's (prob. Naya Pāla's) daughter, Tārā, in marriage.

60. 'The stone lions of Nālanda' are quite evidently the lion capitals on the monolithic pillars of Aśoka, several of which must have still in the 11th century been standing in and about the numerous stūpas and caityas of Nālanda, a valuable point for the archæologist. Each pillar was crowned with 4 lions probably. Aśokan relics were already in the 7th century regarded as supernatural. The use of lions and leopards in battle (as in hunting) was not unknown in ancient India, and the ancient Egyptians also used them ; the legend of the lions of Nālanda has a distant historical ancestry.

61. I.e., Ratna-rakṣita retired to Tibet in 1197 ; and for 2 or 3 years (1196-'99) preparations were being made for a general assault on Magadha and the universities by the disaffected Buddhist monks, the Brāhmanicals and the Senas and Candras, and the Muslims,—Turks and Tājiks. Our author elsewhere refers to another earlier destruction of Nālanda (3 central blocks of the 'Dharma-gañja' including the Library block called Ratnodadhi) by Tīrthika brāhmans who later fled to Hasvama (Assam).

62. This is new information ; Bodh-Gayā was probably destroyed after 1203, since it is stated here that after Bodh Gayā ill-luck pursued the Turuṣka general, who is of course no other than Akhtar-uddin Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar who had rapid successes till 1203. Bodh-Gayā has not so far been studied archæologically from this standpoint of destruction after 1203, shortly after Nālanda and Vikramaśila.

63. This reminds one of Mahmud's action at Somnāth, and is most likely not a story. The ancient clay (*i.e.* terra cotta) statue of Buddha must have been at least as old as the Gupta age, down to which period terra-cotta figures remained highly artistic ; possibly it was of the Maurya age, or even earlier. The Tibetan accounts speak of the first great Buddha statue erected at Bodh-Gayā shirne within 3 generations of Buddha himself (*vide* JBORS, '40-'41, *op. cit.*).

64. So it appears that the so-called Himalayan campaign or Assam campaign of Bakhtiyar Khālji was really directed towards Nepal and Tibet, and that the Tibetans defeated him in the Himalayan Tarai. The Tibetans say his head and skin was taken away after he was killed in battle ; but other medieval (Muslim) sources, while admitting that his army was annihilated, say that he fell ill at Lakhnauti on return from the campaign and was murdered by Ali Mardān who secured appointment as governor of L°. from Aibak.—The explanation of these campaigns is that the monks of the monasteric universities of Bihar and Bengal were migrating into Nepal, Tibet, Assam and regions beyond East Bengal, together with all the riches they could save and collect,

and probably also these sympathisers on the Northern and Eastern frontiers of Bengal and Bihar were actively supporting and harbouring the opponents of Turki advance. The Turks were not at all unacquainted or unrelated with Tibet in these times ; thus in the time of Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, c. 1030-1040, ' Lha. bla. ma. Ye. śes. a̱hod.', the devout Buddhist King of Tibet, who had wanted Atīśa to come to his court, died a prisoner in the hands of the Muslim Turks (akin to Ghaznavites and Seljuks) attacking from the West, before Atīśa actually arrived in Tibet (1040).

65. This reference has been supplied to me by my friend the learned Tibetan Lama, Dge. bśes. chos. a̱hphel., who hails from the same district as Sum. pa. Mkhan. po., and whom I met recently at Darjeeling on his way to America from Ceylon (where he ordinarily works as a monk).

66, 66. Rāhūla-śrī-bhadra has already been referred to as a scholar in the time of the later Sena King Buddha-Sena. This reference to Chag. lo.'s biography has also been supplied by Dge. bśes. chos. a̱hphel.

67. This too from the same Lama. Page 61 of Atīśa-a̱hi. Rnam. thar. also gives, by way of a supplement to an account of Atīśa and his university of Vikramaśila, an account of the destruction of that university by Turks, and also of the Exodus of scholars headed by Śākya Paṇḍita.

Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the Last Decade of the Eighteenth Century.

[By Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.]

In this paper I propose to deal with the activities of the Gurkhas on the Nepal Frontier during the last ten years of the Eighteenth Century.

A rapid survey of their growing power from 1767 onwards will not be out of place. The Kinloch expedition of 1767 to Nepal failed ingloriously. The military misadventure was sought to be compensated for by the occupation of the Bettiah lowlands. This object failed doubly, for the income from the Terai proved to be poor and did not fulfil expectations, and its retention left the Gurkha Raja Prithivi Narayan smarting. The English attempted to heal the wound by soothing words and flattering effusions of friendship, but they failed to soften the obdurate heart of Prithivi Narayan. The English altogether did not lose the hope of opening up trade with the Himalayan countries. They encouraged James Logan to go to Nepal and Tibet. Logan's ostensible object was to promote commercial relations, but he had an ulterior motive—*viz.*, the stirring up of the defeated and discontented hill chiefs against the Gurkha Raja. Logan achieved neither object, his mission failed. Prithivi Narayan apparently made little of the "sincere desire" of the Governor of "entering into friendship with him", and "sent back the Firingi" from Nepal.

Prithivi Narayan seems to have possessed all the virtues of an astute politician and may vey well compare with one of our own times. He had a firm and resolute will to achieve his object, he would not deviate, but proceed surely, even though slowly, to his goal; he would always put forward the semblance of the right on his side when conquering a country, he would fly off at a tangent from the proposition of his opponent when it would not suit his purpose, he would maintain an attitude of studied ataraxy when attention would land him in difficulties, he would always pretend friendship with his opponent and would claim to serve the latter's interest while really serving his own!

He conquered Bikram Singh of Mackawnpore and claimed Mackawnpore and Bettia lowlands by virtue of that conquest. When the lowlands were occupied by the English as war indemnity for the Kinloch expedition he wore an appearance of injured innocence. He occupied the Tatar parganas again by virtue of the same conquest of Mackawnpore. After having firmly consolidated his position in Nepal he cast his covetous eyes on the Morung. Kamdat Singh was formerly the Raja of the Morung, his principality consisting of the districts of Bejpur (or Bijepur), Amarpur and Makwanpur extending from Bhutan to Nepal and from Purnea to Tirhut and Bettiah. He also claimed the country of Bhatgaon. But he and his successor were successively dispossessed by the rebel Dewan Budh Karan. Now the Morung—the tract of country lying on the northern frontier of Purnea—was important to the English, as they wanted to establish an effective influence there, so as to control the passages on the river Kosi and to prevent the incursions of the Sannyasis (and other disorderly people) who came from Nepal through the Morung into Bengal. Budh Karan's troops were plundering the frontier of Purnea. The English wanted to drive away the

Dewan and manage the Morung. Prithivi Narayan calmly asserted his claim to Bijepur and Amerpur, the territory of his "brother Kamdat Singh", and offered to punish the Dewan. To the request of the English to prevent the annual depredations of the Sannyasis who came from Nepal, he replied that he had indeed pleased Vansittart at one time by punishing the Sannyasis, and would do so again if he were allowed to extend his possessions to Bettiah and thereby enable him to prevent the Sannyasis from crossing the Gandak which passed through that region. In August 1774 he calmly ignored the protest of the Governor and affably requested him to send a sanad under his seal and signature for Amerpur, Bijepur and Makwanpur, which were "now in his possession"! Then he dispossessed one hill Raja after another, driving them to take refuge with the English and offering revenue at the same time for this and that place so occupied and begged the Governor-General "not to be prejudiced against him by the misstatements of his enemies". He sent *vakils* to the English, but they did not know the business and had no full powers. The hope of the English to renew the Nepal trade remained a hope, for in 1774 Bogle was not admitted passage through Nepal to Tibet, and he had to choose another route. Thus the English failed to get any material advantage from Prithivi Narayan who would not even care to reply, or send a *vakil* to settle a matter. Prithivi Narayan's son and successor Pratap Singh did one better and expressed a surprise that the British demanded revenue for the Morung. This was the position towards the end of 1775. The Morung thus passed into the hands of the Nepal Raja. The Gurkha power began to grow and came into conflict with Tibet and Sikkim (1788)[1].

About the year 1788 the Gurkhas became very aggressive. But even before that time the Gurkha Raja attempted occasionally to dispossess persons residing near his border. Let me cite an instance. In 1781 Deena Nath Upadhyaya, the *Vakil* of the Raja of Nepal, presented a memorial to the Governor-General complaining that one Abdullah Beg remained in unlawful possession of the pargana Kotihutt and prayed for its restoration. The extract of the memorial was sent to Mr. Maxwell, Revenue Chief of Patna, for enquiry and report. He sent for Abdulla Beg who lived in Patna and examined him personally. Abdulla said that he and his family held possession of the paragana as jaigir for the last 30 years and in confirmation of his right he produced a sunud upon copper from Kuar Kunun (?) Singh, the late Raja of Mackwanpore, also several sunuds from the Nazims of the Soubah to the same effect (copies of which he forwarded to the Governor General). It transpired on further enquiry that the Nepal Raja on a former occasion attempted to dispossess the jagirdar and actually sent a force to seize upon him, but on a representation being made to Mr. Rumbold the then Chief of Patna, the latter prevented the Raja from unjustly dispossessing the incumbent. In 1784 G. F. Grand. Collector of Tirhoot, sent a petition of Raja Madho Singh of Darbhanga, whereupon the Governor

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[1] For a fuller account see Dr. Nandalal Chatterji's article "The First English Expedition to Nepal" and Professor S. C. Sarkar's "The Nepal Frontier" in Proc. of the Indian History Congress, Second and Third Sessions respectively. The subsequent account is based on unpublished records preserved in the archives of the Collectors of Purnea, Muzaffarpore, Saran, Shahabad, and Bhagalpore.

[2] Maxwell to David Anderson Esqr. President and Members of the Rev. Bd., Fort William, dated 10th July, 1781. Shahabad Records.

General was requested to prevent misunderstanding between the English and Nepal Govts.[3]

On the 3rd February, 1787 the Governor General addressed a letter to the Raja of Nepaul: "Mr. Grand has represented to me that your people have frequently made encroachments upon the village Ashuffa and on the borders of Tirhoot when they have violently interrupted the cultivation and attempted to possess themselves of the produce and that these encroachments continue notwithstanding two letters which were written to you on the subject during the administration of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Mackpherson as such proceedings are quite contrary to the duties of friendship and good neighbourhood. I must therefore request you to take proper measures for preventing this behaviour in future and for procuring the restoration of every article which your people may have carried away."[4]

In November 1787 the Collector of Muzaffarpore wrote to the Governor General and Members of the Supreme Council requisitioning a guard consisting of a subadar and sixty sepoys to protect the public treasury and to secure the zamindar of Tirhoot from the encroachment of the Nepaul Aumlah and from inroads of Zamindars who had been dispossessed of their Zamindaris for murder or other crimes and who raised occasional levies upon ryots, disturbed the peace of the country, impeded and obstructed the collections In December the Collector also wrote to John Shore, President, Board of Revenue, complaining of the deportment of the Nepaul Aumlahs who showed themselves litigious and insolent.

In March 1787 the Board of Revenue wrote to Mr. Grand, the Collector of Tirhoot, regarding complaints made by W. B. Smith who held a farm at Natpore on the frontier of Morung against the conduct of the 'Gorcoli' Aumlah of Morung.

On 3rd April 1788 the Collector of Tirhoot wrote to John Shore enclosing translation of a letter received from the Amil of Roattihut which evinced how little the Nepal Govt. was disposed to submit to the decision respecting the frontier villages. On 4th December 1789 the Collector wrote to Archibald Montgomerie, Collector of Saran and Champaran, inviting his support to his exertion in preventing Dowlut Roy, Heree Roy and others and inhabitants of Champaran from making unity with the subjects of Nepaul with whom they were intimately connected and from holding any land dependent on the Nepaul Government.[5]

The Purnea district was not also free from Gorcolly violence. In 1785 on account of disturbances in the Morung especially between the Hill Rajas the frontiers became unsafe and two companies of sepoys had to be ordered to protect the district of Purnea (Feb. 14, 1785). In 1786 depredations were made on Purnea by the Gurkhas. In 1788 Mr. Pagan requested the Collector to inform the Governor General that Dayaram the Thanadar of Polamung in Morung seized one of Company's ryots and beat him in consequence of which he died in a few days.

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[3] Muzaffarpur Collector's Records.

[4] Muzaffarpur Collector's Records.

[5] Muzaffarpur Records.

But Tera Cordeh proved to be a veritable bone of contention. There seems to have been a perennial dispute between the Zamindar of Terah Cordeh and the Nepal Aumlahs who constantly encroached upon the former's lands. In 1788-89 several complaints were made of violence committed by the 'Gorcoli' Aumlah upon Tera Cordeh. "The translate of a Hindoo letter" written by Pan Raye Doobey to the Tera Cordeh Zamindar dated the 24th Bhado 1197 Mulky runs thus:

"The Subah of Morung has sent on the frontier 80 sepoys who are encamped to the westward of Mouzah Sunry and Bapati in Terra Cordeh. Moosah Saw has been stationed with some troops at Mosa Cordeh in Morung and he has attached the paddy harvests of the Muglana country and it is thought will soon have it cut down. By information of people from Morung it appears that the Subah has received orders to send troops at the frontier and he is inclined to raise a quarrel. The ryots are in great terror. I have therefore written to you that if early measures are not taken to prevent it the Morung sepoys will possess themselves of the crop".[6]

It may be observed that the Board of Revenue had on 25th Sep. 1787 warned S. G. Heatley, the Collector of Purnea, against incursions of Shah Moosa and a party of armed men from Pargana Apole.

Gujpat Sardar made an *arzee* to the Collector of Purnea dated 27th Bhadon 1197 Mulky saying that three Jamadars with Hircaras belonging to the Gorcolly had arrived at Mahadeopur in Morung and invited him to join them. He replied, "I live under the English Government and eat their salt, why should I wish to join you?" The Gorcolly had committed several depredations, and threatened to take possession of frontier lands "which belong to them agreeably to the affidavits".

The Collector wrote a letter to Zorawar Sing, Soubah of Morung, on 1st August, 1789 in response to his request to send an ameen to attach the frontier lands in dispute in Tera Cordeh, advising him to ask his vakil to give a darkhast specifying the lands between certain lines so that the Ameen might take action and be not baffled as on a former occasion when nobody pointed them out to him.

The Collector submitted a report to the President and Members, Board of Revenue, regarding the boundary of the Morung. On 12th September, 1789 he reported the depredations made by the Gorcolly troops and the steps taken to prevent them. Havildar Shaik Hoolas who had been sent with 15 sepoys to the frontier (Mouzah Sibteah in Tera Cordeh) wrote to the Collector (3rd Aswin 1197 Mulky) that troops of the Gorcolly had come with a great number of rioters and cut down the paddy notwithstanding his protest. Attul Khatry who had with him 100 sepoys said that he had orders from his master to take possession of the land marked out by Mr. Smith and would fight if he resisted. On the 16th September the Collector reported having sent a Jamadar and sepoys to prevent carrying off grain and drive invaders out of the district. On 7th October, 1789 he received information of the forcible possession of disputed lands by the Gorcolly troops as ordered by the Gurkha Raja. On the same day, Mr. Pagan informed him that the small party of sepoys stationed in Tera Cordeh were liable to be cut off every moment, the forces of the Goorca on that frontier having been increased within a few days to 600 firelocks besides a considerable party of irregulars consisting of Buteas (Booteas)

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6 Records of the Collector of Purnea, *Muglana* country is the country of the Mughals now in the possession of the British. *Cf.* the term *Moghulbundy* country or lands in the same sense in Cuttack records.

from the eastward and re-inforcements joining them every day from the northward. "Almost all the ryots have deserted their habitations, there is not the smallest appearance of the cultivation of the Rabee, this will occasion a considerable loss of revenue". He sent a copy of this letter to Government.

On 9th October, 1789 the Collector of Purnea wrote to Captain E. Lambert to order an officer with two companies to repel the threatened attack of the Gorcolly troops on the frontier. On 15th October, 1789 he wrote to Lt. Edward Hall at Tera Cordeh requesting him to take measures to protect ryots and not to allow any sepoy to pass the limits. He also sent him a copy of the orders of the Governor General regarding lands claimed by the Gurkha Soubah of Morung. Lt. Edward Hall promptly despatched a Jamadar and 20 sepoys to stop the Goorcas (20th Oct.). On 22nd October, 1789 Thos. Cust, Captn. Commg. 32 battalion of Sepoys, 4th Brigade informed the Collector that he was coming to relieve the 17 battalion at Taujepur.

There were also disputes on the frontier of Champaran. G. F. Cherry (Rev. Dept.) sent to the Collector of Saran and Champaran a translation of a petition made by Denanath Opada to the following effect:

In the Fasli year 1194 the renters of Sarkar Champaran disputed possession of some land belonging to Tappa Kohunt upon the plea of its being attached to the bed of the Bagmutty river, made a false representation to the Collector who to prevent breach of the peace sent a guard of sepoys to prevent either party taking possession. The Maharajah of Nepal wrote to me: "It is ever my wish to preserve the friendship existing between me and the English Company and I desire you will represent the conduct of the Champaran people to the Collector." Through the intervention of the Collector both parties were reconciled and the land belonging to the Tuppa was restored. "Notwithstanding everything had been settled after this manner, in the Fasli year 1197 upon the representation of the Champaran renters the Collector sent near 1000 Rajputs to take possession of the same land and disturbances are renewed . . . . I am hopeful that your lordship will desire the Collector to prevent further outrages and restore the land in question".

Meanwhile the English were contemplating effecting a Commercial Treaty with Nepal.[7] Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, was entrusted with the task.

Deneut Opadea (Dinanath Upadhyaya), the Vakil of the Raja of Nepal, made a petition to J. H. Harrington, Secretary, Board of Revenue (25th March, 1791): "I am now, according to Maharaja's orders, at Morung, where I am settling all affairs. I expect a Kherretah for you from him after the expiration of this year, which shall be forwarded to you, I beg leave to acquaint you that Sirgowannaum Panchy villages have always belonged to Morung." Harrington asked the Collector what encroachments had been made by Doolar Singh, Zamindar of Munkana Garda (Tera Cordeh?).

On 16th April, 1791 the Collector of Purnea wrote to the Board of Revenue that no encroachments were made by the Zamindar:

"The subject of the petition is boundary dispute and the Governor General in Council on the 23rd September, 1789 was pleased to approve the mode of adjusting the boundary recommended by Mr. Heatly in his letter to your Board on the 27th August, 1789 and desired the Vakil of the Raja of Nepal to communicate the same to his master". His Lordship in Council also directed that until final adjustment the Collector must be careful that the force stationed on the Frontier be sufficient to protect it from insult".

[7] An account of this is being published elsewhere.

On 22nd Feb. 1792 the Collector of Purnea informed the Hon'ble Charles Stuart:

"The Gorcolly troops have been defeated in two engagements with great loss by the Bootias. A nephew of Chowk Raja with a detachment from the Sakem and Durma have invested Deogharry within a cos of our frontier, joined by the Durma and Sakem rajah amounting to 22 000 men and is now on the march to Nepaul; all the hill forts east of the river Coosy are taken

As hostilities have now been brought so near to our frontier and the probable event of the war may give new musters to countries bordering on the Company's provinces I have taken measure to be furnished with intelligence."

On 29th April, 1792 the Collector of Purnea forwarded to William Cowper a copy of information received from Mr. Pagan and a translation of the letter written by the Naib of Morung to Mr. Pagan.

Mr. Pagan wrote that there had been a war between the Gurkhas and Bhutias. Jaymangal Upadhyaya and Jagan Parrey with Gorcolly troops met Purbooram and Mirgpat sardars with their Bhutias at Panusally in Morung. The latter having been defeated fled into Purnea followed by Jaymungle and Jagan who seized and murdered Purbooram in the village of Kokerbau.y, plundered the Gutedar of the village of all his effects and carried off four children belonging to another ryot. Jaymungle refused to restore children unless the effects and families of such adherents of the Bhutias as had taken shelter in Panusally were delivered to him.

Here is the 'translate' of the letter from Jaymungle Owpadea to Mr. Pagan dated 15 Bysack Buddi 1849 Sambat Style:

"I am well. I hope you are so. The matter is, that on account of the friendship subsisting between the English Behadurs and Gooica Maharaja I have frequently written to you, but without effect. Mirgput, Purbooram & Ajoodearam robbers uniting and joining with Bootias have committed violences in my country and our forces being gone to Sickim these people in the meantime defeated the Foujdar of Nizamtara and established themselves there. These people living in your country committed violences in mine. I shall now seize them, do not be offended. I have given you notice."

Mr. Pagan gives the following information with regard to the three "robbers" referred to by Jaymungle.

Purbooram was a native of Bootgong whence he was expelled by the Goorcullees some years since and took up residence in this district which he quitted when hostilities commenced between Goorcas and Bootias.

Ajoodaram was formerly an inhabitant of Purnea but absconded for debt and took service with the Amla of Morung, which he deserted to join the Bootias in the late invasion

Mirgput holds a share in Pyke Jagir in Perg. Futtehpur, but it appears has taken service with Bootias. I have sent orders to seize Ajoda and Mirgput and any other inhabitant of Purnea who may have engaged in the service of either party.

Mr. Pagan apprehended skirmishes on the frontier due to pursuit of refugees, and both parties might recruit and draw supplies of ammunition from the district notwithstanding his orders to the Zamindars to prevent taking refuge in the Company's territories, recruiting or receiving ammunition. He had no doubt that Jaymungle had a premeditated design of pursuit and suggested that Government should signify its displeasure to the Nepal Raja against the violence perpetrated by his people.

Heatly informed Dinanath Upadyaya of all this and requested him to restrain his amlah from such conduct and ask him to restore the children and protested against recruitment and obtaining supplies. He further in-

formed Cowper of a fresh outrage perpetrated by the Naib of Morung. A party of 13, 3 or 4 Gurkhas and the rest chellas of the notorious Fakir Cheragaly and Moosa Shah, came armed to a hat and committed violence. He received news from Powacolly that the Gorcollis were forming a camp near the Boundary, and that a party of the troops seized ryots of a frontier village, detained them for 6 days and made them carry baggage. The sepoys used to come to the hat and take whatever they wanted at their own price. An unusual number of troops had assembled in the Morung on account of war with the Bhootias. The Collector sent copies of the deposition of the ryots of talook Kokerbaugy in the purgana of Powacully, how Jaymungle and Jugure Parrey Foujdar came with 70 or 80 firelocks on Monday morning 14 Bysack, brought out Parbooram who had concealed in the house of Mundleram and killed him, plundered, carried off a horse and 4 people from Mohdoss's Gutch, and on Thursday 125 sepoys came, burned down houses and carried off men and women together with 20 head of cattle. The ryots of Churly, pargana Futtehpur Singhia, deposed to a raid of Goorkhas on 22 Bysack, plunder and carrying off of 6 men and women. He also sent a translate from the letter of the Raja of Morung which he received on 14th May, 1792:

"A considerable time has elapsed without my being made happy by hearing of your health. Pressure of business must have been the cause. Friendship now requires that you should make me happy by informing me of your welfare. I understand from report, that near the Boundary of Morung that (sic) people of the Lemoon Bootin and Kirant Costs, who reside, with their families at Rangapauny and Amgatchy Negrany, now assembling commit violences in my country and have plundered the property of the Raiots, I should have punished them but have not done it on account of the friendship which subsists with the English Company. I therefore trouble you that you write to Mr. John Pagan to punish the people severely that they may not again act so unjustly."

To this he returned the following reply to the Raja of Nepaul.

"I have received your letter and have understood the contents. I am happy to hear of your welfare. I hope our friendly correspondence will be frequent as a cause of increasing our mutual friendship. You wanted that the people of the Lemoon Bootiah and Kirant Costs have plundered your Raiots and you request a letter be written to Mr. Pagan to punish the people. The case is that it is not yet ascertained whether any inhabitants of this country have committed any violence in yours or they would have been punished. Accordingly before the receipt of your letter an arzee was received from Jaymungle Naib of Dinanaut Owpadia to a similar purport and requesting an aumeen. But before he sent that arzee the amla of Morung had committed outrages on the frontier and carried off several people with effects belonging to raiots. Notwithstanding this misconduct of the Morung Amla an aumeen has been appointed to enquire into the matter."

On the 11th May, the Secretary, Board of Revenue, was informed by the Council Chamber that the Governor General had written to the Raja of Nepal on the above subject and ordered arrest of Mirgput and Ajodearam, and others who had engaged in the service of either of the contending parties.

On 27th June, 1792 Harrington wrote to the Collector of Murshidabad to detain two Palwars (boats) of about one hundred mds. containing 19 boxes of firearms and bayonets and supposed to be consigned to Mr. Smith in the Morung country. Apparently these boats made progress, and entered the Cosi river. The Collector of Purnea informed the Governor General on 12th July, 1792 that "the boats were stopped on Tuesday last in the river Coosy within 4 cos of the frontier of Morung". No letters were found in the possession of the people on board. The arms were laden by Jugmohan Day, a Mahajan at Calcutta, some Gorcolly sepoys were put on board by

Bishen Upadyaya, the Nepal Vakil at Calcutta. The boats were to be taken up to Juppa, in Morung, 5 cos within the frontier. When the boats were stopped, two Goorca sepoys went on shore and proceeded to inform the Morung Amla of this.

On 20th July, 1792 the Collector of Purnea informed the Board of Revenue that Mirgpat Sardar was "now" in confinement. The Ameen reported thus about Mirgpat, Ajodearam, Parbhooram and others:

The Gorcolly troops having been defeated in Sikkim retreated with such precipitation that the inhabitants of the eastern parts of Morung fled with their cattle to the Co.'s territories, and so great is their terror that only in the day they return to Morung to graze cattle or cultivate and return to Co.'s district at night. Ajodaram (a native of this country, but who was in the service of the Goorcas and held the Zemindary of Pansaly in Morung) was sent by the Morung Foujdar to the Fort of Nizamtara, which he abandoned when beseiged by the Bhutias, and deserting the Gurkha service joined the Bhutias in Battis Hazari in Cooch Behar and returned to oppose the Gorcolis at Pansaly Being invited by the Bhutias he joined them along with Mirgput Sardar and Parbhoo Ram, and all received investitures of Zamindaries in Morung. Later on Parbhooram went with some Bhutias and 40 nondescript men to Nizam Tara, killed two men, seized some women and children and swept all the cattle near the frontier Mirgput joined him there with 50 people and went to Pansaly where they were defeated by the Goorcollis. Parbhoram fled into Co.'s territories, hid in the house of a ryot of Kokerbaugy, and was murdered by Gorcollis. The Naib of Morung burnt down houses in Kokerbaygy and carried off people and effects as reported in his letter of 29 April and 16th May, 1792. Mirgput also fled into Co.'s district and has been arrested He says that he was in Bhutia service before, that is why they invited him and conferred zamindary on him: he denied having plundered the Morung country. Ajodaram fled to Dehutt in Dinagepore and is now concealing in Boonchalpatty in Bhutan. Measures have been taken to apprehend their companions, some of whose names have since been ascertained.

On 1st September he reports that hostilities recommenced between Goorcollis and Bootias, and the Chowka Raja crossed the Teesta with a thousand Bhootias, and as the Gorcollis had no force in Sikkim he would descend into the low country and be joined there by a more considerable force. Both parties might attempt to recruit, bring plunder for sale in hats, and refugees take shelter in Co's territories, the troops might pass within the frontier; accordingly he proposed to ask the Commanding Officer at Tajepore to re-inforce the station on the frontier. On 9th December he informed Lord Cornwallis that he had learnt from Beoparies returning from Sikkim that hostilities recommenced between the Bootias and Gorcollis, and the latter had plundered Satsung Gola and thereby violated the mutual convention that it should be a mart where traders from all countries should transact business unmolested; and as a consequence the Bootias were marching to Morung.

Gurkha attacks on Tibet in 1790 set the Chinese against them. A Chinese officer commanding troops employed against the Gurkhas asked for assistance from the Collector of Purnea who forwarded the translation of his letter to Government.[8]

W. Kirkpatrick on deputation to Nepal wrote to R. Bathurst, Collector of Tirhoot, on 28th January 1793 saying that among other points of instruction one was to effect if possible a final settlement of all boundary disputes and requesting him to inform him if there was any such between inhabitants of Nepal and Tirhut.[9]

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8 Letter No 2516 dated 22nd November, 1792 Hunter's Bengal MSS. Records.

9 Muzaffarpur Records. We find a letter dated 16th April 1793 from Kirkpatrick, Patna, to Bathurst asking him to pay Rs. 5,000 and place the same to the account of the deputation to Nepal.

On 19th February, 1793 the Collector of Purnea forwarded to Captain Kirkpatrick extracts of his correspondence on the subject of the boundary between Tera Cordeh and Morung from which he would find that the Governor General in Council had been pleased on 23rd September 1789 to approve the mode of adjustment he had proposed. The boundary was to be settled in concert with the person deputed by Nepal Government, and "it is material that his instructions should be similar to what will be furnished to the Ameen from hence, namely to affix by an accurate demarcation as ascertained by the measurement of Mr. Pagan's grant in 1786-87".

The Fakeers who generally resided in the Nepal territories committed outrages on the frontier, *e.g.*, perpetrating murders, arson and plunder. On 5th July 1793 Thomas Hawkins, Officer Commanding Tajepur, wrote to the Collector that he had detached an officer and 59 men after Sooban Ali Shaw, and he hoped that the officer acting on information given to him by the Collector's men at Kishengunge would overtake the Fakir's party. Their depredations were also reported from the country to the north of Surjapur.

On 28th July, 1794 the Collector reports that he learnt from Gholam Ghosh the farmer of Natpore that Khurram Shaw with a party of Fakirs had attacked and plundered two villages killing one man and severely wounding three others. He requested Captain John Witherston Commg. Tajpur to station a guard for the present at the farmer's kutchery. During the last 6 months the Fakir made 3 attacks. Unless Government took decided measure to stop such excursions, the collections of Northern Parganas would be uncertain.

On 12th December, 1794 the Collector wrote a letter to N. B. Edmonstone, Persian Translator.

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 28th ultimo and conformably to the Governor General's directions have forwarded by the hands of chaprasis the letter addressed to the Rajah of Nepal but whether the men ever return or not appears to me to be problematic as the Morung Rajah has given such proofs of his intriguing disposition lately that I should not be the least surprised from the circumstances of his keeping spies at my cutchery were he to cut them off However I trust I have acted with sufficient circumspection and secrecy to elude the vigilance of his emissaries.

I have for these last 10 days past been wearied out with accounts from the surberacar of Surajpore and the farmers of the Northern pergunahs of the incursions of three separate parties of the Fakeers who have killed six men and plundered to the amount of near 2000 rupees so that I expect the ensuing kist to be at least that sum in balance .. it is not to be supposed they (*i.e.* ryots) will remain to have their properties exposed to the merciless ravages of a set of freebooters who commit their depredations with impunity and who are protected and encouraged by as high a power as the Rajah of Morung and from the inattention shown to the frequent Representations of our Govt., I should suppose likewise the Rajah of Nepaul.

The boundaries shall no longer be a plea for encouraging the Fakeers but this in my opinion is a most daring and impudent pretext. I really cannot express to the Governor General in terms at all adequate to convey the smallest idea of the insolence I suffered from the vakeel of the Rajah of Morung and upon my expostulating he absolutely attempted to bully and frighten me into settling the boundaries and said till that was finally adjusted he was instructed to use such language. Had he been the representative of a Zemindar I would have instantly fined or imprisoned him for contempt."

In a tone of despair he further writes to him:

"I cannot refrain from observing that notwithstanding the Raja of Nepaul's fair assurances and promises to the Governor General, yet who may be said to be the eyewitness to the depredations of the Fakirs—I am sorry to say that I have not yet been able to discover any abatement or change in their plundering system...... Herdooar Singh the new appointed Soubah is still at Nepaul. Khurram Shah, the chief of one of the banditti, has been released as the Rajah of Nepaul writes me he is forbidden by his faith from punishing or in any way annoying a Fakeer, and I now hear that he is now at his favourite encampment at Mutteeanee a village belonging to Morung on the Tirhoot boundary threatening to pay Raja Madho Singh a visit unless he pays a sum of money."

Tirhoot was unsafe. In April 1794 the treasure from Darbhanga to Muzaffarpore was looted by dacoits and the Collector applied for additional number of sepoys. On 9th January, 1795 J. Neave, Magistrate Tirhoot, informed G. Arbuthnot, Collector of Tirhoot, that Kurrum Shah Fakeer assembled on the borders of Tirhut with a large body of armed men with hostile intention.

The Collector of Purnea reported in January, 1795 that the Fakirs had very near got hold of him and his elephant. The village was attacked by 250 or 300 of them. The hubbub the people made frightened the elephant and the noise she made frightened the Fakirs who thinking she belonged to a party of sepoys took to heels till they got to the Morung 3 cos from the place. It is not surprising that the plunders continued. In 1796 the Kissengunge court was plundered.

Meanwhile every effort was made by the British Government in India to maintain friendly relations with the Nepal Government. As for example J. Fombelle, Judge of Bhagulpore, did not countenance the pretensions of a person "who styled himself as Maharaj Bahadur Shah, Jye Singh Sohay and uncle of Maha Rauje Run Bahadur Shaw Shumser Jung' and who presented an *arzi* to him, praying for an interview. Fombelle wrote a letter (dated 27th March 1794) to the Hon'ble Sir John Shore, Bart., Governor General in Council, saying that this man represented to him that in consequence of a disagreement with his nephew he had withdrawn himself from Nepal a month ago and come within the Company's territories; he was now actually at Jahangirah a few cos from Bhagalpur, that he had informed him that "I can not treat with him on business without previous reference to Government, I can for the present assure him of that general protection which is extended to the subjects of all powers in amity with the Company." He also requested A. Seton, Magistrate of Gyah, to let him know what truth there was in the man's statement that he had come to pay his devotions at Gaya, where he distributed Rs. 7,000 in money and effects to Brahmins and had become poor (Seton's reply not available). Fombelle rightly thought that the man was an impostor, for the latter subsequently confessed that he was the son of Daljeet Singh whose brother Dull Murdun Singh, in consequence of a quarrel with Maharaja Ran Bahadur, had retired to Circar Champaran, and with him he had been for one year, but as the latter being requested by the Maharaja was returning to Nepal, he denied having any connection with him through fear and said he had left Nepal about a month ago. On 21st April, 1794 Fombelle informed J. H. Harrington (Secretary to Governor General in Council in the Political Department) that in conformity to the permission granted by his letter (not

found) he had dismissed Raja Bahadur Shah cautioning him not to assume any name or character to which he had no pretensions.[10]

We know that the Governor General's persistent endeavour to maintain friendly relations with the Nepal Government in the first decade of the 19th century failed to prevent the Nepal War.

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10 I thank Dr. K. K. Bose of Bhagalpur who has on my reference kindly sent me copy of correspondence relating to Bahadur Shah from the records of the Collector of Bhagalpur (Judicial letters).

An account of some cases of Sati.

[By Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D.]

The archives of the Bhagalpur Magistracy contain a few interesting old records relating to the performance of Sati in the district of Bhagalpur in the first half of the nineteenth century. E. Parry, the Zillah Magistrate, gives an annual report of the number of the Hindu women who burnt themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands during the year 1815. The report in question mentions three cases that took place at Tarapur, Pealapur and Lokemanpur. At the first two places, the ages of the women were nineteen and fifty respectively and the incidents occurred in the month of March. The lady who burnt herself at Pealapur came off Brahmin caste and the other who belonged to Tarapur was a *Koeree*[1] by descent. The woman of Lokemanpur, a Rajput by birth, was aged fifty-three, and the incident took place in the month of June of the aforesaid year.

In 1817 we came across two similar cases as mentioned in the Magistrate's report both of which took place at Pealapur. The first case of the year occurred in March, the lady being a Brahmin and aged only twenty-five. Five months later, the second incident occurred in which the woman was a Rajput by birth and she was reported to be eighty years of age !

The next important and illuminating document bearing on the subject is the annual report of Satis drawn up by the District Magistrate. In this report for the year 1822, the Magistrate A. Chalmer states, that an information on an attempt at Sati by Mossummat Dyal Kumar (the widow of Neervai Singh) a Kayestha by caste and aged twenty-six being brought to him, he repaired to Rajmahal, the scene of action. Holding death in scorn, the widow was just to ascend the pyre with a turban and inkstand, the two relics of her dear husband. The attempt of the Magistrate to dissuade the widow from her purpose proving inefficacious and the lady remaining firm in her resolve, the officer gave the permission of lighting the pile. To the astonishment of all, the woman showed unparalleled coolness as long as the flames were confined to her lower extremities, but when they reached the upper part of her body and caused her suffocation, she lost her composure, came out of the pyre and fell senseless at the feet of the Magistrate. The lady came to her senses after a few moment, and again the Magistrate urged her to give up her designs holding out to her promise of maintenance and protection. To the dismay of the Magistrate, the lady was as before obdurate and adamantine and instead of yielding to the entreaties she strongly protested the official interference. With some force she freed herself from the hold of the Magistrate and showed wonderful courage and fortitude in climbing up the burning pile. In view of the existing regulations which made only pursuasion to be legal and intimidation and the use of force to be contrary to law, the Magistrate allowed the widow to have her own way. The most important and remarkable feature of the whole episode is that the widow had a full knowledge and faith in the doctrine of transmigration of soul. In reply to the entreaties of the Magistrate she told him that she had undergone the ceremony of Sati in her two previous births— one at Benares and the other at Kanauj. She had therefore the full knowledge of the sufferings that are caused by the rite and was not at all terrified at it. She knew full well what awards and compensations await a Sati in the next world.

[1] Vegetable Seller.

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There is also on record the case of an attempt at Sati near the town of Bhagalpur. In his letter dated the 17th April 1830, to W. H. Macnaghten, Register to the Nizamat Adalat, Fort William, R. W. Barlow, Judge and Magistrate of Bhagalpur, relates that on the 23rd February of the same year the widow of Khusilal, a Kayestha by birth, made up her mind to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband. The Magistrate hastened to the Barari ghat the spot fixed for the Sati at 9 P.M. and to his satisfaction found, that the widow had given up her design at the interference of the relatives of the widow and the farmer and the daroga of the place.

A Memorial of the Dutch to Warren Hastings and the Council in Calcutta.

[By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.]

The mid-eighteenth century political revolutions in Bengal naturally produced highly pernicious effects on the economic condition of the province, and the country was in no time doomed to a pathetic economic decline, complete recovery from which has still remained an unrealised dream in spite of the gigantic strides of modernism.

The various economic abuses having originated in the pre-Plassey period[1] found scope for development after 1757 owing to the collapse of sound governance, prevalence of widespread disorder throughout the country, and rapacity of the East India Company's employees. In consequence of the enhanced influence of the English East India Company after the battle of Plassey, "many innovations", writes Vansittart, "were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority"[2]. Robert Orme significantly observes: " . . . . . as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undisputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in salt and other articles, which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Mir Jafar complained of those encroachments within a month after his accession; which although checked for the present, were afterwards renewed, and at last produced much more mischief than even disinterested sagacity could have foreseen"[3]. Mir Kasim complained justly that "a trade was carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never yet the custom to trade in"[4] We are told by Mr. Harry Verelst, a contemporary Bengal officer of the English East India Company, that "a trade was carried on without payment of duties in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents and Gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of the Government, binding and punishing the Nabob's officers wherever they pressened to interfere"[5].

With mis-rule, disorder, corruption and oppression rampant throughout the length and breadth of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the miseries of the local people, as we know from copious references in the accounts of contemporary writers and records of the English and other European trading companies, knew no bounds. Referring to the condition of Bengal in 1765, the Select Committee in Bengal observed in their letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 19th February, 1767:—"We beheld a presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a Government without nerves, a treasury without money, and service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit * * * * amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce individuals were accumulating riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty

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1 K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I.
2 *Vansittart's Narrative*, Vol. I. p. 24.
3 Orme's *Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 189.
4 *Original Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Bengal from 1759-63*, Vol. I, pp. 170-73.
5 Verelst, *View of Bengal*, p. 48.

and oppression". Richard Becher, an experienced servant of the English Company, wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on the 24th May, 1769:—"It must give pain to an Englishman to have Reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted * * * * this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its Ruin".

At the same time, this state of affairs could not but cause great hardships and disadvantages to the French and the Dutch in Bengal. Not only was the political influence of both destroyed under the stress of the quickly succeeding revolutions throughout India, but their commerce too was hard hit. So far as the Dutch were concerned, the decisive battle of Bedara, fought in November, 1759, dealt a crushing blow to their ambition to "rival the political power of the English in Bengal"[6], and henceforth their existence in Bengal came to be entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rivals, the English. Stavorinus, a Dutch naval officer, who visited Bengal during 1769-71 A.D., writes[7]: "Since the unfortunate issue of our expedition to Bengal, in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline, and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the English, with respect to the piecegoods wanted for our cargoes, both for Batavia and for Holland". Their commerce, which had been previously "very profitable now ceased to be so"[8]. The Dutch realised the comparative weakness of their position, and with the natural psychology of a disappointed party continued to complain from 1760 onwards against the various obstructions to which their trade in Bengal was subjected. It is true that acts of reprisals were not absolutely wanting on their part[9]; but these only served to irritate the English and to excite the displeasure of the Nawab's government against them instead of improving their lot in any way.

In view of the repeated complaints of the Dutch, the Court of Directors in England sometimes instructed the Council in Calcutta[10] to redress their grievances as far as possible, and occasionally agreements were actually arrived at between the Dutch and the English to prevent "altercations and disputes" between them[11]. These, however, had only temporary effect, and the Dutch did not cease from complaining against what they considered to be their legitimate grievances during the administrations of Harry Verelst and John Cartier.

The regulation of Bengal's internal trade formed an item in Warren Hastings' programme of administrative reforms, and as such he had to take notice of the complaints of the Dutch. In the month of December, 1773, he passed an order by which "the former Embargo laid upon the Exportation of Grain" by the Dutch was "entirely taken off"[12]. An

6 *Clive's Narrative* (*Malcolm's Life of Clive*, Vol II, p. 89).

7 Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I, pp. 499-501.

8 Ibid, pp. 324-25.

9 There are some references to this point in *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vols. II & III & IV.

10 *Court's Letters, dated* (*a*) *April 2, 1762.* (*b*) *17 May, 1766.*

11 *Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated 14th February, 1763;* Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115.

12 *Letters from the Dutch Council at Hugli to the Governor and the Council of Fort William at Calcutta, dated 18th December and 24th December, 1773. Public Consultations, 3rd January, 1774,* Nos. 6 & 7. (I. R. D.)

agreement was also effected in the next year regarding the supply of saltpetre to the Dutch from Patna. This was, however, considered by the Dutch Council at Hugli to be too inadequate to satisfy their need. They wrote to the Council in Calcutta early in November, 1774: "We, therefore, beg you will take it into consideration, that we have received so little (of saltpetre) for these several years past, that it does not in the least agree with the stipulated written agreement in the year 1774 and that the Dutch Company suffer greatly by it; you will therefore be pleased to grant us the highly necessary Redress, and so far increase our share of this year's produce that it may the more agree with your's . . . . justice"[13]. The Council in Calcutta communicated to them on the 7th November 1774: "In Reply to the Letter you were pleased to address us on the subject of saltpetre we beg leave to inform you that we are restricted from increasing the Quantity of your annual allowance by the orders of our Superiors they finding that the amount of what falls to their own share is hardly sufficient for their own Demand"[14].

Towards the end of the year 1774 the Council in Calcutta informed the Dutch at Hugli of the new system of government established at Fort William in Bengal according to the Regulating Act, and at the same time "expressed a desire of procuring a complete good understanding with respect to the interests" of their different "Establishments" by granting them all possible assistance with a view to enabling them to carry on as before their "ancient lawfully constituted trade in these countries"[15]. Relying on this promise, the Dutch sent two members of their Council, Messrs. Van Dankelman and Eilbracht, on deputation to the Council in Calcutta in the month of April, 1775. Their envoys carried a memorial to be delivered to the Calcutta Council and were also authorized "to answer by word of mouth every question" that the English would "find proper and necessary to ask them by way of a more nice interpretation of these matters and their proposals"[16] The object of the Dutch in submitting the memorial was thus stated by them:—"* * * being resolved to display to you in as brief and succint a manner as will be possible, all those disappointments and obstacles we have been forced to struggle with during the last 18 years; by which means no other prospect is left us for the future but a continual fear of seeing those Mischiefs at last bursting forth into the Total ruin of our Company's Affairs in these regions if a speedy and dexterous Remedy should still remain unapplyed for. We have corrected in writing a Memorial concerning these Matters * * *"[17].

In this Memorial[18] the Dutch sought to demonstrate how their old rights and privileges based on numerous *firmans* received from Indian

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13 *Bengal Secret Consultations, 7th November, 1774,* No. 4 (I. R. D.).

14 *Bengal Secret Consultations, 7th November, 1774,* No. 5 (I. R. D.).

15 *Letter from the Dutch Council at Hugli to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 15th April, 1775, Bengal Secret Consultations, 25th April, 1775,* No. I. (I. R. D.).

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 A copy of the *Memorial* is embodied in *Bengal Secret Consultations, 25th April, 1775,* No. 2 (I. R. D.).

The document is quoted in Appendix to this article.

rulers and governors had been infringed from time to time, particularly since 1757; and they prayed that these might be put upon their former footing. The special points of their complaint were regarding the vexations and obstructions from which their trade in such important articles as cotton cloths, saltpetre, opium, raw silk and silk stuffs, suffered; the oppressions of the English Company's people on them; the practice of paying *peshkash* to procure saltpetre at Patna; the embarrassments in the sphere of currency; disputes with the successive *faujdars* of Hugli on the point of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of that place; and hindrance caused to them by the stoppage of their vessels at the numerous *chowkies* (customs-stations). The Memorial in conclusion contained a proposal for the exchange of the Dutch settlement of Baranagore with some plot of land, in the circle or environs of Chinsurah, equivalent to the extent of Baranagore.

The Dutch envoys were allowed to be present at the meeting of the Council in Calcutta, held on the 25th April, 1775, where they duly delivered the Memorial[19]. The Council in Calcutta then sent the following reply [20] to the Dutch Council at Hugli on the 29th April, 1775:—

"The discussion and Investigation of the several articles contained in your Memorial will require some time, as it will be necessary for us to write to our distant Factories for copies of Records and other documents respecting them. But you may depend upon our bestowing the Nicest attention and as much to as we can spare from the calls of our other urgent affairs upon this investigation, that we may bring it to a satisfactory and speedy conclusion. In the mean time we beg leave to observe that as your memorial is only a general representation of Grievances without any specification of the objects aimed at for their redress, it would be our endeavours to afford you satisfaction therein if you would be pleased to state to us your particular grievances your pretensions formed into precise articles applied to each head of your memorial.

Messrs. Van Dankelman and Eilbracht having verbally and in a Letter presented to us on the 28th instant requested that we would instantly publish orders in all places where cloth manufactures are established or other articles produced that the Trade of the Dutch Company may be carried on freely and without molestation in the same footing with our own and in the manner directed by the Mogul's Firmaunds &ca. we have thought it proper to Cause a present publication to be issued which we conceive to be sufficient to produce the end proposed by this requisition of which we have the honor to enclose you a copy and for the more effectual repression of all illegal attempts to prejudice the free Trade of this Country we shall be ready at all times to receive and redress any complaints which you or your Agents may have to prefer to us or to those acting in authority under us.

We beg leave to add that in all matters which respect the privileges of your nation we shall make it our study to afford them every possible support".

19 *Secret Consultations, 25th April 1775*, No. 1 (I. R. D.).

20 *Secret Consultations, 1st May, 1775*, No. 3 (I. R. D.).

We have no definite knowledge as yet as to how far the impediments to Dutch trade in Bengal were removed according to this assurance. In the course of a few years, the influence of some new factors in European and Indian politics complicated the relations between the English and the Dutch in the West as well as in the East. Finally, in 1825 the Dutch ceded to the English all their establishments in India[21].

APPENDIX.

Memorial of the Dutch.

"It will be needless for us to enter into a Detail of the General Calamity which for a series of these twenty years past have befallen this rich Country which we inhabit, and of the universal Decline of its Commerce and Finances, which are the Sinews of a well regulated State, and much more so, to set forth the Reasons and Causes that have reduced the affairs to so deplorable a situation. The Politicks of your own Nation have so clearly been productive of them, and you yourselves are so fully convinced thereof[22], that we should give ourselves a superfluous trouble to do it. * * * *

But the Chain of misfortune and Disgraces, with which the Dutch Company during all that period to the present Instant has had to struggle within their Trade; the Indignity and outrages which they and their Dependants have suffered upon many occasions; in fine the affront and violence offered to them, have been as well the particular objects of our Resentment as the Motives and Cause of our Constant Complaints. We flatter ourselves however that these having been carried to Extensity are at length brought to that Period in which we may hope for amendment. We expect it Gentlemen from your Justice and Equity, and in that reliance we take the Liberty to lay before you in this Memorial, our situation and our Grievances.

To which End it appears sufficient for us to confine ourselves to a Demonstration.

1stly. Of the Rights and Previleges which the Dutch Company have obtained in the Country at an immense Expence, of the several Firmaunds[23] from the Sovereigns of these Kingdoms and their Representatives, more than once received, confirmed and extended.

2ndly. Of the Infringements that have been made upon them from time to time and particularly within the last Eighteen Years.

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21 *Secret Consultations, 13th January, 3rd February, 3rd March and 19th May, 1825* (I. R. D., Foreign).

22 Cf.—"We easily account for its (cotton manufacture at Dacca) decline, by the continual wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share" *An unpublished letter of Major James Rennell, dated Bengal 31st August, 1765, printed in Bengal: Past and Present, July-September, 1933.*

23 Recently copies of these firmans, dated from 1613 to 1773, were kindly supplied to me by the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, and I hope to edit and publish them separately, with due notes and comments, as soon as possible

3rdly. That we now mean to claim from you at this Junction, the Putting them upon their former footing, since the English Company has declared itself Dewan or Representative of the Sovereign.

With respect to the first point, the trade of the Dutch Company, is from its infancy and first commencement, in Bengal and Surat, taken notice of in the Firmaunds of the respective Emperors of Indostan astonding (?) to the Improvement of the Country and increase of the revenues. They therefore obtained by the Firmaunds the Power and Liberty of carrying on a free and unmolested trade throughout this Kingdom, in whatever Places their Dependants might land without Lett, Hindrance or Molestation from any person whomsoever, much less to be subject to Extortions and Affronts. Under the general Head of all Produces, are in particular comprehended, Linnens, Silk, Silk-stuffs, Opium, Salt-petre and Borax, as likewise the Purchase of Grain. These Privileges are successively received and in some of the Firmaunds extended. The Right to the Coinage of Silver, and the Payment of 2½ p.ct. for Import and Export Duties once in the year at fixed Places, is also included therein. Unlimited jurisdiction over the Company's servants and the Right of exercising Justice in Civil Cases and of inflicting such Punishment in Criminal ones as do not reach to Capital, upon the other Inhabitants of their Colonies, being considered their subject and claim, their Right. The Detention of their Ships and other vessels by which the course of affairs may be impeded, is thereby strictly forbidden, in a word the Company has obtained by these Firmaunds, so particular and extensive a Right and Power, that nothing but open violence can overthrow or destroy the same. * * * *

From that Time, or more properly after the taking of Calcutta, and the repeated victories obtained in the year 1757, over the Subahs of the Country, the vexation and calamities encreased. We were molested in every Branch of Commerce and our several investments decreased yearly. The Right of purchasing Salt-petre from the first Hand, was put a stop to, by the exclusive privilege, which Lord Clive had taken care to obtain on behalf of the English Company, in this Article [24]. The Opium, an Article of so much importance, that was also endeavoured to be wrested from us by numberless Chicanerys and by the Pernicious monopolies of individuals; and the little we were able to obtain thereof, as it were by a sufferance, we were obliged to pay at the highest Rate without being able to this very Hour to obtain by near so much as is yearly necessary to complete our usual Demands. The same Evil, namely the indiscriminate investment of unprivileged Traders and the regulated means of constraint brought into practice, have not only occasioned a general decline in the Produces of the Country, but are also the Cause, that cloths, Silk and Silk stuffs, are decreased in quantity and quality, and nevertheless risen to a most exhorbitant Price; in so much that, shortly before these Events, we were able to provide cargoes for 12 or 13 ships whereas by the Decrease from year to yearly it is with the greatest difficulty that we are now able to dispatch loaded in due Time, two ships for Europe and put one for India[25]. * * * *

24 Clive gained absolute control over saltpetre trade in Bihar in 1758-59.

25 In the light of this statement it is difficult to agree with the opinion of a modern writer (Dr. J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 170) that the trade of the Dutch in Bengal was very prosperous "during the decade beginning with 1770".

Since the year 1758 we have from year to year sufficiently had reason to lament the unjust Dealing and Oppressions of the English Chiefs of the Subordinate Factories, and of the Residents and Gomastahs in the accruing. We have shewn and proved that these Disasters put it absolutely out of the Power of our Merchants and Gomastahs to fullfill their constraint and Engagements with us. * * * *.

In the meantime the consequences hereof have been, the total Destruction of the Cloth-Trade, the enormous Enhancement of the price of every article, the Desertion of the Farmers and Manufacturers, and the cause of the considerable Bankruptcies and Arrears, among the Weavers. * * * *

We must therefore Gentlemen for the General Good and for the Re-establishment of our drooping State, urge you to take these matters most seriously into consideration. We have and are willing to persuade ourselves that you yourselves are convinced of the necessity of so doing, and to lay the Trade open and free from all Restraint, incumbrance and oppression. The measures which have been taken for that purpose since the Commencement of Mr. Hastings' Government plainly shew it. But how little to the Purpose and how insufficient these Measures have proved hitherto, requires but very little Demonstration. Not to speak now of what happened in Patna in the year 1761, 62 and 63, in regard to Opium, we beg leave to recommend to your Attention the Circumstances relative to the Cloth Investment at the same place, in the year 1772, when the strictest orders had already been given for Liberty of Trade therein, and that in spite thereof, an insignificant Pyh'ar daringly arrogated to himself the Power of openly ill-treating the Weavers and other Arificies that had engaged themselves the Dutch Company, and to take away from them the goods, for which money had been advanced them for Account of our Company. In Dacca there has been introduced a mode inconsistant with every former usage and custom, and ruinous to every one that has it not in his Power to carry on his Trade by Restraint and Authority; our affairs which are of no considerable Extent were by this mode reduced to the most deplorable condition, and the abandoning of Dacca is the final Result of all the Vexations, Hindrances and Difficulties with which we have had to struggle, and to which we must ascribe the loss of about 20,000 rupees, which we shall not be able to recover from the Delols, who complain that the means of repairing their losses are entirely taken away from them, by the aforesaid arrangement, what Benefit has resulted from the late published Freedom of Trade in the Aurungs, dependent upon the Principal Factories? Have not we since experienced circumstances which give us the greatest Reason for heavy complaints? Witness what happened in the year 1774 at Mahanendpore [26] and at Buddaul[27]. * * * *

The Great Opinion which our Superiors (whom the knowledge of these Particulars has reached) entertain of your just and upright Remains, and the Impression which they have already made upon us, leaves us no Room to doubt, but on the contrary to hope and expect, as the desir'd consequence thereof, your utmost Endeavours to restore the Country to its pristine State of Lustre, to re-establish its Finances and to support its

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[26] In the Maldah district.

[27] In the Dinajpur district.

Commerce, both so much fallen, and thus Consequently to participate in like Manner to the Dutch Company by letting them enjoy the salutary effects and advantages that must necessarily arise from such wholesome and Prudent Measures; * * * *

If your Honors would now be pleased to enter warmly into the Busyness, it speaks as it were of itself, that this good Intention will extend itself over our trade throughout the whole Country. We persuade ourselves that there would then be a greater Facility in laying in the respective Investments of Silk and Silk Stuff, the Difficulties attendant on which are of no less a right and Importance than in the other Articles. In the year 1772 full Representations were made thereof by our Chief at Cossimbuzar to the English Agents, as likewise to Mr. Hastings himself. In consequence of the Orders given by his Honor an incredible Alteration took Place in the Price of the Pattenys[28] from 5 to 9 Tolas for the Rupee and we made bold to assert, that a real Freedom of Trade accompanied with an effective Prohibition and Penalty upon all abuses, in particular such as happened in 1773, and have been thought of by a Mr. Pattle, would have a further desirable Effect and contribute considerably to a reasonable Price for the Pattenys, the Provision of which is of equal importance to both nations.

From the above Conference held by our Chief at Cossimbuzar Mr Ross, with the Hon'ble Mr. Hastings, it appeared to us, that the name of the Dutch Company had been used as a means of Imposition in the Trade or Provision of Pattenys, the English Gomasthas, in the year 1772 have given up as purchased for Account of our Company, the Quantity of 2,000 Maunds; whereas we can assure you that it was with the Greatest Difficulty we were able to procure 500 Maunds. In order to remove this Evil which is equally practised in Respect to the Silk Stuffs, whereby more than One Hundred thousand Pieces were given up at making for our Company and in Fact only 3,000 Pieces furnished to us, the aforesaid Mr. Ross proposed an expedient to Mr. Hastings, that in case Circumstances should absolutely require it, and the general Freedom of Trade and Investment was no less and the Principal End, we should consider it as proper and suitable to the Times, but at that Juncture must regard it not only as an absolute constraint and Limitation, but altogether unneedfull as it conveyed, an obligation compulsatory on us to give up to the English Agents and Gomasthas, the quantities of Silk and Silk Stuffs, that we might have occasion for, and of the successive Pareds (?) to be purchased, in order to comply therewith which would be inconsistent with Freedom exclusive of giving Room for a Hundred Pretexts of rendering the investments difficult for us to procure, as has frequently been and is still the case, when notwithstanding a like arrangement had been spoken of and settled with Mr. Grueber, the English Gomastah, who informed us that our specifications or Indents had nothing to signify, and that in order to have no Interruption in the Trade we must procure them a Perwannah from the above Mr. Grueber. * * * * *

Opium is an Article in which the Company in former days carried on a considerable Trade. Since which oppression have been committed and

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28 Goods commissioned or manufactured to order. Wilson, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms*, p. 410.

destructive monopolies been carried on in it, which as have been hurtfull to the Enterprisers themselves and others equally. Private merchants made use of violence and inveterate Measures to secure to themselves the preference in this Trade and have thereby done it incredible prejudice.

It was already carried to that pitch that our Gomastahs no longer durst receive any money from us in advance, and the little that could be got at as it were by contraband could be obtained only at the most enormous Prices. The Numbers of Speculators and their modes of carrying on the trade absolutely prevented us from getting the quantity that was required of us to procure and purchase. * * * *

In the Salt-petre, we have been allowed for our share of the Produce of Bahar the trifling quantity of 23,000 Maunds. The Maxim has been introduced since 1763 and 64 when it was imagined the English Company would renounce the exclusive Privilege which had been granted to Lord Clive in the year 1758. It has, however, been all this Time deemed impossible to make any alterations, or fall upon any Plan or Arrangement, more conformable to the Rules of Justice, not that there has been wanting complaints and Remonstrances on our parts, as appears from last year; When, you were pleased to say in answer, that unless you fell short in your own Demands, there would be no Alteration in it, therefore no fixed arrangement could be ever made. We beg leave to remark to you that this objection will lose much of its weight, if you would really please to do us justice. For you will please to consider in the first place how much the Province of Bahar produces yearly, and how much thereof is brought up and exported by the privileged individuals; In the next place, how that, in former Days, when both our Companys, together with that of the French were inside contract with each other[29], their Demands were fully satisfied from the General Produce thereby that the Prohibition laid by you upon the sending of Salt-petre not made in Soujah ud Dowlah's Country will answer little or not at all the Intention, as it is the General belief that Soujah ud Dowlah's provinces do not produce near so much as we think, is shipped off, under that name from Patna and in particular transported from the country, all this impartially considered Gentlemen will convince you fully of the Justness and Propriety of Our Complaints in regard to the small portion of Salt-Petre that is allotted us. We agree nevertheless that this question will naturally arise, whether the English East India Company considering its present Situation has not a Right to a greater share in the Salt-petre, than the other Nation equally Privileged with them to make Purchase thereof? The exclusive Right, which after the Capture of Calcutta, they made themselves masters of, thro' Lord Clive, furnished them, as the Gentlemen Directors in England themselves have maintained, the means, as in former Days were practised by Hadsje Ahmet[30] and Chodja Wazid[31], of monopolizing the Salt-Petre, and obliging others with it according to their Humours. But seeing that the said English East India Company has renounced that Right, that it has

29 Copies of the deeds of contract for saltpetre trade in Bihar, executed jointly by the English, the Dutch and the French in the years 1744 and 1746, were recently secured by me from the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

30 Haji Agmad, brother of Alivardi. Vide, K. K. Datta's *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I. pp. 218-219, 280.

31 Khawja Wajid, a principal merchant of Bengal. Vide, ibid, pp. 380-81.

been their positive Directions that the Dutch Company should have an equal Right with them in the Salt-Petre Trade as formerly; and that these Orders have been repeated, nothing could be more just, more proper, and more consonant with or more necessary for the Benefit of Both, than the fixing upon a sufficient mode of making a Partition of the income with more Impartiality, and it was in that Expectation that in September 1766 we declared our opinion with Confidence to the Council of Calcutta, that in order to prevent an augmentation of Price in the Salt-Petre, it would be proper, that the Right of the aforesaid Perwannah should not be infringed but that the Investment should be laid in by one of the European Nations for joint Account, the same as was done by Agreement in the Year 1745. We remain still in those sentiments and we conceive that the contract made at that Time might serve as a Foundation, in case your Honours should think fit to treat further thereon, and would confer upon the Dutch Company an effective Freedom in that Article.

Exclusive of the above mentioned Encroachments upon their Trade, by which they must naturally have endured many disadvantages, the Company has been obliged to support the Expenses of their Establishment and further to submit to an annual unjust Extortion at Patna, of more than Twenty Two thousand Rupees under the name of Paishcush: a contribution which upon strict Enquiry will be found never to have been lawfully levelled (? levied) upon the Company, nor ever otherwise to have him paid, than by compulsion, and a rigid Exercise of Power with which, since the introduction of the Paishcush to this Time, willing or unwilling, they have been obliged to acquise, in order to avoid worse consequences.
* * * *

In the Exercise of the Prerogative of Coinage, we are frequently so circumstanced as to be embarrassed thro' Fear of Loss; The Privileges, whereof we speak, belong to us, the Preferences in the coinage above all others. By which we may carry the silver to the mint as it suits us. But how frequently has it happened that just as our work is finished and that we are provided with an immense quantity of Rupees or Siccas of the current year, a fresh order is issued for the Coinage of new Siccas, whereby ensues a Loss by the Batta in the Payment of the others. In such an Event the Company is exposed to a heavy Loss upon their own money. The lowest Rate of Batta is in general from 2½ to 3 p.t. The Eleven and Twelve suns have now for these three years preserved an equal value in their currency, notwithstanding the frequent attempts made to lessen that of the Former. Should now those of the Fifteen sun be issued out, as has been intended ever since last October, the value of the Eleven and Twelve suns Siccas will decline as usual, and because there are no Rupees coined of the 13 and 14 sun none been current for some time, they will soon be declared sonauts, which will occasion a very considerable Loss.

We are sensible that this Evil, altho' there may not be a Possibility of wholly exterminating may nevertheless be reduced and set bounds to, as by the Order which was published in the year 1773, namely that the Rupees of the foregoing year should bear an equal value with those of the next year entered upon, and remain so till the Current year should be assessed and People would be able to provide against the Inconvenience thereof, if either certain Period was fixed for the Alteration of the Coin

or that Publication should be made of new Siccas to be carried and issued when, if it should be required to postpone the same, in such case the Publick to be informed and made acquainted how long the Current Rupees could retain their Currency without being subject to a Batta. This would however in no wise prevent a Loss arising to those who kept them to the last, for as the Period approached for the alteration to take place, no Shroff nor other Person would receive such Rupees, as We knew before hand, would in a few Days be subject to a Batta, which necessarily would avoid much Interruption in Trade. So admissible an Institution must then be desirable as well for the sake of some Powerful Banker and Dealers in Exchange, as for the Publick good, that all were put upon a Footing, which is a considerable Point in Trade, and for which the publick in general would esteem themselves obliged to your Honors.

We come now to the Point respecting the Exercise of Justice over the Inhabitants concerning which altho' Authorized thereto, we have frequently had disagreeable Breach and Disputes with the Fouzdar of Haughlee[32]. People who call themselves our subjects and Inhabitants. claim very readily our Protection when they think it unadvisable to stand Loyal before the Moorish Judge, and how many Instances could not we produce that the Director has been prayed and sollicited, to enquire into some of the Disputes, to judge of them according to Equity and to determine upon them from whence may be sufficiently deduced, that People to have in Effect considered us as having a Right to the Exercise of Justice over our Inhabitants, but above all the Sunnud granted to the Company in the year 1766 by the Nabob Seif-ul-Dowlah[33], Syed Nejubil Alli Khan, verbally says "That neither the Fouzdar of Houghly nor his Dewan, nor any other of the Inhabitants of Chinsurah, Mirzapore, and Barnagore as belonging to the Dutch Company, shall levy any Fine or Committ any Assault, much less send their Servants to apprehend, and bring before the *Durbar* of Houghly these or any of their Ryots, but all cases that come before them, must be left to the Decision of the Dutch Director, who, as often as the Fousdar shall lay any complaints before him of these shall minutely and impartially enquire into the case".

Which very clearly fixes the power which we have over the inhabitants of our Colonies * * * We conceive we ought and may insist upon the undisturbed exercise of Civil Justice, carrying along with it the Punishment of crime which shall fall short of being Capital.

We request the like attention to our complaints in regard to the number of *Chokeys*[34], that have been introduced here and there along the shore and stop our Vessels under vain and revolvers (?) Pretences, as if they had a Right to visit them for whereas we might make good the Payment of the established duties at the old accustomed Places of Customs and for the Proof thereof provide our vessels with *Dusticks* after shewing of which they should pass and repass. * * *.

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32 Certain instances of conflict between the Dutch and some successive *faujdars* of Hugli are known from *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vols. III & IV.

33 Saif-ud-daulah.

34 For some other references to *chowkies* before this date, vide *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. II, ps. 47 & 52-53; Vol. III, p. 42.

We now conclude this Memorial with one more Proposition. The village of Bernagore (properly Baranegger) lying in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and thus very advantageous for your settlement. We tender to you in Exchange [35] by way of Barter for as much ground in the Circle or Environs of Chinsurah as Baranegger contain its full Extent. On account of its great Distance from us, and have by no particular Person to Govern them; the Possession of it is of the less consequence to us but of the Greater Importance to your Honors, on account of its aforesaid vicinity. You will therefore be pleased to take this Proposal into consideration, and if it can with consistence, suffer it to take Place. Actum in the Council Chamber at Houghly in Bengal the 10th April 1775".

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35 This exchange actually took place in the year 1788. *Consultations, 12th January, 1789* (I. R. D. Foreign).

A Copy of Dastur-ul-Amal.

[By Syed Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.]

A bound volume of Persian manuscripts which was first discovered by the History Department of the Patna College and exhibited before the Patna Session of the I. H. R. C. in December, 1930, has been recently acquired for the Patna Oriental Public Library. A similar volume, containing the same Mss., which the writer found among the scattered collections of late Rai Sultan Bahadur, a representative of the famous Raja Shitab Rai, the Naib-Nazim of Bihar (1765-1773), is, unfortunately, now no longer traceable. Though the whole work is designated as *Dastur-ul-Amal-mushtamil-ber Dastur-i-Badshahan-i-Hind*, and is written continuously in a single handwriting, on Arval paper, it really consists of three distinct pieces of work, of which the first is the real Dastur and the last two are extracts from the *Shahnama* of Tawakkul Beg and a complete copy of *Shagurf-nama-i-Welayat*, the well known book of travels of Itesamuddin of Nadia who was sent to England by Emperor Shah Alam to represent his case about the Dewani and his restoration to the throne of Delhi. The unnamed scribe finished his last lines in 1248/1831.

The author of the Dastur-ul-Amal, with which this paper is concerned, (Foll. 119; lines 18; size of the written portion 10″ × 6½″) has nowhere mentioned his name or the sources from which he compiled his valuable work. There are, however, sufficient reasons to believe that he was a Hindu Munshi, probably a Kayastha, connected with the official life of Bihar, or having access to those who possessed the official documents, and that he was a contemporary of Shah Alam II and Akbar II. He mentions many[1] persons, mostly Kayasthas, of Diwan Mohalla and Begumpur of Patna who were probably connected with the Revenue Department of this province and possessed the necessary papers. He refers to the papers of the Subah of Bihar relating to public revenue and revenue-free-grants, which were available in the house of Maharaja Kalyan Singh[2]. The wealth of details given in the work about Bihar, its localities and people, establish the author's connection with this province, and the unornate, unideomatic, common-place, business-like language used in the Ms reveals the practical mind of the Hindu and the ordinary working knowledge of Persian that he possessed. The author writes about Md. Tughlak that he "went to the hell"; inserts in his skeleton-outline of the history of Muslim rule in India the fanciful story of Ratan Sen, Padmani and Alauddin; speaks about the miracles of the goddess of Nagar Kot and says that it was the invisible voice

1 Kharak Sen Karan, Gulab Rai Ambast, Pannimal Sribastab are said to have been alive till 1210 F./1803-A.D. and they were in charge of Dami records; the descendants of Nannhoo Lal Sribastab are said to have been in possession of the papers relating to Jagir and Minhai lands; Md. Baqar and his son, Meghu, were in charge of the Nizamat Daftar; Tajuddin Md. and Md. Raza were srishtadars; Hari Singh Karan was the Sristadar of Sair; Godamal and Ganga Pd. Kayath were the Munshis of Khalsa Cutchery and they used to write Perwanahas in accordance with the royal Sanads; Khushal Chand was the Srishtadar of Itlaq (?); Senapati and his grandson, Rai Prasidh Rai were the Chief Qanungos; Suyawant Ray, Kulwant Raj and Nimchand were clerks.

2 The eldest son and successor of M Shitab Rai and himself a Raya-i-Rayan and Naib Nazim of Bihar 1773-1781. See the writer's paper in J. B. O. R. S., June, 1940.

from the Hindu temple of Narain which induced Tipu Sultan to come to terms with Lord Cornwallis. These strengthen the presumption that the author was, in all probability, a Hindu. He stops short with the accession of Akbar II, in 1221, and the last date which he frequently refers to, in connection with many things, is 1213 Fasli=1806 A.D.

The length of the work and the variety of the subjects dealt with therein are such as to debar a detailed description of its contents. Many features of other, older, and more well-known Administrative Manuals are found in this work, also. On the other hand, some of the topics treated here are to be met with nowhere else. Many of the details about the topography, history, estates, revenue accounts, anarchical condition, corruption and financial disorder of the province of Bihar add much to our previous knowledge. At the same time, there are a few, though not many, unhistorical statements and inaccurate dates. For instance, Alivardi is represented to have been in Bihar as a deputy of Shujauddin Mahammad Khan in 1133 Fasli or 1727 A.D., and to have proceeded to Bengal in 1137 fasli/1730 A.D., leaving Hedayat Ali Khan as his deputy in Bihar and Ataullah Khan in Bhagalpur. One may be disposed to make some allowance for the equivalent[3] English dates, which are hopelessly wrong here as elsewhere, but the facts can not be ignored that when Alivardi undertook his Bengal expedition against Sarfaraz Khan, in 1152 A. H./1146 F/1739-41 A.D., he entrusted Bihar into the hands of his nephew, Haibat Jung, and that it was the latter who, when summoned to Bengal to help his uncle against the Marhatta, in 1742 A.D., left his province in charge of Hedayat Ali Khan. Again the asserted death, at Mongheyr, of Raja Ramnarain with the daggers of Mughal assassins, and the demise of Najibuddowla 'after his dismissal from his office' by Shah Alam to please the Mahratta are historically incorrect (Fol. 76-97a). The other things, which it is hard for a student of history to swallow, are the mythical accounts of early history of Mithila and of the Cheroes and the Ujjavnias of Shahabad (foll. 15a, b). Again, the story of Sunder Singh of Tikari being released at the intercession of Durdana Begam, strengthened by the offer, through her, of such tempting presents as a gilded spinning wheel and an embroidered pillow, studded with jewels, valued at 3 lacs, though supported by family tradition, and the bardic songs still sung in Tikari Raj, remains uncorroborated by contemporary historical works. Such instances are, however, few and far between and do not altogether diminish the value of the work. There is much in it of historical interest and it covers a great deal of new grounds, as an analysis of the main contents of this unique Ms given below will show.

The Ms. has no preface, but begins abruptly with a tabulated account of the Subhas of Hindustan, giving the boundaries, areas, details of Sarkars, Parganahas, Mahals and Chaklas, and the revenues in Dams, of the 22 provinces. The statistical account of the 8 Sarkars of Bihar Subah is more detailed and interesting. It is followed by a brief account of the Mahals

3 The writer has come upon two Ms. copies of a Calendar prepared by one Akbar Ali Khan, described as "the Vakil of the Sarkar-i-Company". The table of dates, Hegira, Fasli and English from Babar to Akbar II corresponds, on the whole, with the dates furnished by the present Ms. At any rate, the mistakes about the equivalent English dates, found in both, are strikingly similar. One of the copies was written by Jaganath Singh 'Mukhtar-i-Sarkar', in 1838 A.D. while the original is dated 1245 A. H.-1236 F-Sept. 1829-A.D.

which were in possession of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and of those that had passed into the hands of the English till 1213 Fasli (fol. 1a-12b). Foll. 12b-20a cover an interesting account of the "Rajs and the Zamindaris of the Rajahs of the subah of Bihar". This is the only copy, so far known and extant, of the class of handbooks called Dastur-ul-Amal, which deals with the aristocracy of any province, much less of Bihar. One gets here a succinct account of such estates of Bihar as Tikari, Darbhanga, Huthwa, Sheohar, Bettiah, Narhan, Daudnagar, Jagdishpur, Bhojpur, etc. This subject deserves a separate treatment elsewhere.

The following folios 21a-22a give the distance from Azimabad (Patna) to Shahjahanabad (Delhi), mentioning the 58 chowkies, each of which appears to have been equidistant, and mentions the total revenue of Shah Alam, Nawab Vazir, Sikhs, Marhattas, (the Peshwas, the Bhonsla, the Gaikwad and Sindhia), the Nizam, Rohilla, Bangash Afghan and of the 'excellent (Rajput) Rajahs and Maharajahs' and of the jagirs and lands of the rulers of Kumayun and Srinagar. A more detailed account of the total collection of the various provincial governments and of the various powers, both native and foreigners, is found on folios 79b-82a.

A special feature of this Manual lies in the fact that it is the only Persian compilation, known to the present writer, which supplies interesting, and in some respects, original, information, on folios, 22a-28a, about the Chowkies and the three routes from Azimabad and one from Lucknow and Balrampur[4] by which Nepal could be approached. One gets an idea of the nature of the country and its people, the distances between various centres of Nepal, and their boundaries. "The account of the Rajs and zamindaris of Nepal", though brief, is important as it gives some new names and facts. The author's version of the circumstances leading to the overthrow of the Newars and the establishment of the Gurkha Raj throughout Nepal and of the negotiations between the dispossessed people and the English of Patna and Calcutta is well worth comparing with what we find from English sources. An attempt will be made to reproduce some portions, at the end of this paper.

The next few folios (28a-39a) deal with such miscellaneous subjects as a list of the forts in the empire, titles of kings, vazirs, omrahs, of "exalted English gentlemen", of the Nazims, Rajahs and Ray-i-Rayans, the modes of addressing letters, as suggested by the "Gentlemen of the Sadar Council of Calcutta", a statement of "*Seh-bandi* expenditure of the whole of Hindustan", the salaries of the Amils, Nazims and the people of the various departments and the totals of the provincial expenditure."

This is followed, on folios 39a-47a, by *Ains* (regulations) about administrative and financial affairs and concerning police and administration of civil and criminal justice. Space does not allow even a bare enumeration of more than 70 items of such rules as are given here. It would suffice to say that here, as perhaps, in Sir J. N. Sarkar's Ms. of Hedayat-ul-Qawanin[5]

4 There is a remarkable correspondence, so far as the essentials are concerned, between the account given in the Ms. and that found in Kirpatick's History Nepal, concerning the routes from Balrampur, in Oudh, to Benishahr, and then between Khatmandu and Benishahr and Benishahr and Tibet.

5 The writer has consulted Sir J. N. Sarkar's Mughal Administration (3rd Ed.) wherein the Hidayat has been analysed.

by Hedayatullah Bihari, one gets "minute directions as to how the different officials of the Mughal Government should conduct themselves, what functions they were expected to discharge, what precautions they should take" so that there should be no wrong or over-assessment of revenues and taxes, no one should go without justice, none should be oppressed or feel distressed at the time of famine, and on account of being deprived of revenue-free grants and remissions allowed by the Sarkar. There are directions for proper management of taxes, for the maintenance of peace and order, for avoiding the emptiness of the exchequer, for keeping the lower classes and professional people contented and for taking special care of the men skilled in arms. It is difficut to say whether these were mere paper regulations or represent actual working rules and procedures of the Mughals. At any rate, they had lost all meaning when our unnamed author compiled his book, and when the Mughal Empire had ceased to exist, in fact, if not in name.

After enumerating, on folios 47a-52a, the jagirs, Altamgha, Brahmotar, Madad-i-Maash, Aima, Inam, exemptions, and other charitable endowments for the poor and the indigent, the author goes on to describe the corrupt disordered and confused condition of Bihar and its financial department. In this connection, one gets an interesting story of a certain forger of documents named Hasan Ali of Azimabad, who, when hauled up, "sometime ago", before the Emperor by the mace-bearer, Saifullah, son of Ghulam Ali Khan, pleaded his continued unemployment which forced him to commit the offence, but he added that his forged documents bore the imitation seals not of his own forefathers but those of his Imperial Majesty. On folio 82b one finds a separate "account of the forging of royal sanads" wherein it is stated:—"In the reign of Alamgir when the sanads and jagirs, Altamgha etc. reached the office of the Diwan-i-Khalsa, Mir Muhammad Saghir, the Diwan, used to submit an *Arzdasht* to His Majesty and thereupon Saifuddin Ahmad, the mace bearer, was deputed and sent to Azimabad in order to make enquiries about the dead and the missing and the persons dying intestate or absconding". The said officer detected many instances of forgings......(Similarly) "in the time of Muhammad Shah Badshah, Mir Saifullah, Mir Matullah and Mir Mislullah—all macebearers—were sent to Azimabad to enquire after the dead and the run-away, heirless properties and lands with augmented revenues. They arrived in the City, made their enquiries, but their papers were not actually sent to the Imperial Court and are still available in the Khalsa Daftar Khana (of Bihar). In 1192 Fasli/ 1785 A. D. Mr. William Leslie, the Chief and his second, Mr. Holt, came to Azimabad to check the Sanads on behalf of the E. I. Co. On account of their ignorance of the ways of the clerks, they were unable to correct the forgeries. Indeed, till now, 1213 Fasli, there are many such men (forgers) in the whole province, and particularly in Azimabad. Of these one, Mufti Husain, was arrested and exiled". Other such forgers, mentioned here, were Mir Enayatullah and his son, Mir Muhibullah, "who continued to earn his livelihood by this means down to the subadari of Mahabat Jung (Aliverdi)" and Sambhapat.

Folios 52a-77b contains a summary history of India from the time of Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori down to the accession of Akbar II, in 1221 A. H. "when the whole of India was convulsed in anarchy". The sense of proportion is somewhat lacking here in that though the account of the different periods has been given in a highly condensed form, the author could not

resist the temptation of reproducing the numerous instances of the Juggler's feats recorded by Emperor Jahangir in his autobiographical Memoirs. A welcome feature, however, of this section is the relatively greater attention bestowed on the events connected with Emperor, Shah Alam II. His flight from Delhi, his repeated invasions of Bihar, flank march to Bengal, futile efforts of his allies, Imadul-Mulk's activities, death of Miran, Mir Jafar's replacement by Mir Qasim, agreement between the English and the Emperor, the defeat of the Marhattas by the Abdali, the ascendancy of Madho Rao Sindhia, the blinding of Shah Alam by Ghulam Qadir and references to Daulat Rao Sindhia, Perron and the English—are found in this place. The account, on the whole, tallies with what we find in recognized historical works, though here and there, one comes across certain discrepancies which are, however, of minor character. The account of the battle of Manjhi which occurred between "Ali Buksh, the zamindar of Siwan, in the sarkar of Saran, and Raja Dhoosi Ram", a general of Raja Ramnarain (Naib Nazim of Bihar 1752-1761), given here, corresponds with that which one finds in some of the unpublished letters of Raja Ram Narain and is also referred to in Ibratnama. We are told how the Bihar Raja had been strengthened in his resolve to defy the Shahzada by the encouragement he received from Ghaziuddin Khan (Imadul mulk) and that being conversant with the Turk[6] language he understood the hint about his detention[7] and internment in the Imperial Camp at Phulwari. It is needless, however, to multiply such instances. In the end, the author pays a significant compliment to the "brave English gentlemen who are unrivalled in intrepidity and past master in the art of kingdom-taking". "They wear the crown" but we read further "though they are in a position to withhold the crown and the office of the Vazir from those they do not like, yet they are very particular about paying their respects and observing the etiquette due to royalty".

The contents of folios 82a-92a deserve more than a passing notice. First, our author tells us about the Diwan of the crown lands, "appointed by the Court and in sole charge of his department in the Nizamat", the procedure he followed in preparing and maintaining the records, the deductions he made, and the share he assigned to the imperial exchequer. The Nazim of the time, we are told, used to take copies of these papers, including the list of the villages, with a statement of the assessment and of the 'total-received-balance' of the past and the present and he commenced collection on the basis of the Dastur-ul-Amal (revenue-guides). Here we get an idea of the further procedure adopted by the Nazims. Then the author describes how a confusion and difference arose in the records of the Nizamat and the Khalsa Sharifa. In this connection, he writes what appears to be difficult to believe that from the time of Shahjahan down to the reign of Muhammad Shah, the Diwan of Khalsa used to hold a rank not inferior to that of 5,000. He mentions Fayyaz Ali Khan, Enayat Ali Khan, Rai Ram Singh of Thatta and Rao Shitab Rai who were sent to Bihar as its Diwan-i-Khalsa during the reigns of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II. "The Nazim of the time" we

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6 That the Raja was an accomplished scholar of Persian is conclusively proved by his published Diwan (collection of poems) and his unpublished collection of letters. Some of his Urdu and Hindi lines have also come down to us. But the information about his familiarity with the Turki language, though not unlikely, is quite new.

7 Note what the Patna historian says on the subject (S. M.).

read further "failed to execute the affairs of the Diwani in accordance with the regulation of the royal office on account of the weakness of the Sultanat, and the Qanungoes of the Parganahs, too, being sure of the protection of the Nazim, evaded forwarding the papers as required by the regulation". The author adds that Nawab Mahabat Jung never took any step without consulting the papers of the Khalsa but 'Jafar Ali Khan' had nothing to do with them and in the reign of Shah Alam and the time of the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the office of the Khalsa had practically ceased to exist. He refers to 'Nawab Qasim Ali' who took possession of all the papers of the Khalsa, and to Raja Ramnarain and his diwans, Rai Rup Chand, and Khaldas, the last of whom is described as the consumer of the properties of others. "Khaldas had a collusive understanding with the holders of the Minhai (rent-free) lands and having entered unproductive lands of the jagirs in the list of the fertile lands of the Khalsa and *vice versa*, put them in practice, on the strength of the sanads, forged for the purpose, and bearing the seal of the Emperor Shah Alam which could be manufactured for Rs. 150[8] only". Raja Shitab Rai also has come in for criticism. Before he succeeded Raja Dhirajnarain as Naib Nazim of Bihar, he had already had a thorough knowledge of all the papers of the province. He kept the office of the Khalsa in his own house and (as) he took about Rs. 1,21,000 as yearly Nazrana from the jagirdars he did not call them to account. The people of Bihar fell into distress on account of the famine that occurred in 1177 Fasli/1192 Nawab[9] Hushyar Jung *i.e.*, George Vansittart who was sent to Bihar tried to examine the sanads of *Minhai* lands but Maharaja Shitab Rai stood in his way. At last, Raja Kheyali Ram and Mirza Zahurullah Beg[10] sat on the Amanat Daftar and submitted their report to Nawab Hushyar Jung who forwarded it to the Governor, Mr. Hastings. The Maharaja was arrested and sent to Calcutta but was acquitted and died soon after in 1181 Fasli/1175[11] A. D. (?).

This section includes many other things about Bihar such as the particulars concerning Sadui, Nankatti, Paybaqi, Taufir, Zamindari, Moqarrari tenures, Minhai and Jagir lands etc. which for want of space we cannot but pass over. The copious use of names of those who held Minhai and Moqarrari tenures in the different parts of Bihar, particularly in the sarkar of Hajipur, Parganah Shahpur Maner and Talada and Parganah Malda and Haveli Rohtas etc. and the description of the vicissitudes in their fortunes not only establish the connection of the author with the province but will also provide some materials to those interested in the study of land tenures in Bihar. The writer has compared[12] some of the details with other reliable

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8 Compare what Ferminger's Fifth Report says about the wholesale forging of documents and the cost of preparing the royal seals.

9 Calendar of Persian correspondence III 47; see also 88, 185.

10 "The Beg had the charge of inspecting Sanads of Jagirdars" says Kalyan Singh C. P. C. III, 604.

11 The date is wrong. Shitab Rai died in 1773-A.D.-1181 Fasli.

12 To quote one instance, the Ms. says that the parganahs of Milki Balliah were granted as Moqarrari tenure by the Governor General to Mir Zulfiqar Ali Khan on the Jama of Rs. 66,000, in 1193 F (= 1790-91 A.D.) the same figure is found in a Ms. Copy of Mir Zulfiqar Ali's versified account of himself, belonging to the Khankah library of Deorah Sharif (Gaya). Partial corroboration is available in Ferminger's Fifth Report Vol. II.

sources and found them correct. Another interesting feature of this section is the account of such parts of Bihar as the Parganah of Kira-o-Mangror of Sarkar of Shahabad, of two Parganahas of sarkar Saran and of about 23 Parganahs, originally belonging to the sarkar of Tirhut, which had passed respectively into the territories of the Rajas of Benares,[13] the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and the Raja of Nepal. On folios 90a-92a, the author gives a copy of the farman which emperor Aurangzeb granted to Rasik Dass Karori to serve as a guide in revenue matter. It agrees, word for word, with that translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his 'Mughal Administration' except that in the 7th clause, here 'the Survey of Khaja Tarachand' has been referred to, and is not found elsewhere. The farman is, however, incomplete.

The Ms. concludes with an interesting account of the Bengal Revolution which brought Mir Qasim on the Masnad and gives some new names of the officers of Mir Jafar's army. There are also brief references to the events leading to the battle of Buxar and relating to the last years of Shah Alam. The Marhattas, the Jats, Hyder Ali, Tipu Sultan, disastrous adventures of Wazir Ali and the English have also been noticed here. This brief account of the Country Powers concludes with a sentence which is worth quoting "Now we see none but the Englishmen. The future belongs to those who have power and authority".

Before bringing this paper to a close, the present writer considers it worth while to translate certain passages from the author's account of Nepal with a view to evaluating its proper historical importance. Many of the informations furnished here have been found to be easily verifiable from contemporary English sources, available at Patna.

"The most excellent of all the Rajahs of Nepal was the ruler of Jumla with his capital at Chinnachan. These days his territories are in the possession of Ran Bahadur[14]. A small portion of his territory is included within the jurisdiction of the Raja of Bhoot (Tibet?) who has his seat at Lhassa and the Jumla Raja lives there with his son, Prithinarayan. Next comes Raja Siddhinarayan of Kashki which is situated at a distance of 145 kos from Kantipur and adjoins the territories of Mallibum. The third kingdom was that of the Gurkhas whose ruler, Prithinarayan, gradually established his sway over the whole of Nepal. Then there were the Raja of Kantipur or Kathmandu, and Bhatgaon and Lalit Pātan. Bhatgaon, which was ruled over by Ranjitmal Deo, had almost 18000 pucca[15] buildings of which the Haveli of the Raja, decorated with gold (?) was the best and the most prominent from a distance. Lalit Pātan and Kantipur had about 24000 and 22000 houses respectively .... The fifth and the sixth were the Rajas of Pālpā and of Mallibum whose respective rulers were Raja Mukund Sen and Raja Kirat. Raja Mukund Sen, the zamindar of Pālpā,

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13 The historian, F. Khairuddin, too mentions this fact in Tuhafa-i-Taza. See also Ferminger's Fifth Report II 469 in this connection.

14 The grandson of Prithinarayan who succeeded his father as an infant to the throne in 1775. Reference is found in this Ms. to his son by a Brahmin wife and also to his mad quarrels with his own people.

15 According to Hamilton, these exaggerated figures, assigned by the natives, probably represent the "aggregate of persons of all ages and sexes in each town" (G.S.H.D.H. 678). Even if they really mean houses, all of these could not have been brick buildings (*ibid*).

had divided[16] his state among his four sons. One of these was Pālpā which is now in possession of his descendant, Raja Mahādatta Sen. He has been allowed to retain his zamindari of Pālpā because he married his daughter with Bahadur Sah, the uncle of Ran Bahadur Sah (the Gurkha Raja). Raja Mahādatt Sen[17] has his place in Pālpā. He also holds Bhutwal, 5 Manzil from Pālpā. The Nawab Vazir gave certain villages, at the foot of the hills, to the Raja of Butwal. The second son got Tanhoon which is 73 kos from Pālpā and 100 kos from Benishahr, where Raja Kiratbum of Malibum resided. Kumar Dat Sen of Tanhoon had to leave his territories and is at present residing in the zamindari of the Sarkar of Champaran, within the province of Bihar, and at the foot of the hills. His younger brother, Jānki Dat Sen, was fortunate to marry the sister of Raja Ran Bahadur. He has been paying revenue and offering presents of elephants, cows, dear, musk etc. to the ruler of the time till now, that is 1213 Fasli. The third son had got Makwanpur and Janakpur which, in the past, belonged to the Raja of Tirhut and at present, that is, 1213 Fasli, comprise 83 Mahals at the foot of the hills. The fourth son had been given the territory of Rajpur which is situated on the hills and adjoins the territories of the Raja of Tanboon. Khanchi, on the hills, and adjoining the frontier of Balrampur, within the jurisdiction of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, was the seventh of the Rajs of Nepal and its ruler is related to Raja Ran Bahadur Sah who has, therefore, suffered him to retain his territories which he does till 1213F. Khanchi is situated at a distance of 170 kos from Balrampur and of 82 kos from Benishahr and the territory of Raja Kiratbum. Adjoining to the frontiers of Khanchi and near Balrampur is Udaipur[18] (?), ruled over by a petty Brahman zamindar. Urghaloos was the ninth Raj and the tenth was Paisman[18a] (Paison?) whose ruler was a petty zamindar. The Raja of Arghaloos had to leave his territories and is residing with Narsinghbum. Raja Srikrishna Sahi, the ruler of Sultana, the eleventh Raj, is still alive and continues in possession of his territories because he married one of the sisters[19] of Ran Bahadur Sah. Gurhoon and Musikot were the twelfth and the thirteenth Rajs, the ruler of the second one being a petty zamindar. Musikot is 4 Manzil from Arghaloos from Bhoongar (?) to Kheemgtari (?). The country is fairly populated and is included in the Garhoon Raj. The zamindari of the Raja of Musikot extends over 9 kos and he is still in possession of it. Raja Motichand, the ruler of Bhootana, the fifteenth Raj, and the daughter's son of Raja Har Kumar Dat Sen has also to abandon his territories and is living with the said Raja. Raja Narsingh, a petty zamindar, is still in possession of this state. The Raja of Ghering, the seventeenth Raj, was a petty zamindar. He had to relinquish his territories and is now passing his days in the hills. On the other hand, the Raja of Sambharkot (?) the eighteenth Raj, was also a petty ruler, but is still in

16 Hamilton rightly thinks that the division proved very disastrous (Hamilton's Nepal). Note the new information about the contemporary representatives of the family and their matrimonial connection with the Gurkhas (H. N.).

17 Hamilton speaks of Prithipal Sen who was Raja of Palpa and also of Butwal in Gorakhpur in 1801. Probably Mahadat succeeded him on his assassination in about 1805 (G.S. H. D. H. 697).

18, 18a These and some others are not found in the list of Chowbeisya Rajas given by Kilpatrick, Buchanan, Golding etc. The list given in this Ms. differs, to a certain extent from that found in English work.

19 G. S. H. D. H. 702. According to Hamilton, however, the Rani of Saliana was the sister of Bahadur Sah, the regent of Nepal.

possession of his territories. Such is also the case with Raja Sewan[20] Singh (?). The Raja of Gulmi, the twentieth Raj, had married his daughter with Raja Ran Bahadur Sah. He left his kingdom and is at present residing some where in Nepal while his family and dependents are with Raja Har Kumar Datt Sen, the Raja of Gulmot, whose capital is Nāthākhān. The twentyfirst Raj was that of Dhoar whose ruler having left his territories is living in the country of the Raja of Pālpā. Mandhātta Sah was the ruler of Noākhot, the twenty second Raj. It was situated on one side of th river Banasi (?) which had a bridge while the other side of the river was included in the kingdom of Kantipur. The Gorkhatānar on the Budhi Ganga, is a walled city with gates and bridges. Mallebum and the kingdom of the Bhoot (Tibet) are situated on the west and the north of the state of Naokot. Mir Mardān Sah, was the ruler of Lamber Junk (Lam Joong?), the twentythird Raj of Nepal. Raj Roogum was the twentyfourth Raj of Nepal.

These Rajas were (mostly) descended from a common ancestor, ruled independently in their respective jurisdictions and did not pay tribute to any one. At present some of them pay tribute to the descendants of Raja Prithi Narayan while other have been deprived of their kingdoms.

Of all the cities of Nepal, and next only to Chinnachan, ruled over by the Jumla[21] Raja, the best were Bhatgaon, Kāntipur or Kathmandu and Lalit Pātan whose respective rulers, Raja Ranjit-maldeo, Raja Jaiprakash and Raja Jyoti Prakash[22]—all of the same stock—were independent rulers of their kingdoms. Of these the prestige of Raja Ranjit mal deo was the highest. Jyoti Prakash died childless and as for the other two, dissensions arose amongst them. Ranjit mal deo summoned Prithinarayan, the Gorkha Raja, who had been in his service[23] in the past at the head of his troops, and asked him to expell Raja Jay Prakash. The Gurkha Raja went to Kāntipur, fought with Jay Prakash, overwhelmed him and took possession of Kantipur. Jay Prakash, being hard pressed sued for peace and his secret negotiations having been accepted by Ranjit Mal Deo, the latter sent for Raja Prithinarayan. This alienated the Gorkha Raja and he began to gather all his soldiers, Jamadars and generals. When this news reached the ears of Ranjit Mal Deo, he composed his differences with Jai Prakash and they attacked Prithinarayan but were defeated. Bhatgaon, Kantipur and Lalit-Patan, in fact, all the 24 Rajas of Nepal passed into the hands of the Gorkha Raja. It was at this time that in response to the appeal of the dispossessed Rajahs, Rajit[24] and Jay Prakash Mr. Rannel (Thomas Rumbolt,

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20 The Careless scribe has mis-spelt many names and his loose writing has made it sometimes difficult to decipher the real meaning of his words and sentences.

21 It is admitted by all the writers that the Jumla Raja used to exercise a general sway over the whole of Nepal.

22 All accounts agree that Tejnar Simha Mall was the ruler of Lalit Patan when it fell, along with others, in the hands of the Gorkhas. But we read about Jay Prakash" putting to death those who had made his infant son, Jyoti-Prakash, king" (Wright's H. of N. 224).

23 Father Givesepp's says that "the Gurkhas had been formerly a subject of Gainprevas" i.e. Jai Prakash (A.R.). "The Gurkha principality had been a vassal of Khatmundu (Landon) and not of Bhatgaon but Prithinarayan was indebted to Ranjit mal for his stay with him before his rise to power.

24 Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has tried to establish, from official sources, the identity of the Raja who first sought the help of the English (Verelst Rule in India).

the Chief of Patna) the English Chief of the Bihar Subah proceeded[25] from Azimabad to Nepal at the head of two platoons. He could not penetrate further because of the crowding in of the hilly people and also for want of a wise and experienced guide. Raja Prithinarayan laid the armies of the Rajas under blockade. Raja Jay Prakash was killed and Ranjit Mal Deo was taken prisoner. He was, however, asked to say what he wanted. He was led by his fine sense of honour, to request permission to proceed to Kashi. Accompanied by his 2 queens, his son Abhdoot[26] Singh, and Jograj Khatowta, a fellow tribesman and once the director of his affairs, he arrived at Benares. Raja Ranjitmal Deo sought an interview with Mr. Alexander,[27] the Chief of Azimabad (Patna) and acquainted him with the circumstances of Nepal. Mr. Alexander wrote to Calcutta about it. The Raja also sent from Benares to Nepal Abdhut Singh and Jograj bearing letters for the Rajas of that country, but died shortly after that. His two queens burnt themselves on his funeral pyre. Abdhut Singh is now staying in the Wang (Dang?) territory, at the foot of the hill, and 5 manzils from Lucknow which is in possession of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, and Narsingh bum, the son of Raja Kirat bum is sympathizing with his cause. (Indeed) Raja Kirat bum, of Mallibum had sent his agents to Etamad-ud-Dowla, Mr. Hastings, the Governor, with a written request that he should try to restore Abdhut Singh to the Nepal Raj and undertook (in return) to send an annual sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. He signified his readinness to bestow upon Abdhut Singh half of his property in cash and kind but he requested (the Governor) to allow him to purchase about 20,000 guns in his country and also to station a Tellingha force high on the hills. Raja Kirat, however, died but his ambition remained unfulfilled. On the other hand, his son, Narsingh bum had to pay the penalty by being expelled from his kingdom.

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25 The expedition was led by Captain Kinloch in 1769 but he could not proceed further then 'Sedowly'.

26 Kirpatrick informs us that Ranjit "died at Benares leaving a son named Abdhoot Singh who for sometime laboured to engage the English Govt. as a measure of reinstating him in his paternal dominion" (H. N.).

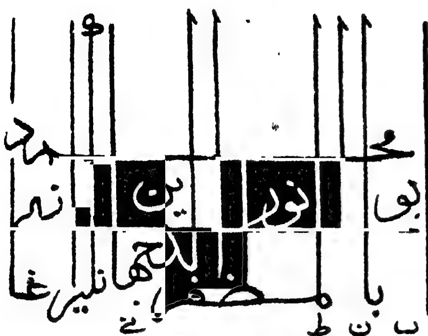
27 Mr. Alexander was certainly present then in Bihar (C. P. C.) having been appointed in 1770 as the Chief of the Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Patna (Ferminger F. R. Icci).

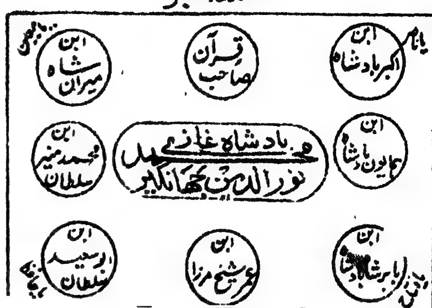
28 It is difficult to say how much of truth there is in this story. At any rate, the writer has not been able to find any corroborative evidence of it.

Jahangir's Farman of 1613 A.D.

(*By* MR. M. L. ROY CHAUDHURI, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. SASTRI.)

الله اکبر





در ینوقت فرمان عالیشان مرحمت عنوان شرف صدور عز ورود یافت که خدمت
زمینداری و چودهرائی ٹپه براری و ٹپه دیوره وغیره وسوائے رسوم نانکار پرگنه کهل
گاؤں سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبه بهار بنام هیرانند ولد مدسودن زناردار از ابتدائے
فصل خریف یوشقان ئیل با فرزندان حسب الضمن مقرر باشد. که بلوازم و مراسم
آنخدمت کما ینبغی پرداخته دقیقه از دقایق حزم و احتیاط غیر مرعی نگذارد و رعایا و
برایا را بحسن معاشرت خود راضی و شاکر داشته در ازدیاد آبادی و تکثر زراعت
مساعی جمیله بکار برد و سررشته موازنه و دستور العمل بمهر و دستخط قانونگویان
سال بسال معرفت دیوان صوبه ارسال حضور می نموده باشد. باید که فرزندان نامدار
کامگار والا تبار و وزرائے ذوالاقتدار و امرائے عالیمقدار و حکام کرام و کفایت
فرجام و متصدیان مهمات دیوانی و متکفلان معاملات سلطانی مشار الیه زمیندار
و چودهری ٹپه جات مذکور مستقل داشته دیگرے را سهیم و شریک او ندانند
وجه رسوم مقررے موافق معمول قدیم بموجب ارشاد .....ما و طریق رعایا
و برایا اینکه ... از ..... سخن حساد صوابدید او که هر آئینه متضمن بکفایت در فاهیت
رعایا باج گذار باشد بیرون نروند و درین باب قدغن دانسته هر سال سند مجدد
نطلبند و از لیغ کرامت تبلیغ والا تخلف و انحراف نورزند

تحریر فی التاریخ ۲۶ شهریور ماه آلهی سنه ۱۳

مسوده ضمیمه بموجب سیاهه دفتر خالصه شریفه آنکه خدمت زمینداری وچودهرائی پٹه براری وپٹه کوبرها دیوره وغیره سوائے رسوم نانکار عمله پرگنه کهلگاؤں سرکار مونگیر مضافات صوبه بهار بنام هیرانند ولد مدسودن زنار دار خانه زاد سرکار والا از فضل وکرم امیدوار است که بنام متصدیان خالصه شریفه دستخط مزین شود که سائر خدمت زمینداری وچودهرائی پٹه جات معه رسوم نانکار بنام خانه زاد شود یا فرزندان بمعافی تصدیق با دستخط اعلی حضور فرمان والا شان از ابتدائے فصل خریف پوشقان نیل سـ۶ـنه هجری کرده بدهد





پٹه کوبرها دیوره
پٹه حویلی

پٹه براری
پٹه آرآر
پٹه مدموهن



Original Farmân, granted by the Emperor Jahângir, dated 26th Sahrnûr Mâh Ilahî in the year 13.

[God is Great.]

(*Seal*)

Abū'l Muzāffar (Nūruddīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī) Muḥammād Nūruddīn Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, son of Akbar Bādshāh, son of Hūmayūn Shāh Bādshāh, son of Bābur Bādshāh, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, son of Sulṭān Abū Sayyad Bādshāh, son of Sulṭan Muhammad Manir, son of Miran Shāh, son of Amir Timūr Saheb Kiran).

Now this august Farmān is granted to the effect that the duty of Zamindārī and Chaudhūraī of Tappa Bārarī and Tappa Dewra etc. including Rasūm Nankar, pargānah Kahalgáon, Sarkār Monghyr in the province of Behār, is conferred as noted on the back, on Hirānand, son Madsudan and Zunnārdār and his descendants from the winter crop of U'shakanile. He shall minutely engage himself in the discharge of the said duty as far as possible, and shall not fail to carry out the same. He shall by good treatment, keep the tenants and ryots satisfied and contented, and shall try his best to increase population and improve cultivation. Every year he shall forward an annual comparative statement of the office (Mu'ajna-i-Shar-rista) and a report of his work (Dasturul 'Amal) under the seal and signature of the Qanangos through the Dewān of the Province of the Huzūr. It is required that my august children and Wazīrs and Amīrs of high dignity, and honoured and dutiful Hākīms and Mutasaddis of the affairs of the Dewānī, and the Imperial servants, shall consider the abovenamed person as permanent Zemindār and Chaudhūrī of the said Tappa, and not consider any other person to be his sharer or partner, and shall allow him to take the income of the fixed Rasūm according to the usual practice. (Portion half eaten by insects). It will be the duty of the tenants and residents of that place not to act against his advices, which will always be for the benefit of Government, as well as of tenants. They should know this is very urgent, and should not demand a fresh Sanad every year, and should not act against the august Imperial Command.

Dated the 26th Shahrnur Mah Elahi in the 13.

(*On the back of the document*)

" The duty of Zamindārī and Chaudhūrī of Tappa Bārarī, Tappa Kabarha-Dewra etc. including Rasūm Nankar in parganah Kahalgáon, Sarkar Monghyr in the Province of Behār is conferred on Hirānand, son of Madsudan, Zuannārdār, the servant of the august majesty, (who) expects that through kindness a signature be made for the Mutāsaddis of the Khalessa Sharifa, directing them that they may confer the Zamindārī and Chaudhūrai of the said Tappa together with Rasūm Nankar upon this slave, children after children, and that they should after remitting the Tasdik, grant a memorandum for obtaining the august Farmān from the beginning of the winter crop U'shakanile in the Hijrī year 975.

Tappā B·rārī.

Tappā Kābarha Dewra.

Tappā Arar.

Tappā Havelī.

Tāppa Madhūman.

(Whole passage illegible).

On the writing of the shelter of honour and respectability (illegible) the august sadar and the shelter if kindness Manavi Khan(?) and (illegible).

Seal of (illegible) khan (illegible) to the Emperor Jahāngir.

Dated 9th Mah Mahr in the Elahi year 13.

(Seal torn)

(Torn)

11th Mahr (illegible) in the year 13.

Copy entered in the Sarishta.

Mark 11th Mah Mahr in the year 13.

Compared with the Wakeya on 22nd Mahsahr U'ran proved in the Daftar of the Sarishta—9th Mah Mahr in the year 13.

(Seal of Manohar Dās)

Seal (Illegible) servant of Emperor Shāh Jahān.

(Illegible of Emperor illegible) "

6th Mah Mahr in the year 13.

AN UNPUBLISHED FARMĀN OF EMPEROR JAHĀNGĪR IN BEHAR

This Farmān under discussion relates to a grant of a Zamindārī to the Bharokār Rāj[1] in Parganah Kahalgāon, Sarkār Monghyr, Subah Bihār dated 26th Shahrnūr, Mah Ilahī of the 13th year of the Coronation of Emperor Jahāngīr. Besides owning one of the oldest sanads of the Mughal Empire, the family has the proud honour of possessing several other ancient documents of the Mughal Government, namely :—

(1) Sanad of Emperor Shāh Jahān confirming the grant, dated 1019 F. S. (1613 A. D.).

(2) Sanad ot a Sūbādar granting the *Rasum* of *Chaudhuriaī* of 4½ per cent upon waste lands, dated 1020 F. S. (1613-14 A. D.).

(3) Sanad of a Sūbadār granting an *'inam* (free gift) of a fishery dated 1040 F. S. (1633 A. D.).

(4) Sanad of Emperor Shāh 'Alam granting a *nankar* of Rs. 7,500, dated 1174 F. S. (1767 A. D.).

The special features of the present Farmān are the following :—

(1) It begins with Allāho Akbar in stead of Bismillāhir Rahmān ir Rahīm.

(2) It is an Altamgha grant in red seal which signify a special nature of the grant.

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[1] The history of this Zamindārī as given by W. W. Hunter in Vol. No. XIV, of the District Gazetteer of Bhāgalpūr and Santāl Parganas (pp. 244-46) is not all correct. He says that the Zamindārī was granted by Emperor Akbar to Brahman brothers, named Hirānand and Vedānand. But Akbar's regular Settlement of Land in this part did not begin before the conquest of Daud Khan Kararānī in 1574 A.D. Moreover Hiranand has been mentioned as the recipient of this zamīndārī of Kahalgāon in 1613 A.D. The gap is too long —44 years.

The family migrated from a village called Bhita in the district of Rai Berili of mordern U. P. They were Kanyakubja Brahman coming from the bank of the river Sarayu.

(3) The big seal on the top of the Farmān contains the names of the Mughal emperors from Timūr to Akbar. This type of seal is seldom found in Mughal Farmāns.

(4) The procedure of the Mughal Land Settlement may be learnt from the perusal of the document.

Comment :—

The Farmān began with Allāho Akbar in stead of usual Bismillāhir Raḥmān ir Raḥīm.[2] In a document the mention of the name of God is rarely found. If anywhere God is to be remembered, it is done by Bismillāh .... and 786 (numerical value of which is Bismillah............). It is well known that the phrase of Bismillāhir Raḥmān ir Raḥīm was substituted by Allāho Akbar during the reign of Akbar in 1576 A. D. [3]. The change was followed all throughout the reign of Jahāngīr and was changed in the year of the Coronation of Shāh Jahān.[4]

The Red Seal is significant. It is a mark of *Altamgha* grant. Tamgha (تمغا) is a Turkī word which means ' medal '. It has been Arabicised by use of definite article Al (ال). A Farmān issued under red seal was considered to have been issued from personal department of the Emperor. It refers to a grant of land under cultivation and not of fallow land.[5]. This type of grant is generally hereditary. In this grant, it has been particularly mentioned that it is in perpetuity and that no renewal needed from year to year.

هر سال سند و مجدد نه طلبند . . . . تبلیغ والا تخلف و انحراف نورزند

Har sāl sanad-i-Mujaddad na talband..........tabligh wālā takhallufo inharāf nawar and.

The royal successors, their officers and others concerned were commanded to treat the holder of as permanent and without a partner. Rājā Manohar Dās in the 13th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān confirmed the Farmān under his official seals.[6]

Such grants are rare, but one such grant was made to the East India Company by Emperor Shāh 'Alam in 1765 under red seal and it was treated as Altamgha grant. This grant could not be revoked except in case of delinquency and is not transferable.[7]

The seal of Emperor Jahāngīr affixed to this Sanad is a peculiar one, it contains not only the name of the Emperor Nūruddin, Padshāh Ghāzī Jahāngīr but also all his ancestors from Timūr to Akbar though most of them had no

[2] It is Macdonald, Sacred Literatures of the East, Introduction. Irānian custom was to mention :—
Banāma-i-Bakhshainda-i-Bakhshaisghar-i-Meherbān.
See Jartash-nāmah, preface, by Jamshedji Lumji Api.
[3] M. L. Roy Choudhury, The Din-i-Ilahi, pp. 236-237.
[4] Saxena, Shāh Jahān p. 244 N-11. Padshāh Nāmāh I, 126-29. A. H. Lahori.
[5] Gladwin's 'Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 383.
[6] *See* the seal on the left hand side of p. 2.
[7] Colbrooke's Supplement to the Digest of Bengal Regulations, p. 283, quotes an instance of a transfer of land under Altamgha grant. Phillips in his "Land tenures in Bengal" p. 463 says that such transfers were permitted only after 1773. But long before this in 1151 F. S. (................) a village called Ibrahimpur was sold under the seal of Muhammad Ghaus, a Nāzim, see Privy Council paper book in case 418, p. 384, 1895.

connection with Hindūstān. This shows that they looked upon Hindūstān as the hereditary kingdom of Mughals, tracing their descent from Timūr the first Mughal conqueror of India.[8] Affixture of an Altamgha Seal signified, so far as the conferree was concerned, an additional dignity to the grant.

The formalities connected with the Farmān :—

The Farman under review begins with "now"—now the parganah is settled; this means the land was previously settled with some one else and Altamgha seal corroborated that the settlement concerned a cultivated land. In the summary of records of the Zamindārī in Behār kept in Collector's office at Bhāgalpūr[9] it told that the one Jankīrām, a Kalwār (distillar caste) was in possession of this parganah. Following a quarrel between Jankiram and the two Brahman brothers Nāzim of Patna sent a punitive force and Jankīrām was killed. Subsequently the zamandārī and Chaudhūriaī of the parganah was conferred upon Hiranand and Vedānand.

To whom was the Farmān addressed :—

Under the British system, a document evidencing a land settlement is generally addressed to the grantee only. But a Mughal Farmān was addressed to the officers of the Crown, to the successors of the Crown, and to all those concerned now and hereafter giving in very wide terms the conditions of the grant and the general duty of the conferree. In British India a settlement of land, there is no other stipulation except the payment of revenue and of incidental charges if any. But the Mughal Zamindārī was often a duty, an office and not merely a land settlement.

Endorsements :—

On the back of this Farmān, endorsement was made by royal officers of the Dafter-i-Khalesa-i-Sharifa (His Mejesty's August office); the details of the area of the land according to the Fard-i-Sewal and Fard-i-Haqiqat[10] and its boundaries were mentioned. Sometimes the revenue payable was given in a separate document called Muchlekha.

This was for the convenience of the local officers as well as central Government because the officers in the central offices could not be expected to know the details. The seal of the Sadr was without exception affixed to Farmāns containing grant of lands before they were issued. Here the sadr was Munavi Khan whose seal was affixed.[11]

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[8] J. R. A. S. Bucklor's lecture on the Mahdar, pp. 594-608. The hereidity was background of the Mughal Khilāfat in India has been discussed.

[9] W. W. Hunter says that the Zamindārī was settled with two brothers Hirānand and Vidyānanda firstly in 1569 A.D., but the present document says that definitely it was settled with Hiranand Hunter op. cit. p. 245.

[10] The following are the documents in connection with the grant of land :—

(i) ' Arzee—Petition by the claimant.

(ii) Fard-i Sewal—recital of the Petition and prayer for order by the Royroyan (Peshkar) to the superior authority.

(iii) Fard-i-Haqiqat—document regarding the details of the grant seeking direction regarding compliance with orders submitted after the grant of the petition.

(iv) Farmān (Sanad or Parwanah) formal declaration by document and requisition to the subordinates either present or future, or both.

(v) Muchlekhah—obligatory deed or the contract containing Peshkash, Juma' balance if any etc.

(vi) Qubuliyat—Deed of acceptance, rather counter part of the Muchlekhah.

[11] Ibn Hasan, the Central structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 287 mentions Musavi Khan.

The Farmān was then entered into the Sherista chronologically and a copy was kept in the record office. In the end it was compared and date of comparison was also noted on the back of the document. To summarise :—

(1) The Farmān under review was issued under the red seal of the Emperor Jahāngir.

(2) It contains the seal of the Sadr Munavi Khan.

(3) It was entered into the books of the record office and a copy was kept there.

(4) It was compared with the records kept by the Wākeya Navīs (recorder of the Events) and noted as such.[12]

Ratification :—

Necessity for subsequent ratification of grant by new Emperors was not felt infrequently. The present document was declared to be a permanent one, yet we find a signature of Manohar Das a devoted servant of Shāh Jahān by way of ratification in the 13th year of the region of Emperor Shāh Jahān about 1640 A. D.

What did the Farman contain ? :—

The Farman contained grant of—

Zamindārī,
Chaudhūriaī,
Nankar,
Rasūm.

With a stipulation to keep the tenants and ryots satisfied and to increase cultivation and to send papers connected with Zamindari through Qanango and Dewān of the Province.

The nature of the duty of Zamindar besides the usual owners [13] was determined by the sanad or Farmān. An idea of this duty was given in my discussion on the Sanad of Captain James Browne, military Collector of Jungleteraī to the Ghātwāl of Kakwārā[14]. It was specifically mentioned in this Farmān that was grant of Khidmat-i-Zamindārī and Chaudhūraī (خدمت زمینداری و چودھرائی) duty of a zamindār and Chaudhūrī. In fact a zamindār who was saddled with duty was rather a responsible representative of the Government. He was to pay the stipulated amount of revenue. He was to render accounts of his collections and submit statement through the Qanango and Dewān of the Province. He was to attract people for settlement and improve cultivation. The ryots and tenants had to be kept satisfied by good treatment. He was responsible for preservation of peace in his area and was to assist the state in times of invasion. He was to offer safe convoy to royal messengers and mail and supply fodder to the royal despatch horses.[15]

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[12] The office of the Wākeya Navīs a very important one. He was to note all the vents of the king and his court faithfully and was treated as an officer of reference. Besides Wakeya Navīs, there are Kufia Navīs (secret recorders) and Guendah (informers).

[13] For duty of a zamindar, see Baillie's Land Tax XXXVIII.

[14] Proceedings of the 14th Session of Indian Records Commission, pp. 155-157.

[15] Khosla, R. P.—The Mughal kingship and nobility, pp. 118-25.

Regarding the hereditary character of zamindārī there is a sharp division of opinion amongst the authorities on land tenures. Harrington says that a Zamindārī Sanad contemplated only a personal grant specially the sanads granted by Ja'far Khan clearly restricted the interest of the zamindār to an appointment for life.[16] But this Farmān under review definitely stated that the zamindārī was granted to Hiranand and his descendants (بافرزندان) in perpetuity and no other confirmation was to be demanded annually, though a subsequent signature by Manohar Das is found dated 13th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Right of a zamindār to the soil, his power of alienation, his emoluments, allowances, dismissal and reinstatements are subjects within the scope of jurist, as such I leave it where it is.

Choudhāri :—

The grant contains the conferment of two dignities the zamindār and the Chaudhūrī.

Chaudhūri is a sanskrit word चौधरी, चतुर्धारिण "keeper of four quarters". It is a survival of the Hindū institution and was a part and parcel of village government in Hindū India. He was called a chaudhūrī, Bissoī, Khandadhīpatī or Deshmūkh; and with the assistance of a military force of *Khandaits* or *pykes* under a military commander, preserved peace and collected revenue of the perganah and transmitted it to the treasury"[17]. His share was 10 per cent. of the collections, but generally a portion of the land was assigned to him as a part of his remuneration. Phillips is of opinion that many of the zamindārs of Muslim period came out of the Hindū Chaudhūris[18]. The choudhūrī was sometimes assisted by a military officer for maintenance of peace.

The choudhūrī was often recruited as crori in the Mughal days with jurisdiction over a chaklah having income of a crore of dams *i.e.*, 2½ lacks of rupees. His allowance in the shape of land was called *nankar*.

When zamindars grew out as permanent factors in the Muslim period, chaudhūris were attached to zamindārs as subordinates. Sometimes the title was given to zamindārs who had distinguished themselves by meritorious service.[19]. Many of them were merged into zamindārs and became hereditary. Both Hindū and Muslims were chaudhūris.

In this Farmān, the two dignities were separate because the verb is used in the plural.

Nankar :—

Nankar etymologically means subsistence[20]. It is the allotment of revenue for the subsistence of a chaudhōrī which was equivalent to probably 5 per cent. of the collections of chaklah[21]. Instead of getting cash, the income of a particular portion of land was assigned which was itself exempt from Revenue. This prevailed specially in Bengal and Behar. It is practically a kind of proprietorship within a zamindārī or taluqandārī or chaudhūriana. Sir John Shore says, "a *nankar* is portion of the land or its produce assigned to the

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[16] Phillips—Op. Cit., p. 109.
[17] Patton, Assiatic monarchies, p. 166.
[18] Phillips, Op. Cit. p. 37.
[19] Phillips—Op. Cit., p. 56.
[20] Land tenure by a Civilian, p. 60, 69.
Fifth Report Vol. II. Wilson's Glossary attached to the Fifth Report.
[21] Harrington, Analysis, Vol. III, pp. 320-21.

zamindār for his immediate use and subsistence." Harington treated Nānkar 'as a reward for the faithful performance of duties, the amount being regulated by the merit displayed by the zamindār as well as by the extent of his zamindary.' Phillips is of opinion that Nānkar came and went away with zamindārī[22].

Rasum :—

Literally it means 'fees', perquisites of an office also called Marahs in the northern sarkars. It was a kind of attraction for the *khudkhast* (*i.e.* resident cultivators as opposed to *paikasht*) who were encouraged to settle in fallow lands. When the *khudkhast* could not cultivate in any land they gave their lands to emigrants from other villages and they paid fees to the *khudkhast* called 'Rasum'[23].

Rasum or fees in the shape of produce of village or in cash were paid to village officers like blacksmith, barber, silversmith, carpenter, astrologer and others[24].

Rasum of a Chaudhūrī or of a crori was 5 per cent[25].

Rasum of a zamindār was generally his Nānkar lands.[26] Sometimes it was also in kind as was done in 1767 A. D. by Shāh 'Alam to this family.

Conclusion :—

In conclusion I may point out that there is a general idea prevalent amongst the European scholars that the Mughal state was unorganized, unsystematic with no separation of departments and records. But a careful perusal of original documents definitely and clearly demonstrates the existence of a system, organisation, and procedure and regularity as was permitted by time, place and circumstances.

[22] Phillips—Op. Cit. p. 117-18.
[23] Phillips—Op. Cit. p. 18, 20, 22.
[24] Maine, Village committees, p. 125-26.
[25] Phillips—p. 88.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 117, 136.

A few letters of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla relating to the partition of the Karnatak.

[By Mr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A.]

In the British Museum [1] there is a collection of letters drafted by Nazir-ul-Mamalik Haji 'Abd-ul-'Ali Tabrezi in the name of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, Abul Hasan Qutb Shah and of some nobles of the Golkonda court, chiefly Mir Jumla as well as letters in his own name. Though undated, these letters contain extremely valuable details about the affairs of the Karnatak, the conquests, therein, of Mir Jumla on behalf of Golkonda, the relations of Golkonda with Delhi, Bijapur and Persia respectively, the commercial activities of Mir Jumla in Pegu and Arakan, and his relations with the European Companies and contemporary nobles and officers in the Deccani Courts and the Wazir of Persia. The letters of Mir Jumla are highly interesting as supplying to us some invaluable raw materials for the preparation of his biography. They enable us to form a picture of Mir Jumla, not only as a diplomat, a general and an administrator, but also as a cultured man of letters, well versed in the Quran and *hadiths*, and having full command over Persian language. In fact, they throw a flood light on his character and philosophy of life.

Moreover, these letters not only supply details which corroborate those derived from other sources (as will be evident from the narrative here given) but they also contain much original information which greatly adds to the stock of our existing knowledge regarding mid-17th century history of India. To take a few representative examples only :

(*i*) details about the agreement of partition of the Karnatak between Bijapur and Golkonda.
(*ii*) illness of Mir Jumla after the conquest of Gandikota,
(*iii*) conferment of hereditary mutawalliship of some villages in the Karnatak on Mir Jumla and his family,
(*iv*) reasons why Mir Jumla and other Shias of Persia left " the land of their birth ",
(*v*) copy of *ahadnama* from Mir Jumla to Ikhlas Khan, wazir of Adil Shah,
(*vi*) Qutb Shah's request to Shah Abbas II for help on the occasion of the rebellion of Mir Jumla.

The stages of the gradual conqeust of the Western Karnatak by Bijapur are already fairly wellknown [2]. But the story of the conquest of the Eastern Karnatak by the forces of Golkonda still remains to be constructed from different classes of sources.

In this paper I have selected a few of the letters of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla which are full of highly important facts regarding the partition of the Karnatak between Bjapur and Golkonda, such as, its genesis, date of conclusion, nature and working—its immediate results, signs of strain, temporary adjustments, and growing differences leading finally to war (1651-1652). While pruning away the ornate language of the Persian Ms., I have endeavoured to retain the sense of the original passages faithfully.

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[1] Br. Museum Persian MS. Addl. 6600. foll 185. dated Masulipatam Jumada II 1197 (1783). No preface. Rieu (I. 398-99) has described the contents in brief. I have utilised Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript entitled 'Abdul Ali Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters with his kind permission. (1a-84b foll; and 141b-169a).

[2] Muhammadnamah (Sarkar MS). It describes an agreement between Sri Ranga and Bijapur C. 1643, Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, Ch. 2. See also Srinivasachari, *History of Gingee*. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*.

Barred in their northward advance by the partition treaties[3] (May-June, 1636), the two Deccani Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda could find a free outlet for their aggressive instincts only at the expense of the numerous rich and fertile[4] but petty and warring principalities of the Karnatak, the jarring atoms of the moribund Vijaynagar empire, extending from the Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri. The Kings of Vijaynagar, crushed by these conquests,—of Adil Shah in " Malnad and the Karnatak ", *i.e.* the Bijapuri or Western Karnatak, and of Qutb Shah in the Madras or Eastern Karnatak, had constantly to change their capitals[5] to avert this steady Muhammadan pressure. Torn by repeated wars of succession, in which nobles and nayaks participated, and enfeebled by the rise of several Nayaks, chiefly of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore, lack of union due to mutual jealousy and bad faith, the conflict between the Tamil and the Kanarese elements, the kingdom of Chandragiri could not offer any united front to the invaders and its dominions gradually slipped away one after another[6]. The combination of all these forces rendered the course of political history extremely complicated and the kaleiodoscopic changes in the relations of the Rayal and the Nayaks *inter se* and in the system of alliances with and among the invaders, determined purely by transient considerations of self-interest, were further confused by the existence, and participation, of the foreign Companies in the troubled state of the Deccan affairs.

By 1645, Bijapur came to annex considerable territories of the Western Karnatak. Till then the attempts of Golkonda to gain a footing in the Karnatak uplands (Balaghat) of the Rayal did not meet with substantial success, and Kambam, on the north-east of the Cuddapa district, remained the limit of Golkonda advance in that direction[7]. It was now that Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah deputed his able prime-minister, Mir Muhammad Saíd, " great alike in civil government and war ", to effect " a complete transformation " in the Karnatak[8].

The moment chosen was highly opportune. Karnatak was then " full of wars and troubles ". The Rayal had attacked Pulicat (since 12 Aug. 1645), as the Dutch were apparently trying to reconcile Golkonda. There was a civil war between the Rayal, and the three Nayaks of Tanjore, Madura and Sinsider (Jinji), who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645[9]. To fill the cup of difficulties, a Bijapuri force was coming from the west under Khan Muhammad (autumn of 1645)[10]. Mir Jumla now came at the head of well-organised, well-equipped, and efficient army, strengthened

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[3] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb I.*

[4] *Muhammadnamah* (Sarkar MS) 189-190. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 9; *Aurangzeb* I and II, 220-221. *Adab i Alamgiri* (O. P. L. Ms.) 46, 50.

[5] *e.g.*, Anagundi, Penukonda, Chandragiri, and Vellore. Sri Ranga Rayal lived at Vellore.

[6] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I & II 32-35, 190-2, 228-29. *House of Shivaji*, 6-7, 12-13.

[7] FEF 1642-5, 76, 80-1 & n. 193-4 & n: Pr. I. H. R. C. (1938) 23; 25. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb I*, 193-4. Srinivasachari, *History of Gingee*, 162-3. (in press.)

[8] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I.

[9] FEF. 1646-50. p. XXV, 25-6 : & 25 n ; Love I, 73, 76. Proenza in *Mission Du Madura* III. 41-2.

[10] *Muhammadnamah*.

by several European gunners and cannon-founders, to "oppose" the Rayal. The result was that between January 21 and February 10, 1646, he captured three of the Rayal's castles, of which one was the "strongest hould in that kingdom" (Udgir) [11].

It became quite clear [12] to the two Sultans that the conquest of the Karnatak could never be achieved and "the tree of the infidels" could never be "rooted out" except through their mutual co-operation. As Qutb Shah wrote [13] that Adil Shah knew that "without Qutb Shah's help, a successful war with the Rayal was not possible and so he had agreed with Qutb Shah to partition the Karnatak and he was making him a co-sharer in the destruction of the Rayal and other zamindars". Hence they made (March-April 1646) a mutual agreement [14] by which the territory, spoils of war, goods, jewels and cash of Sri Ranga Rayal, the legal ruler of Hindu Karnatak, were to be amicably partitioned between Bijapur and Golkonda in the proportion of two to one, 2/3 rds. falling to Adil Shah and 1/3 to Qutb Shah.

The immediate results of the partition-agreement proved highly satisfactory to the Muhammadan Sultanates. Thus, the successes of the Qutbshahi-wazir, Mir Jumla, in the Eastern Karnatak came to be paralleled by the victorious progress of the Adil Shahi wazir, Nawab Mustafa Khan in the Kanarese country. In June, 1646, this Bijapuri prime-minister started and was joined by many Nayaks, desais and others. Highly alarmed, the Rayal immediately attacked the three rebellious *maniwars*, now intriguing with Mustafa Khan. Jinji submitted but Tanjore and Madura persisted in war with Rayal. Mustafa, refusing "to be dissuaded from his purpose by 'the deceitful words of the Rayal's envoy' ", Venkayya (?) Somaji, marched upon Vellore, deciding to conquer the Jagdev country [15].

In the meantime Nawab Mir Jumla overran the entire coast and occupied the territory round Fort St. George. He now took over "the government of Pulicat and St. Thomas, setting the country all in order", as he proceeded, and making quick headway against the Hindu power. Evidently it was now that Wandiwash and Chingleput, "which in strength and impregnability, regards itself equal to the seventh heaven", were conquered [16]. It was reported (letter of January 4, 1647) that MirJumla was only within two days march of the King's court (Vellore), nobody opposing him as a severe famine had depopulated the country [17].

The subsequent siege of Vellore, following the decisive defeat of the Hindu general, Vili Vayuar, thus seems to have been conducted by the combined strength of the Bijapuris and the Qutb Shahis.

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[11] FEF. op cit. 26n; Love I, 192; Pr. I. H. R. C. (1938) 27; *vide Fatahnamah* for chronogram in *Mukātābāt i Muqimā* (ASB. Ms. d. 1070 A. H.) 1659-60. fol. 6b.

[12] cf. Tabrezi 28a-b.

[13] Tabrezi 20a-b.

[14] Tabrezi, 5a-7a; 19a-b; 21a-b. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 25. For the date, *vide* Appendix, f. n. 56.

[15] *Muhammadnamah*: 286-327: *House of Shivaji*, 16-19, 300n: Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, 961.

[16] Tabrezi 74a; 69b-70a; 35b-36a; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 36-7; I. H. R. C, (1938) 27.

[17] FEF. 1646-50. 70.

The Rayal submitted, promising the payment of 50 lakhs of huns and 150 elephants, as war indemnity (c. April, 1647), but Bijapur's appropriation of the entire amount proved to be a cause of discord with Qutb Shah. The rebellious Nayaks were now sobered into restoring their allegiance to the Rayal, and promised to assist him in maintaining the independence of the country [18].

After securing the allegiance of the English in Madras , Mir Jumla led the advancing Qutbshahi troops from the north towards Jinji [19], and even further south. As he himself wrote, " I have conquered almost all zamindars of the Karnatak, especially that of Jinji who posessed a large army, and was more powerful in may respects than others " [20]. He even claimed to have conquered Tandivanam in the country of Tanjore, together with Asiur (? Aliyur) and retained them for a long time [21].

As Mir Jumla advanced towards Jinji, the Nayak of Tanjore made a treaty with him throwing himself at the latter's mercy. Tirumala [22] Nayak, once betrayed by the Nayak of Tanjore and harbouring a mortal revenge against him, now appealed to Adil Shah by sending his ambassadors. Adil Shah also wanted to invade Jinji, the Nayak of which appeared to have now appealed to Golkonda in self-defence. Thus Qutb Shah wrote to Shahjahan that " the zamindars of Jinji and Tanjore sought help " from him and had come under his protection [23]. To Adil Shah this united front appeared foreboding. He came to know of these troublesome machinations of Mir Jumla with the Nayaks of Jinji and Tanjore directed against himself and being mightly angry, swore vengeance on Qutb Shah. To chastise him Muzaffar-uddin Khan Muhammad Khan-i-Khanan was called to court and ordered to plunder the country of Golkonda and raze its forts to dust ; but he delayed in starting, as Hakim Muhammad Husain, envoy of Shahjahan, represented before Adil Shah that Mir Jumla was only acting on the orders of Qutb Shah, and that he would see that the latter should be made to give adequate compensation. Thereupon Qutb Shah prayed to Shahjahan for enforcing the 1/3 : 2/3 division of the *ahadnaman*, and despatched to Adil Shah, without any further delay, peshkash, gifts and presents [24].

But evidently this did not placate Adil Shah, for, on 10th January, 1648, he commissioned Mustafa Khan from Kulbarga, to conduct, together with Tirumala Nayak, the siege of Jinji. In this, " his last and greatest campaign ", Mustafa Khan, coming through Jagdev country, had 17,000 horse and 20-30,000 foot [25], which was combined with Tirumala's 30,000 soldiers of " the ill-armed militia type ". Mir Jumla had already arrived there before Mustafa with a formidable army. The Raja of Jinji came out of the fort to see

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[18] Muhammadnamah, *op. cit.*

[19] Tabrezi 69a-b : Mission III 45.

[20] Tabrezi, *op cit* :

[21] *Ibid*, 151b-153a, 25a-b :

[22] Mission III 46.

[23] Tabrezi 5a-7a ; 25a-b : Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* 21-2.

[24] Muhammadnamah, 363-79. Tabrezi, *op cit.*

[25] Mission III 46, refers only to 17,000 horse.

Mir Jumla and reiterated the agreement not to prove disloyal and when only 5 *kos* separated the two Muhammadan armies, the Raja encamped 2 miles before Mir Jumla, who joined him with his army, then 4 *kos* distant from Mustafa's. The latter, considering the combined strength of his and Madura troops to be inadequate to meet the hostile coalition of Mir Jumla and the Karnatak rajas, did not mobilise and appealed to Sultan Adil Shah for reinforcements. It was expected that the latter would send Ikhlas Khan (Khan Muhammad Khan-i-Khanan) together with 7 to 8,000 cavalry, Rustam Zaman, Afzal Khan and other renowned Wazirs and Amirs. On the other hand, Qutb Shah, who regarded the despatch of Mustafa Khan "to extricate Jinji" from his hands as a violation of the agreement, and had made many representations to Mir Muhammad Tahir, appealed to Shahjahan and instructed Mir Jumla to await favourable imperial orders, of which he was confident [26]. The two armies thus remained face to face without any engagement.

But the rift, which thus manifested itself over the race for possession of Jinji, widened gradually with the passage of time. For a time, however, a formal agreement of peace, or contract was made by the two generals, who were led "to ignore other points of view" on account of the "community of faith" [27]. It was settled that after the conquest of Jinji, Mustafa Khan would remain at Jinji and Mir Jumla would stay at Gandikota, and both became sharers in every way and each promised to help the other [28].

The death of Mustafa Khan [29] (9th November, 1648) subjected the partition to fresh strain. Now the siege was entrusted to Malik Raihan. This was regarded by Mir Jumla as a favourable opportuinty for realising his ambitions and occupying Jinji himself. But Malik Raihan wrote a strong letter: "Mustafa Khan may be dead, but I am alive, and I will fight to the last". Thereupon Mir Jumla went away 42 miles to the north.

Strained almost to the breaking-point though it was, the principle of partition worked for a time. While Bijapur became busy with fresh conquests in Tanjore and Madura in the south [30], Mir Jumla "as general of Golkonda forces was busy consolidating his position in the north". Qutb Shah sent a letter [31] of congratulation to Adil Shah, along with a present of 4 lakh *huns* and 4 jewels, on the occasion of the fall of Jinji. He suggested therein that the forts of Karnat and Malnad, still unconquered by Adil Shah, might be allowed to be conquered by Qutb Shah for being used as suitable bases against enemy attacks. Adil Shah, too, agreed, and thus the fort of Gandikota and the country of Kokotwar were left to be occupied by Qutb Shah.

The capture of the almost impregnable rock-fortress of Gandikota by Mir Jumla in the spring of 1650 gained for him the receipt of a *naurozi* khilat and was quickly followed by the occupation of Chandraguti (? Guti),

[26] Tabrezi 5a-7a, 20a-b. 25a, b: 69a-69b,

Basatin i Salatin (litho edn) 324.

[27] Tabrezi, 79a: Mission III, 46.

[28] *op. cit.* Basatin 326. *Muhammadnamah.*

[29] *Muhammadnamah*, 365: *Basatin*, 326-329; Tabrezi, 5a-7a, 21a-b: 80b-81a; FEF 1651-54, xxiv-xxv: Mission III 46; Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 21-2, 25-27. Srinivasachari Hist. of Gingee, 165. Jinji fell to the Bijapuris under Khan Muhammad (28 December, 1648).

[30] Mission III 47; Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 27; FEF. 1651-54, xxiv,-xxv.

[31] *Muhammadnamah*, 403-4.

8

APPENDIX A.

LETTERS OF QUTB SHAH.

1. *Qutb Shah to Shah Jahan* (5a-7a).

I have already informed you before that the zamindars of Jinji and Tanjore sought help from me. I hope Your Majesty would order the division of their countries in the proportion 1/3 : 2/3, as arranged in the *ahadnamah*. It is possible that Adil Shah, according to his nature, would not follow your order and would write something to you against the true event, that "the country of the zamindars is more than 1/3 and 2/3.". Your Majesty may send with the order an *amin* to enquire into this matter. At the present moment, Mustāfā Khān [51], having a cavalry, 16 to 17 thousand strong and 20 to 30,000 foot, is encamped at a distance of 3 or 4 *kos* (6 or 8 miles) from Jinji, to fight Mir Jumla and Qutb Shahi troops. Mustāfā, owing to paucity of troops, had applied for reinforcements and probably very soon Ikhlās Khan [52] would come with 7 to 8 thousand cavalry. As I am hopeful of Your Majesty's support, I have written to Mir Jumla to avoid an encounter with Mustāfā Khān. I pray for the arrival of Your Majesty's favourable orders, which may be communicated to me along with an amin before the war, so that Adil Shah may not create any difficulty.

When the truth of the violation of the agreement signed faithfully by Adalatpanah (Adil Shah) became known to the late Islam Khan [53] and it was also confirmed that Adil Shah was trying to enkindle the flame of enmity and disturbance,) as much as possible, both outwardly and secretly, it was considered advisable that in order to destroy the seed of the discord the terms of the agreement may be modified thus [54] : (i) as regards goods, cash, jewels, elephants and other articles of plunder, and whatever was seized from the hands of the Rāyal and zamindars of the Karnātak by Adil Shah,—he might take them in entirety, (ii) the conquests of Qutab Shah effected in the Karnātak may be divided equally between the two Sultans.

The imperial orders are to be obeyed as if they are divine. Previously Your Majesty had gone for Shikar to Kabul and I had agreed to this division and an imperial wakil had gone to the Karnatak for division. Then the above-mentioned Nawab (Islam Khan) died and Adil Shah found an opportunity

[51] This letter was written approximately in the beginning of 1648.

Mustafa Khan, entitled Khan Baba (original name Mirza Muhammad Amin Lari), wazir of Bijapur (12 September 1627—9 November, 1648). He was sent to conduct 'his last and greatest campaign', the siege of Jinji, on 10th January, 1648. Jinji fell on '8th December 1648 before the vigorous assault of Khan Muhammad, who succeeded Mustafa Khan on his death on 9th November 1648. (Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 22, 55-7 ; *Muhammadnamah* 364-'73 ; *Basatin* 324-'26).

[52] Siddi Raihan, an Abyssinian Slave, originally employed by Md. Adil Shah as *Ruqa-rasan* (officer charged with presentation of petitions to the King in his private chamber). A capable and energetic officer, he played a very important part in the Bijapur conquest of Mysore and the E. Karnatak. At first entitled Ikhlas Khan and later Khan-i-Khanan Khan Muhammad. Wazir of Bijapur 1648-1657 (murdered 11 November, 1657). Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, 56-58 ; *Basatin-i-Salatin*. 328-'9.

[53] Mughal Subedar of Deccan, died 18 November, 1647. Waris 6a.

[54] This modified agreement does not seem to have been followed by either sultan or approved by the Emperor.

to violate the agreement [55] and sent many wazirs under Shahji [56] to help the Hindus in the Karnatak. The Rayal and other zamindars emboldened by this help have thus invaded my occupied dominions with their own numerous troops, when the amin was engaged in the task of division. I sent an army under Mir Jumla to fight them. The enemy was defeated and then Adil Shah together with his own troops, came to the frontiers of the town of Bidar, which is on our mutual frontier. In this situation I showed amity to him as being seasonable and thought it desirable to appeal to Your Majesty for guidance and order.

2. *Qutb Shah to Mulla Abdus Samad*[57] (19a-b).

Received your letter written when the Emperor was stopping at Lahore [58] on his way to Kashmir [59]. The complaints which Adil Shah made to Emperor through Mirza Fathullah were, strangely enough, false. You have yourself seen the copy of the ahadnamah. Adil Shah had reported that the fort of Gandikotā was conquered by Qutb Shah against his order and without his

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[55] This letter enables us to fix the approximate date of the conclusion of the partition-agreement between Bijapur and Golkonda. From Padsnahnama (B. I. II. 500-1, 509) it appears that during the Central Asiatic campaign, the Emperor left Lahore for Kabul on Safar 18, 1056 (26 March, 1646). There is a description of shikar on the bank of the Chenab on 4 Rabiulawwal (10 April, 1646). The Emperor returned from Kabul to Lahore on 9 Shaban, 1056 (10 September,1646). Again (according to Waris I 6a) Islam Khan, the Mughal Subadar of the Deccan died on 18 November, 1647. Thus it would appear that the partition was made between March-April, 1646. Another journey of the Emperor from Lahore to Kabul was made on Safar 18, 1057 (15 March, 1647) but there is no mention of Shikar now. (*Ibid* 637 ff-'42). Shahjahan left Kabul for India 30 Rajab 1057—Saturday, 21 August, 1647. Waris I, 4a.

[56] For Shahji, see Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* Chs. 2 and 3.

[57] Mulla 'Abdus Samad was an envoy of Qutb Shah in the imperial court. see Guldashta. (Sarkar Ms.)

[58] During March-May, 1651. Waris I, 49a-53a.

[59] The date of Mir Jumla's occupation of Gandikota is still uncertain. I suggest the following reconstruction.

A Madras letter dated January 18, 1651 states that in September last a Dutch mission was sent to the Nawab " at Gandikota (........subdued by his resolution, against the opinion of all men, the last Spring) ". Foster writes that " Notwithstanding the positive statement in the text, there is some doubt as to the date of the capture of the fortress. A Dutch letter (Hauge Tr. series I, vol. xvii, no. 518) seems to intimate that, at the time of the visit of Van Wessel, the leader of the Dutch mission, it was still being besieged by Mir Jumla........ ". (FEF. 1651-54, 22-23 & n). The date (March, 1651) of the Emperor's going to Kashmir and the reference to the occupation of Gandikota by Qutb Shah in this letter shows that Gandikota must have been occupied before March 1651. This agrees with the English records which say that it was occupied in the spring of 1650, and that in September of Dutch mission was sent to him there and also that about the same time an English mission under Venkat Brahman went to see Nawab Mir Jumla, whose plans to the E. I. C. were incorporated in the letter to Bantam (10 January, 1651) and instructions to Littleton (12 January). (FEF. 1651-54, 23). Tavernier (Ball I, 284) of course mentions that the fort was occupied by Mir Jumla after 3 months' siege only 8 days before his visit (1, September) *i.e.* on 24 August 1652. It is possible however that this date of Travernier might refer to the subsequent occupation of Gandikota by Mir Jumla after his defeat at the hands of the Bijapuri general as a result of the war between the two Sultans over the partition of the Karnatak (1651-2). Moreover the description of Mir Jumla's activities in Gandikota, as given by Travernier (*e.g.* his making of roads, establishment of canon foundries, administration of jutice, review of army etc.) makes it impossible for us to believe that the fort was captured just 8 days before Tavernier's visit.

knowledge. But the truth is that Adil Shah knew it well that according to the agreement of division (1/3 : 2/3) among us, I would demand my 1/3 share just as Adil Shah would demand his 2/3. When I want my share, he makes false accusations to gain time. You would therefore present before the Emperor the viewpoints of both of us for favour of his decision. Adil Shah always complains of my Mir Jumla. As Adil Shah, having an eye to his own honour, considers as if my servant was his own, what are we to do in this case ? I have always shown due deference to Adil Shah. Enquire from the Emperor's advisers and councillors, and advise about my conduct in future.

(B)

Mir Jumla's Letters.

1. *Nawab Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to Qutb Shah* (67a-68a).

I feel myself highly honoured with the *Naorozi*[60] Khilat sent by you. When you sent me to the Karnatak, you had agreed that after the capture of Gandikota, you would permit me to go to Mecca. The fort has now been conquered together with many others.

5. *Nawab Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla to a Bijapur Grandee* (151b-153a).

Received the Padshah's letter, which strengthened our relationship of co-operation. About the reference of the Shah about Ghazipur alias Nandiyal and Jillala[61] I am now stating a true account of the events, so that the suspicion of the violation of the agreement might be removed. Here are the details.

When I first reached the neighbourhood of Gandikota, and besieged it, Syed Chand Muhammad, havaldar of Nandiyal wrote to Narsu Pandit : "2 or 3 villages of Nandiyal had for several years come under the jurisdiction of Jillala. The Great Khan[62] left those 2 or 3 villages according to the old practice (in order to keep up your prestige) and did not take them forcibly. As it has become apparent, from your movements, that the fort of Gandikota, together with all the country under Guti, would be soon occupied, I pray that you will please give up those 2 or 3 villages of Nandiyal ". I observed that the task of reduction is not yet complete and when the forts and the country of Timma Nayar would be captured and we would be masters of the country, we would occupy only the conquered countries. We would have no concern with the territory and the villages of Nandiyal. Narsu Pandit wrote to its havaldar what he had heard from me. It is also not improbable that these details have already been presented to you in the aforesaid manner.

And when we conquered the fort of Gandikota, I enquired from Timma Nayar and the Reddi about these matters. They gave an account of what your officers did,— the coming of your officers in the beginning, the occupation of the fort of Jillala, the imprisonment of the Reddi, and the (subsequent)

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[60] That Gandikota was conquered in the spring of 1650 is corroborated by this letter ; the Khilat seems to have been presented in the beginning of tho year A. H. 1060.

[61] The Ms. reads Chilchila چلچلا but no place of that name is found in the map. I think this is to be identified with Jillala.

[62] Khan Muhammad.

escape on the way and reoccupation of Jillala and the creation of many disturbances, with the help of Timma Nayar, and the infliction of awe-inspiring losses on Nandiyal, and the re-occupation of many of its villages. They further referred to your arrival in person, and the conclusion of a treaty with Timma Nayar and the promise of the Reddi to pay 10,000 huns by way of compensation for the damages. From the records of Timma Nayar and the speeches of the Reddi, and from the accounts of the local men who are conversant with the detail, I came to know that the father of Timma Nayar had, before conquering Gandikota, already occupied Jillala, with which he had been connected from before. So completely did he occupy, it, that no zamindar or any person had any claim to share the country with him or cause of dispute.

When the officers of Adil Shah, for the sake of increasing the blessings of brotherhood, agreed, in the *ahadnama*, to confer all places connected from Yore with Gandikota on the younger brother (Qutb Shah), the seizure of the above-mentioned villages by some persons of the locality such as of Jillala etc. would be a cause of the violation of the agreement and (consequent) undermining of the foundation of (justice and) confederacy. I do not know what may happen (afterwards). If the seizure of Jillala and its surrender is regarded as a claim to its mastery, then I may submit for your information that I also conquered Tandivanam [63] in the country of Tanjore, together with Asiur [64] and retained them for a long time. After the agreement with you, Jinji fell in your share ; and then, after much discussion, I gave them up to you. God has made me of such a stuff that violation of agreement is not in my nature. Had it been so, the two villages at the foot of Kurnool, near the fort of Gandikota, which are under your occupation, might have been seized by me, and out of sordid motives, I could also have occupied 2 villages of Jillala, one of which was given to Malik Raihan (deceased) and another as reward to the Naikwars.

How can I thank God for this bounty ?

For I have not been endowed with the power of (making) weak promise (agreement).

You also know and it has been proved that our ruler (Qutb Shah) is on such friendly terms with you that if Adil Shah gives the whole of Gandikota and even Udgir to any person as jagir, he would not mind it, not to speak of Jillala ! But to conceal the real truth by a claim and create quarrel only because one has power runs counter to the feelings of brotherly co-operation. Truly, Jillala is a place worth fighting for, till its dust rises to heaven.

If you are contented with the price, it is all the same whether the world is large or small.

When the thirsty man requires one draught (only), he finds no difference between a jug and a river.

It is very kind of you to write, for it has cemented the bonds of friendship. In truth, if the curtain of (your) kindnesses would not have prevented the display of various troubles, the sordid people of the Karnatak, the cauldron of

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[63] See Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V. (Siege of Jinji).

[64] Probably, it is Aliur in Tanjore (Map no. 2, Pharaah & Co.).

whose opportunity had been boiling after the affair of the late Nawab, and were intoxicated and senseless with the wine of power, would have created all sorts of troubles and ruined the chastity of the high and the low. Regarding your advice that the arrest of the Reddi for co-operating with Timma Nayar in war and the capture of his territory was not wise, and that for the sake of our relationship, I should have informed you of the Reddi's actions for his punishment, I have to submit that the contents of the letters of Adil Shah did not in any way express any resolve on his part to punish the besieged, and hence I am unable to lay their faults before you.

A Study in Some Early British Sanads relating to Jungleterry.

(By Mr. A. N. SINHA, B.L.)

مهر

شاه عالم بادشاه غازی مدار المهام
سپه سالار فدوی کمپنی انگریز دیوان
صوبجات بنگاله و بهار و اوڈیسا
سنه ۱۴

نقل

متصدیان مهمات حال واستقبال وچودهریان وقانونگویان متعلقهٔ کهڑگپور
محالات جنگلتری سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبه بهار بدانند -
چوں پرگنه چندوه وپسے و دیهات ڈانڈه سکهواره وغیره که باعث هنگامهٔ کم ترددی
واقع گردیده لهذا بمد نظر آبادی پرگنهٔ مذکور بمبلغ پنج هزار روپیه سنوات جمع سنه ۱۱۸۴ فصلی
بلا آفت مع مال وسایر ونذرانه مهمانی وغیره اخراجات سوائے رسوم زمینداری ونانکار د
گهٹواری وجه جاگیران وجاگیرداری وزمین خیرات دبرهموتر وبهٹوتر وسیوتر وبرت آئمه واملاک وغیره
مشخص وازابتدائے سنه ۱۱۸۵ فصلی مبلغ هفت هزار ودوصد ونود ویک روپیه سنوات ازاصل و
اضافه بلا آفت موافق ضابطه مرقوم الصدر جمع سال بسال بصیغهٔ استمراری مقرر شده خدمت
زمینداری پرگنه مذکور از انتقال جگرناته دیو رائے بنام روپ نرائن دیو رائے راجه مذکور حسب الضمن
مقرر ومنصوص گشته که مشار الیه بفراغ خاطر پرگنات مذکور را آباد کرده مالواجب سرکار بروقت
وهنگام درفوطه خانه سرکار داخل می نموده باشند ودامے درمے زیاده طلبے از جمع مقرری واستمراری
ننمایند وچناں سعی بکار برده که افزونی محصول وآبادی رعایا بیشتر از پیشتر بظهور آید ودزداں ورهزناں

وغازان وعکه وکر بر در متعلقه زمینداری او شماند خدا نخواسته اگر جائے خون وفساد و دزدی و
رهزنی و شبخونی وڈاکه وغیره افعال بد در پرگنات مرقوم بظهور آید از عهدهٔ آن جواب سازد جاگیران
که در وجه جاگیرداری نوکر باشد آنها را وقتیکه طلب بحضور نماید سرداراو با برداری خود حاضر شود
واز سرحد وسیوانه هوشیار وخبردار بوده بکار وخدمات خود ها مقید وسرگرم باشد بایدکه نامبرده را
زمیندار پرگنات مسطور متصل دانسته لوازم ولواحق با و متعلق سناشد. درایں باب تاکید
داند بتاریخ بست وچهارم ماه مئی ۱۷۷۶ء انگریزی موافق پنجم ربیع الثانی ۱۱۹۰ء مطابق
چهاردهم ماه جیٹھ ۱۱۸۳ء بنگله قلمی شد.

ضمن نویسنده

مقرر ضمن پرگنه چندوه پسے ودیهات ڈانڈه سکهواڑه وغیره متعلقه کهرگپور محالات
جنگلتری سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبه بهار که باعث هنگامه کم ترددی واقع گردید لهذا بنظر
آبادی پرگنه مذکور وغیره مبلغ پنج هزار سنوات جمع ۱۱۸۴ء فصلی بلاآفت معه مال وسایر و
نذرانه مهمانی وغیره اخراجات سوائے رسوم زمینداری ونانکار گهٹواری و وجه جاگیران جاگیرداری
وزمین خیرات و برهموتر وسبوتر و برت وآئمه واملاک وغیره مشخص واز ابتدائے ۱۱۸۵ء فصلی
مبلغ هفت هزار وصد ونود ویکروپیه سنوات از اصل واضافه بلاآفت موافق ضابطه
مرقوم الصدر جمع سال بسال بصیغه استمراری مقرر شده خدمت زمینداری پرگنات مذکور
از انتقال جگناتهه دیو رائے به روپ نرائن دیو رائے پسرش مقرر گشته محال معه دیهات.

پرگنه چندوه له محال درو بست   پرگنه پسے له محال درو بست پرگنه
ستهاری له محال درو بست دیهات پرگنه ڈانڈه سکهواره محصری له محال درو بست.
دیهات ازگورده از مستاجری قدیم له محال دیهات از پرگنه ملوموتیا له محال. دیهات از
پرگنه هنڈوه بموجب معمول قدیم خارج جمع بعمل خواهد آمد له محال از پرگنه هزارکی یک
موضع خارج جمع بموجب معمول حالا سر محل خواهد آمد له محال.

جمع سنہ ۱۱۸۴ فصلی کہ باعث کم تردد
مشخص گردید
صمـ

کما فصلت

از ابتدائے سنہ ۱۱۸۵ فصلی مبلغ ہفت ہزار
و دو وصد و لتو دیگر روپیہ سنوات تابعیہ مقرری
استمراری مقرر شد
۷۲۰۰

اصل
صمـ

اضافہ
۱۲۰۰

نقل

کپتان جیمس برونصاحب سردار از طرف جنگلتری گدہور وکہرگپور کمپنی بہاگلپور و کہل گاؤں بیربہوم وکہرگ دیہہ

بمہر کمپنی انگریز بہادر

اصل مطابق نقل است

[illegible]

متصدیان مہمات حال واستقبال وچودھریان وقانونگویان متعلقہ کہرگپور محالات جنگل تری سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبہ بہار بدانند

چوں پرگنہ چندوہ وبیسے و دیہات ڈانڈہ سکھوارہ وغیرہ علاقہ بابو روپ نرائن دیورائے پسر راجہ جگناتھ دیورائے کہ باعث ہنگامہ کم تردومی واقع شدہ لہذا بہ نظر آبادی آنجا سند زمینداری بنام بابو مسطور از حضور کونسل بزرگ بایں مضمون شرف صدور یافت کہ جمع سنہ ۱۱۸۴ فصلی مبلغ پنج ہزار روپیہ سنوات معہ مال وسائر فوجداری و نذرانہ ومہمانی وغیرہ اخراجات سوائے رسوم زمینداری ونانکار قانونگویان ورسوم گھٹواری وجہ جاگیران جاگیرداری وزمین خیرات برہموتر وسبوتر و دیوتر وبسن پریت وایمہ مدد معاش وغیرہ مشخص کردہ شد کہ مشار الیہ بفراغ خاطر خود محالات مذکور را آباد کردہ زر مالگذاری سنہ مذکور داخل در فوطہ خانہ نماید وازابتدائے سنہ ۱۱۸۵ فصلی مبلغ ہفت ہزار دو صد نود دیگر دیہہ سنوات بلاآفت موافق ضابطہ مرقوم الصدر جمع سال بسال بصیغہ مقرری استمراری مقرر گشت چوں دریںجا بابو مومی الیہ نسبت زر مالگذاری خود کہ در سند حضور کونسل بزرگ مندرج است در محالات علاقہ خود نمود لہذا نسبت جمع مالگذاری علاقہ

نام بردہ کہ بر محالات خود مطابق جمع سند حضور کردہ است حسب الضمن مقرر و متصور داشتہ شد باید کہ حکام عمل آنجا مع محالات مسطورہ را سال بسال بصیغہ مقرری استمراری بحال و برقرار دارند دامی درمی زیادہ طلبی نسازند دریں باب تاکید مزید دانستہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

بتاریخ ششم شوال سنہ ۱۸ جلوس و الا سنہ ۱۱۸۴ فصلی قلمی شد۔

(Sd.) JAMES BROWN.

ضمن نویسندہ

مقررہ ضمن ازانچہ پرگنہ چندوہ وغیرہ محالات جنگلتری کھرگپور سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبہ بہار علاقہ بابو روپ نرائن دیورائے پسر راجہ جگناتھ دیورائے باعث ہنگامہ کم ترددی واقع شدہ بود لہذا بنظر آبادی وسند مقرری استمراری از حضور کونسل بزرگ بشرف صدور گردید چوں بموجب سند مذکور بابو مومی الیہ نسبت زر مالگذاری خود بر محالات علاقہ خویش نمودہ لہذا نسبت زر مالگذاری محالات علاقہ مشار الیہ بموجب جمع مقرری کہ در سند کونسل بزرگ مندرج است منظور و مقرر شد

کما فصلت

جمع سنہ ۱۱۸۴ فصلی یک ہزار یک صد ہشتاد چہار فصلی باعث کم ترددی مشخص شد

صمت

از ابتدائے سنہ ۱۱۸۵ فصلی مبلغ ہفت ہزار دو صد نود یک روپیہ سنوات بصیغہ مقرری استمراری جمع محالات مقرر گشت

جمع سالانہ

معہ مال و سایر

مال

سایر

چندوه　　له محال دروبست　　پسے　　دو محال دروبست

سنه ۱۱۸۴　　سنه ۱۱۸۵ بصیغه مقرری　　سنه ۱۱۸۴　　سنه ۱۱۸۵ بصیغه مقرری

جمع سما وعصه　　سه لعه　　جمع سما وعصه　　السايعه

اصل　　اضافه　　اصل　　اضافه

سا وعصه　　مالعه　　سما وعصه　　اسمايعه ر

دیهات ڈانڈه سکھواره معه شرح له محال ستھیاری له محال دروبست

سنه ۱۱۸۴　　سنه ۱۱۸۵　　سنه ۱۱۸۴　　سنه ۱۱۸۵ بصیغه مقرری

جمع المالعه　　سماطلعه　　جمع سماله عه　　المايعه ر

شاه عالم بادشاه غازی فدوی عمدة التجار
کمپنی انگریز دیوان خالصه شریفه صوبه
بنگالا مهر صدر کچهری بهاگلپور سنه ۱۴

مقدمان رعایان و مزارعان و ساکنان پرگنه چندوه پسے وغیره محالات متعلقه
پرگنه کهرگپور سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبه بهار بدانند-

چوں روپ نرائن دیورائے گھٹوال به سبب عدول حکمی حضور از کار و خدمات
گھٹوالی بیدخل شد بر فعت پناه راجه قادر علی سپرده شد لهذا قلمی میگردد که شمایان
بخاطر جمع و استقلال تمام بجائے خود با آباد بوده نزد راجه مذکور رجوع آورده سربراه
مالواجب سرکار مینموده باشند زنهار اندیشه و اسواس بخاطر خود ها راه نباید داد دریں
باب تاکید داند

بتاریخ دهم ماه اگهن سنه ۱۱۹۱ فصلی

માકેદમાન વેા નેઆઆન વેા મેાઝાનીઆન વેા શાકીનાન પ્ર: દનદવા મશેરે શેાનદ માઝૂમ નેામારદ આગે ઉપનાદિન દેવ વારેશ અદુક્ષ હુકમી કઉન કે કામ ખીદમન ઘટવાલી વેા મુશનાક્ષની શાટે વેદખળદુઆ નઝવેઅન મનાદ નાક્ષા કાદીન અ ીકા વહ શવ ક્ષગદ શઉનદ દૂઆ ખ્શિવાશનેા ઊબાળાના દૈ લેા તુમ લેાગ અપને ળગદ મન આવાદન દૈ નાળાં મળઉન કે માશ ઉઉનારે કે શન વગદ માળગુઝારી શરકાર કા અની ન દેાગે ક્રીશી વાત કા અનદેશા વેાશવાશ દનગીળ ન કરેાગે તારીખ ૧૦ માહ અગહન માં ળાબા ગેઆ.

WARREN HASTINGS' SANAD TO ROOP NARAIN DEO, DATED THE 24TH MAY, 1776 A. D.

Record I.

No. 11. Sanad to Roop Narain Deo, the Zemindar of Carakhpur in the District of Monghyr in the Soobah of Behar for the Parganas of Pairna (sic), & Besoe and the Dhees of Darindeh Sakhwara................. mehals—Registered by order of the Governor General (in) Council at Fort William the 5th June, 1776.

Rev. Deptt.

(Sd.) R. SUMNER,
Secretary.

Seal.

(East India) Company Madarul maham sipeh salar Diwan of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa devoted servant of Emperor Shah Alam Ghazi. 14th year (of the reign).

Know ye Motasaddies mohimat present and future, and the Chowdhries and Qanungos of Jungleteri Mahals appertaining to Kharakpur under Sircar Monghyr in the Province of Bihar.

Whereas Parganas Chandwa and Passai and villages Danrasakhwara, etc., have become less cultivated due to disorders and disturbances hence with a view to the (proper) cultivation of the said Parganas an annual jama at sonat rupees five thousand for the Fasli year 1184 without any abatement on account of calamities inclusive of land revenue (mal), sayer (imposts other than land revenue), nazrana, mehmani (*i.e.* guest charges), and other expenses except russoom Zemindary, nancar (*i.e.* subsistence allowance), Ghatwary salary for the retainers, jagir grants, lands given in charity, barhmotar, bhatotar, shivotar, birt, ayma and amlak (millicks), etc., and from 1185 Fasli (an annual jama) at sonat [1] rupees seven thousand two hundred and ninety one, being the original assessment and the enhancement made thereon, without any abatement on account of calamities in accordance with the aforesaid terms is fixed in perpetuity as the jama year after year. The zemindari of the said Parganas is made over to Roop Narain Deo Rai after the deposition of his father Jagannath Deo Rai. The said person (Roop Narain Deo Rai) shall look after the cultivation of the said parganas with a sense of security and pay into the Government treasury the land revenue regularly. Not a fraction more shall be demanded over and above the fixed istimrari and mokurari jama (as above). He should exert his best so that rents may increase and the tenantry may cultivate (lands) better than before. Thieves, robbers plunderers

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[1] Sonat or sonauts or sanwats were rupees after the third year of their currency when a definite allowance was made for their deterioration (A Statistical Account of Bengal by W. W. Hunter, B. A., LL.D., Vol. XIV—Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas London, 1877). Sicca rupiya became the name specially given to the rupee coined by the East India Company from the year 1773 bearing inscription denoting that it has been struck by Emperor Shah Alam at Murshidabad. This rupee was latterly coined at the mint in Calcutta and became known as the "Calcutta sicca" rupee. Act XVIII of

pick-pockets should not be allowed to live within the limits of his zemindari. God forbid, should misdeeds like murder, affray, theft, robbery, burglary and dacoity etc. occur within the said Parganas, he shall be held responsible. When summoned, he shall appear before the Presence (Huzzoor) escorted by his retainers who hold jagir grants and the Sirdars and their men. He shall be careful of his boundaries and discharge his duties with devotion and zeal. Be it known that the above named should be recognised as the zemindar of the aforesaid Parganas and due services should be rendered to him. This is strictly enjoined. Dated, the 24th May, 1776 A. D. agreeable to 5th Rubi-oos-sani of the 17th year of the reign agreeable to 24th Jeth, 1183 Bengali year. The End.

ENDORSEMENTS.

Parganas Chandwa, Passai, and villages Danrasakhwara etc. of mahalat Jungleterry appertaining to Kharakpur in Sircar Monghyr in the Province of Bihar have become less cultivated due to disturbances hence with a view to the proper cultivation of the said parganas an annual jama at sonat rupees five thousand for 1184 Fasli including land-revenue (mal), sayer, nazrana, mihmani and other expenses except russoom zemindary, nankar, ghatwari, the salary of retainers and grants to jagirdars, charity lands, brahmotar, shivotar, birt, ayma, amlak etc. and from 1185 Fasli at sonat rupees seven thousand two hundred and ninety one, being the original assessment and the enhancement, without any abatement on account of calamities according to the aforesaid terms is fixed in perpetuity as the annual jama and the zemindari of the aforesaid Parganas is made over to Roop Narain Deo Rai after deposing Jagannath Deo Rai.

......................particulars of mahals inclusive of villages.

Pargana Chandwa	1 mahal durobusht.
Pargana Passai	1 mahal durobusht.
Pargana Satyari	1 mahal durobusht.
Pargana Danrasakwara villages (including Sarhi).	1 mahal durobusht.
Villages Gorda (forming ancient lease) . .	1 mahal.
Villages from pargana Amlomotia	1 mahal.
Villages from Pargana Hendwooa (ba mojib mamule kadim kharij jama ba amal khahad amad) .	1 mahal.
From pargana Hazartaki one mouza Kharij jama (ba mojib mamule hala sarhe mahal khahad amad)	1 mahal.
Jama for the year 1184 Fasli for less cultivation fixed at Rs. 5,000	From the year 1185 Fasli annually rupees seven thousand two hundred and ninety-one fixed in perpetuity.

Original assessment	Enhancement
Rs. 5,000.	Rs. 2,291.

1835 prohibited further coinage of the sicca rupee and introduced the coin 'to be denominated' and thereafter known as the "Company's rupee". By Act XIII of 1836 the sicca rupee ceased to be legal tender. This explains the variations that may be found with regard to the amount of rent or revenue of any old estate given in its Sanad (granted at a time when sicca rupee was prevalent) and the current amount. The difference in value between sicca rupee and company's rupee were made realizable as part of the original rent or revenue.

SANAD BY CAPTAIN JAMES BROWNE, DATED THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1776.

Record II.

Seal of the East India Company.

Captain James Browne, Sirdar of Jungleteri, Gidhaur, Kharakpur, Bhagalpur, Colgong, Birbhoom and Kharagdiha on behalf of (East India) Company.

Know ye Motasaddis, mohimat present and future and Chowdhries and Qanungos of Jungleteri mahals appertaining to Kharakpur under Sircar Monghyr in the Province of Bihar.

Whereas Parganas Chandwa, Passai and villages Danra Sakhwara etc. under Babu Roop Narain Deo Rai, son of Raja Jagannath Deo Rai have become less cultivated due to disorders and disturbances hence with a view to the (proper) cultivation of the said parganas etc. a Zemindari sanad has been issued by the Supreme Council to the said Babu as per terms given below with an annual jama at sonat Rupees five thousand for 1184 Fasli inclusive of land-revenue (mal), sayer fouzdari, nazrana, mehmani, and other expenses except russoom Zamindary, nancar of Qanungos, russoom ghatwari for the salary of retainers and jagir grants, lands given in charity, brahmotar, shivotar, debotar, bishenprit, ayma madadmash etc. has been fixed so that he may peacefully look after the cultivation of the said mahals and pay the aforesaid land-revenue (malguzari) to the treasury and (with annual jama) at sonat Rupees seven thousand two hundred and ninty-one from 1185 Fasli without abatement on account of calamities according to the aforesaid rules has been fixed in perpetuity. The said Babu shall pay the jama as per Sanad of the Supreme Council. Be it known to the authorities that they shall not demand a fraction more than the annual amount fixed in perpetuity which should be maintained. This is strictly enjoined. Dated, the sixth Shawal, 18th year of the reign agreeable to 1184 Fasli. The End.

(Sd.) JAMES BROWNE.

ENDORSEMENTS.

(Here follows details.)

DISMISSAL PARWANA ([2]).

Dated the 18th November, 1783 A. D.

Record III.

Seal of Sardar Katchery, Bhagalpur.

East India Company Umdatutt tujjar Diwan Khalsa ....Province of Bengal devoted servant of Emperor Shah Alam Ghazi 14th year (of the reign).

Know ye Mukaddams, tenants (Raiyats), agriculturists, and inhabitants of Parganas Chandwa, Passai etc. in mahalat Pargana Kharakpur under sircar Monghyr in the Province of Bihar.

[2] Mr. Chapman, Collector of Bhagalpur by a Parwanah, dated 7th Kartic, 1192 Fasli :

Whereas Roop Narain Deo Rai has been dismissed from his services as ghatwal for his disloyalty to the Government and his services has been entrusted to Raja Qadir Ali it is directed that the above mentioned persons shall (henceforward) repair to the said Raja and without hesitation pay him the dues of the state. Treat this as important. Dated the 10th Aghan, 1191 Fasli.[3]

The Jungleterry was a tract of country bounded by the plains of Bauglepoor (modern Bhagalpur and Colgong) and the Ganges on the north, by the Curruckpoor Hills on the north-west, by Guidore (Gidhaur) and the plains of Bahar (Bihar) on the west, by the provinces of Ramgur and Pachete on the south and south-west, by Birbhoom on the south-east, by Rajmahal Hills on the east, and on the north-east by the Ganges and part of the Rajmahal Hills. ([4]). The area is now roughly comprised of portions of the districts of Bhagalpur, Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Hazaribagh in the Province of Bihar, and Birbhum in Bengal.

The properties dealt by the sanads are popularly known as Luchmipore Estate and is officially called as Chandwa Passai. ([5]). The estate once formed a part of the Kharakpur Raj. This Raj was at one time a great principality extending from the south of Monghyr to the south of Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas and marching with the northern boundary of the territory held by the Rajas of Birbhum. The Parganas mentioned in Record I are definitely mentioned in Emperor Akbar's Revenue Roll for the Sarkar of Monghyr. ([6]).

This tract of country was " considered as inaccessible and unknown and only served as receptacle to robbers". ([7]). It was never fully subdued by the Mughals. The barbarous mountaineers of the hills and the lawless tribes of the jungles were in a chronic condition of defiance and revolt. Anarchy at its worst prevailed in the country for years preceding and subsequent to its association with the English. The inhabitants of the plain were frequently subjected to marauding expeditions by the lawless hill tribes who were often asserting their wild independence.

5th October, 1784 informed Roop Narain Deo that his contumacy had been forgiven by the Government and directed him to send a copy of his former rescinded sanad so that a new one might be drawn out conformably thereto [Roop Narain Deo *Vrs.* Raja Qadir Ali (1809) 1 Sel. Rep. 376 : 6 I D. O. S. (B.S.A.) 276]. See also :

Final Report on the survey and settlement operation in the Bhagalpur District 1902—1910 by P. W. Murphy, I.C.S., 1912. Paragraph 35 : Page 15 : " Finally he (Roop Narain Deo) was pardoned and restored to his estates. His dispute with Kharagpur Raj continued, however, until his ghatwali was on the recommendation of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, separated from Mahalat Kharagpur and made into a separate estate ".

[3]I am much indebted to Moulvi Md. F. Zakaria for his help in the matter of translation.

[4]India Tracts by Col. James Browne, London, 1788, written in March (20th), 1779 Art. I. Page 1.

[5]Bengal District Gazetteers—Bhagalpur by J. Byrne, I.C.S. (1911), P. 157.

[6]The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami. Translated by Col. H. S. Jarret Vol. II. Book Third, Ain XV pp. 154-155, for Parganas Chandoi, Passai, Satyari.

[7]Warren Hastings' address to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd December, 1774 printed with the Proceedings of the Secret Department, dated the 8th December, 1774, in Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772—1785 by George W. Forrest, Vol. I., P. 31.

To prevent the incursions of hillmen it was necessary to guard and watch the Ghats or mountain passes, through which these hostile descents were made, and the Mahomedan rulers established a tenure called Ghatwally tenure, by which lands were granted to individuals, often of high rank, at a low rent, or without rent, on condition of their performing these duties, and protecting and preserving order in the neighbouring Districts.[8]

The road communication between Bengal and Bihar ran through this district of Jungleterry and perhaps the interruption to this line of communication more than any thing else attracted the early attention of the British rulers about the lawlessness that prevailed in it. As early as 25th January, 1758 A. D. Colonel Clive (afterwards Lord Clive) complained before Rai Durlabh Ram, the then Diwan that the Chowkies of Sakrigali (now a station in E. I. Rly. Loop line) and Teliagarhy had very insolently refused to pass two horses of (Mr. Pearkes) the chief of the English Factory at Patna and had confined two or three pairs of his cossids (messengers).[9] Dak runners used to be killed and the navigation in the Ganges was gravely inconvenienced.

The early British administartors set themselves to the task of protecting "the Districts of Rajmehal and Boglepore from the depredations of the banditti who inhabited the neighbouring mountains". Captain Robert Brooke (1773-1774), after him Captain James Browne (1774-1780), the two military Collectors and Augustus Cleveland (1779-1784), the nephew of Sir John Shore made their mark by their respective successes in making the country peaceful.

In the anarchy that prevailed in the Jungleterry districts Jagannath Deo, the adopted son of one Lachman Deo took a leading part. He was the principal and the most powerful of the Ghatwals of Jungleterry under the Kharakpur Raj. Jagannath succeeded his father in 1755 A. D. at the age of 17 years when the country was in turmoil consequent on the rebellion of Muzaffar Ali, the Raja of Kharakpur. Nawab Mir Kasim after imprisoning Raja Muzaffar Ali (1761-1762), tried to subjugate Jagannath but failed. We, however, learn that later on Nawab Mir Kasim granted a Sanad to Jagannath Deo.

In 1770 Jagannath Deo consented to pay tribute more considerable than that formerly collected by the Rajas of Kharakpur. But the revenues fell every year in arrears and these balances were always carried on in the name of Jagannath Deo[10].

Captain Robert Brooke, the first military Collector of the Jungleterry district of Kharagpur after his arrival in 1773 summoned Jagannath Deo to settle his revenue. But Jagannath was in open rebellion and had the whole of his Bhuiya compatriots in active support. Captain Brooke marched against him in April 1773 and the rest of the year was employed in these military operations. Jagannath and the other Zamindars of the Jungleterry district of Kharakpur were at length expelled, and fled into Kharakdiha. The Jaghirs of all the chiefs and feudal soldiery were seized on and collected Khas[11].

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[8]Raja Lelanund Singh Bahadoor *Vrs.* The Government of Bengal (1855) 6 Moore's Indian Appeals 101 at p. 110.

[9]Bengal and Madras Papers. Vol. II.

[10]Captain James Browne: India Tracts op. cit. p. 51.

[11]Browne op. cit. pp. 55-56.

There is a reference to a Parwanah by Captain Brooke an exhibit in Roop Narain Deo *Vrs.* Rajah Qadir Ali (1809) 1 Sel. Rep. 376 which shows that Brooke placed Fazl Ali, the son of Raja Muzaffar Ali of Kharakpur in charge of the zamindari of Jagannath Deo in 1773. In July 1774, Captain Brooke resigned his command of the light infantry and the collectorship of the Jungleterry of Kharakpur, Bhagalpur and Colgong to Captain James Browne. Soon after, the Jungleterry of Birbhoom and Gidhour were added to Browne's Collectorship.

Captain James Browne (afterwards Colonel) perceived the instability of the khas settlement in the Jungleterry of Kharakpur and in 1774 he proposed that Jagannath Deo and his family should be readmitted, "to the management of their districts". But he received no reply from the Board. By February 1775, broke out the great insurrection in favour of Jagannath Deo and the other expelled zamindars. The whole year passed in uninterrupted hostilities. In this year Mr. Barton, the Collector of Bhagalpur reported that the rebels had been interfering with the farmer of the Kharakpur Estate and preventing him from collecting his rents. By the beginning of the year 1776 the rebels were reduced to great extremities and they offered to submit to any terms except the delivering up of Jagannath Deo. Browne proposed to the Board to publish a general amnesty and to give Jagannath Deo's zamindary to his son Roop Narain Deo upon condition of the father's coming in on a promise of personal safety and residing with Captain Browne. On Captain Browne taking upon himself the responsibility of the measure the Board at length consented to his proposal. Jagannath immediately delivered himself up and his son, Roop Narain Deo was invested with the zamindary. Captain James Browne in his India Tracts has given the life and character of this romantic Jungle Chief, who created so great a noise in the Jungleterry districts for years together, which is as informative as interesting. The added charm of Browne's narration lies in his close personal knowledge of Jagannath and his ways, and it must be said that Captain Browne was a man with a breadth of vision.

Roop Narain Deo was installed in the place of his father by the Sanad of the Supreme Council (otherwise known as Warren Hastings' Sanad), dated the 24th May, 1776 (Record No. I) which was supplemented by the Sanad issued by Captain James Browne, dated the 24th November, 1776 (Record No. II).

Captain Browne says that after the installation of Roop Narain till he (Browne) was in charge of the country (*i.e.* till 1778 A.D.) there never was any disturbance.[12] But we find that in 1777 and 1778 in spite of Captain Browne the raids of hillmen continued under the leadership of Roop Narain Deo, zamindar of Chandwa. In the two months of December 1777 and January 1778 forty-four villages were plundered and burnt and in May 1778 some tents belonging to the Collector of Bhagalpur were carried off from within a few miles of the civil station of Bhagalpur. The zamindars of Pargana Godda who had remained loyal when the rest of the Jungleterry was in rebellion were murdered by the retainers of Roop Narain Deo.[13] The Collector directed the arrest of Roop Narain and he fled to the jungles of Birbhum for refuge. Subsequently it appears that he was pardoned.

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[12] India Tracts, op. cit. Introduction p. v.

[13] Hunters' Statistical Account of Bengal Vol. XIV. Districts of Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas (1877) P. 19. P. W. Murphy's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in Bhagalpur District (1902-1910) Paragraph 35. P. 15.

The Collector of Bhagalpur addressed a Parwanah to Roop Narain Deo, dated the 9th Poos, 1188 Fasli (22nd December 1780 *i.e.*, after Raja Qadir Ali got back his ancestral estate, the Kharakpur Raj, in September 14th 1780) informing him that the settlement made with him by Government was exclusive of the two annas rusoom zamindary (*i.e.* a russoom of two annas per bigha on the area of the cultivated land included in the tenure).

Roop Narain again got into trouble and the Collector asked for military assistance to dispossess him. In February, 1783 he came to Bhagalpur in person, paid up his arrears of russoom and promised to obey the orders of the Government in future. But in July 1783 the Collector of Bhagalpur had again to report against him to the Government. The Governor-General ordered Captain Pringle to arrest him and other ghatwals who were in alliance with him and to destroy the Fort of Teor in Birbhum where he had taken shelter. It was further ordered that the lands held by Roop Narain should be given to Rajah of Kharakpur. (*Vide* Record III.) Still Roop Narain evaded arrest. In 1784, he made several representations suing for pardon to the Collector of Bhagalpur who recommended to the Government that this should be granted and that his estate should be restored to him. " The Ghatwal (Roop Narain) was ordered to proceed to Calcutta, but excused himself on the ground that he was a jungly person, unsued to the ways of the cities, and that moreover his grand-mother had just died, and he was bound to perform the usual funeral ceremonies. He also urged that his zamindari was too small to bear the expenses of such long journey. Finally he was pardoned and restored to his estates. His disputes with Kharakpur Raj continued, however, until his ghatwali was, on the recommendation of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, separated from Mahalat Kharagpur and made into a separate estate ".[14]

Now what were the status and the tenure of Roop Narain Deo under Warren Hastings' Sanad, dated 24th May, 1776 (Record No. I) which is our main consideration. The other records are supplementary in their character throwing light upon the main record. What then is the real character of Warren Hastings' Sanad bearing the seal, dated the 14th year (*i.e.*, 1772 A.D. when the East India Company decided to stand forth as Diwan) ?

I. Is it a pure and simple Zamindary Sanad ?

II. Is it a Ghatwali Sanad ?

III. Or does the Sanad combine both the Ghatwali and Zamindary characters ?

The expression 'Zamindari' has been used in the document and save Record No. III the expression " services as Ghatwal " is nowhere to be found in the three documents. But the expression " Zamindar " and " Zamindari " used in Sanads of this period cannot be held to be conclusive of the matter. Moreover the mere style of document does not make it what it is not in reality. The holder of a service tenure might be a zamindar and there is nothing inconsistent on his holding on terms of both yielding a jama and rendering quasi-military service and the use of the expression like " Zamindari " and " Zamindar ". The test seems to be whether the obligation imposed on the grantee showed the tenure was ghatwali in character.

Records I and II are nearly 164 years old. We have the advantage of Captain Browne's own memorandum, dated 20th March 1779 written while he

[14] P. W. Murphy's Final Report. Op. cit. Paragraph 35. Page 15.

was at Jungleterry in order to comply with an order of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings. Browne in his work has divided Jungleterry districts into provinces like Birbhoom, Curruckpoor (Kharakpur), Colgong etc. He says in Article III (at page 3 of his India Tracts):

"These provinces are again subdivided into Talookas, or *small Zamindaries called Gautwallies* of which there are in each respective province as follows."

"IV

Purgannah Curruckpoor Zilla Jungleterry, under the Jungleterry Collector.

3. Gautawallis *viz.*

Luchmipoor—[15].

Handway—[16].

Chandan and Cuttoreah "—[17].

This is what we have in 1779 from Captain Browne who in 1776 mentions in his Sanad to Roop Narain (Record II) that a "Zamindari Sanad" has been issued to the latter by the Supreme Council (*i.e.* Record No. I). In Mr. Dickinson's (Dixon's) Sanad to Handway in 1794 the Ghatwal has been addressed as "Zamindar". It seems fairly clear that in those days there was hardly any distinction used to be made in the use of the expressions like "Ghatwali" and "Zamindari", "Zamindar" and "Ghatwal" in these districts.

The tenure created by Record I is an instemrari mocurrary settlement. Can it be a zamindari tenure also? It would be rather unusual, though by no means impossible to find such a permanent Zamindari grant before the Decennial Settlement which was made permanent by Regulation I of 1793.[18] The turbulence of Roop Narain and his ancestors and the vicissitudes of the Rajas of Kharakpur combined to make them their own masters and ultimately led to the complete separation of the estate from the parent estate, the Kharakpur Raj on the recommendation of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1809. The Parwana of 1780 about russoom already mentioned, the Sanad of Warren Hastings dated the 21st April 1781 restoring the Kharakpur Raj to Rajah Qadir Ali which expressly includes Roop Narain's estate within the Raj, and also the Kabuliyat executed by Rajah Qadir Ali in favour of Government for Permanent Settlement of 21 mahals dated the 5th January 1796 expressly including the mahals of Roop Narain Deo dissipate all doubt about the real character of Roop Narain Deo's estate although Record I shows that Roop Narain was to pay the revenue direct to the Government and to appear before the ruling power *i.e.* to say to render services to the state (whatever the nature of that service might be).

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[15]The estate in Record I.

[16]Holds Captain Browne's Sanad and already judicially held as Government Ghatwally.

[17]India Tracts. Op. cit. P. 7.

[18]For instances of such Permanent Settlement see District Gazetteer of Patna, Edited by Mr. James P. 136; Hunter's Bengal Mss. Records Introduction P. 20; See also Colebrooke's Supplement to the Digest of the Regulations P. 308; Mocurrary grants to the proprietors of the soil already made or confirmed by the Supreme Government are dealt with in the Regulations for the Decennial Settlement.

There may be objections to the Record No. I being a Ghatwali Sanad. *Ordinarily* in a Ghatwali Sanad it is expected that, first, there should be some reference in it about the grantee as a ghatwal or his services as ghatwali, secondly, there should be specification of number of barkandazes, archers, and sirdars in the Sanad itself which the ghatwal is to maintain. I may mention here that some stress has been laid on the number of Sirdars, and barkandazes etc. to show that the obligation to furnish a pretty large force is more than the police administration of a Bengal Zamindari. If the force is precise and it is large, if it is military rather than civil if it does not vary according to the needs of the moment, but is fixed at a standing number at all times, and attendance on the Hazur with the whole force on demand is clearly beyond the scope of mere constabulary duties, [19], which a person holding an ordinary zamindary was to perform. There is indeed the clause about attendance before Huzoor in Record I, the Sanad under investigation, but there is no specification of number of retainers although they are referred to. As to the first item that is to say the description of the grantee as Ghatwal and his services as Ghatwali, there is of course nothing in Record I. Record No. III throws some light. It shows that Roop Narain Deo was dismissed from his services as ghatwal. I have used above the word 'ordinarily' advisedly while laying down the tests to be applied. It is an admitted fact that the Ghatwal of Luchmipore was the Chief Ghatwal[20]. Are we to suppose that the Ghatwali was at that time gained such notoriety that it would have been thought unnecessary to mention it as such ? Even after the grant in 1776 Captain Browne describes in his official report in 1779 Luchmipore as a Ghatwali under the direct control of the Jungleterry Collector and we may fairly assume that Captain Browne knew what was meant by ghatwali and he could hardly have described it as ghatwali if it was not really so. After Browne comes the dismissal parwana in 1783 Record No. III. Reading the Sanad along with the contemporary literature and documents relating to this vary estate written by persons who intimately knew the country under their administration it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that Roop Narain's tenure was a ghatwali tenure. Is it then possible that the Supreme Council in granting Record No. I after their very trying experiences with the Luchmipore ghatwal wanted to do away with his services which necessitated the maintenance of a quasi-military force constantly at his disposal and hence they have neither expressly mentioned the services he is to perform nor specified the number of the retainers ? Or is it that the status the Ghatwal had already acquired and the esteem with which he was looked upon by his Bhuiya compatriots made such enumeration of numbers of retainers etc. superfluous and thought unnecessary ? At this distance of time it would be bold indeed to definitely say which of the two motives actuated the Supreme Council. But one fact is very suggestive and that is the information given by Captain Browne in the Introduction to his India Tracts Page V. He says about the arrangement evidenced by Record No. I that : " the Board were first averse, but at length consented, on my taking upon myself the responsibility of the measure ". From a careful perusal of the India Tracts it is difficult to believe that Browne meant any change in the

[19] Kumar Satya Narain Singh *Vrs.* Raja Satya Niranjan Chakarvarti I.L.R. 3 Patna 183 P. C.

[20] See Final Report of the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Santal Parganas 1898-1907 by H. Macpherson Paragraph 19, P. 26 ; *Ibid*, of the Bhagalpur District by P. W. Murphy op. cit. Para. 33. P. 14. Sonabati Kumari *Vrs.* Raja Kirtyanand Singh I.L.R. 14 Patna 70 at P. 87 where Dr. Francis Buchanan (the writer of Mss. "Eastern India ") has been referred to.

status of the estate and its holder while restoring it to Roop Narain Deo. Jagannath' Deo's deposition seemed to him sufficient punishment for the purpose.

The peculiar history of the estate and its holders from the days of Luchman Deo, from whom the estate derives its name makes it difficult to apply to its Sanad the tests of Sanads of ordinary and less known ghatwalis. It is also important that in the Sanad for the zamindary of the Hon'ble East India Company's lands at Calcutta in part II, Page 206 of Mr. C. U. Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Vol. II and in the specimen of zamindary Sanad given at pp. 478 and 479 of Mr. Arthur Philip's Tagore Law, Lecture on Land Tenures in Lower Bengal there is no such clause like a zamindar attending the Huzoor with his body of men.

There is another interesting feature with regard to this estate. A guess—and it is simply a guess—can be made as to whether this estate was granted on joint terms of a jama and service by reference to Ain-i-Akbari. It is well known that for purposes of revenue administration the country was divided by the Mughal Government into parganas etc. "This arrangement still forms the basis of revenue system"[21]. Parganas Chandwa, Passai and Satyari out of the properties granted by Record I are to be found definitely mentioned in Akbar's Revenue Roll for the Sarkar Monghyr with revenues, against them as follows :—[22]

Parganas	Dams.
Chandoi	3,60,000
Passai	1,32,000
Satyari	58,730
	5,50,730

But the revenue fixed by the Sanad for the above parganas and other properties as well is Rs. 7,291 only. This is a great diminution in revenue, certainly for nothing.

Taking every thing into consideration it seems probable that Record I did not bring about any change in the status and tenure of Roop Narain Deo from the previous holders of the estate. Even if it be supposed that the grant is very like a zamindary one it is not a pure zamindary grant. The utmost that can be said of the Record I under investigation read with other records and contemporary literature of the period, is that it evidences a ghatwali zamindari tenure if not simply a ghatwali or a zamindary tenure.

[21]Bihar and Orissa. First Decennial Review (1912-1922) of the administration and development of the Province 1923 Ed. p. 75.

[22] Ain-i-Akbari. Translated by Colonel H. S. Jarret Vol. II. Book Third Ain. XV. Calculating a Dam at 1/40 Akbar Shahi Rupee, the revenue would be Rs. 13,768¼ on the assumption that the ratio remains the same. (*See* H. H. Wilsons' Glossary 1940 Edition Dam, Daum.)

"Capture and Surrender of Gheria by the English."

[By Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A. (All.), Ph.D. (London).]

The capture of Gheria has been thus described by Admiral Watson in a letter to the Council of Bombay.

Ghereah Harbour, the 14th February 1756.

"I arrived with the squadron the 11th instant in the evening off Ghereah and came to anchor, when I was informed that Toolajee Angria was actually treating with the Morattas in order to surrender the place to them. I, therefore, thought no time should be lost and accordingly sent a summons to him the next morning to surrender the town and fort to me, but not receiving an answer in the time proposed and finding the Morattas were trifling with us I weighed with the squadron at one O'clock and ran into the harbour, and as they thought proper to fire at the ships as they passed by the batteries, as soon as we were placed, we began such a fire upon them as I believe they never can face and soon silenced their batteries and the fire from their grabs.

"A little after four O'clock a shell fell into the Restoration which set her on fire, and very soon Angria's whole fleet was on fire and they are all destroyed.

"As I suspected they would probably let in the Morattas I landed all the troops that night to get between the town and them, and indeed I found what I suspected to be true, for Toolajee had sent orders to his brother-in-law who commanded in the town upon no account to let the English come in.

"Yesterday morning I sent another message to the commandant that if he did not in an hour's time deliver up the place and let the English march in I would renew my attack and he must expect no quarter. He begged I would wait till next morning, for that it was not in his power to deliver up the place without Toolajee's permission, which he had sent for.

"As I found they were still trifling with me to gain time, that the Morattas get into the town before us, I renewed the attack about four in the afternoon and in about twenty minutes' time they flung out a flag of truce.

"I insisted that our troops should be let in, and their colours hurled down, but as I found they did not comply with this demand I found myself obliged to renew the attack again when they very soon after called out for mercy, being near enough to hear them call, for at low water the Kent was aground: by this you can see we had nothing to spare.

"Capt. Forbes with sixty men marched into the fort last night and took possession of the place and we insisted on an English Jack and this morning the whole body of the English forces marched in.

"I have appointed Ramajee Pant to meet me on board this afternoon, as he is desirous of speaking with me, but I shall tell him I will not let a Moratta come into the town till they have delivered Toolajee into my

hands, being persuaded they will otherwise use the poor man ill, and all his family, I am told, begged not to be prisoners to the Morattas.

"Our loss on the whole has been but very few men and no material accident to the ships but the loss of the Tyger's bow-spirit. I have nothing further to add.

Sd. CHARLES WATSON".

The letter speaks for itself. Admiral Watson was determined not to allow the Marathas to occupy the fort. But he suspected the Marathas were likely to occupy it, because Toolaji who had gone to their camp for negotiating terms of surrender, had been seized "to oblige him to deliver up the fort to them" (15th Feb.—Diary). Peshwa's general Khandoji Mankar was trying to have the fort surrendered to him without fighting and this Ramajee Pant had told Watson when he met him at 4 P.M. of the 11th February a few hours before Watson reached Gheria. Under 11th February, Wednesday the Diary of the Superintendent mentions that "at 4 P.M. Ramajee Pant came on board the Admiral and told him if he would have a little patience, the fort would surrender without our firing a gun for that Toolajee had sent and desired to treat with him which he had refused to do without our permission and said he would bring Toolajee or some other person the next morning by eight O'clock to treat with us in regard to giving up the place....................".

Now the only ground for Admiral's suspicion was, as the diarist writes under 12th February, that "Ramajee Punt instead of coming this morning agreeable to his promise sent the Governor of Chaul on board about ten O'clock with an excuse that he could not possibly come himself till the evening, which in reality was only a pretence to put off our beginning the attack, for he was then treating with Toolajee's officers to deliver up the fort to him on certain conditions". But that was in consonance with the plan of operation decided upon jointly by the Marathas and the English. For on the 15th January 1756 it had been decided that while the Marathas besieged the fort of Gheria on land Admiral Watson was to enter the "Son Water" with His Majesty's capital ships "going sufficiently near the batteries to make a breach". Two months before this agreement, and three months before Watson and Clive were deputed by the Bombay Council to assist the Marathas in the reduction of Gheria, that is "since the month of November a body of the Peshwa's troops, under Khundajee Mankur, had been successfully employed against Toolajee Angria, and had, with the exception of Gheriah, reduced the whole of his forts along the coast, to the northward of that place"—(Grant Duff.—Vol. II, p. 89). And before Watson reached Gheria negotiations had been opened by Toolajee with Khandoji Mankar and Ramajee Pant for surrender of the fort, which Ramajee Pant, had, as noticed before came to intimate Watson at 4 P.M. of the 11th February. Hence really there was no ground for any suspicion or for "a violation of the agreement" which Grant Duff says Watson and Clive might have suspected. For in the letter of instruction issued to them (Hough, Watson and Clive) dated 6th February 1756 they had been told that "as our engagements with the Morattas are that we shall in conjunction with them destroy all Toolajee Angria's fortifications, it is our order that your whole force in conjunction with the Morattas do proceed and attack every

one of his *forts and castles, near the sea, which when taken are by our agreement to be delivered to the Morattas with all their artillery and ammunition*". According to the agreement all the forts and castles near the sea had to be delivered to the Marathas. If the Marathas before February 1756 had "with the exception of Gheriah reduced the whole of his forts along the coast, to the northward of that place" and if Ramajee Punt had assured Watson in regard to Gheria before he approached Gheria harbour that "if he (Watson) would have a little patience the fort (Gheria) would surrender without our firing a gun", where was the need for suspicion entertained by Watson? If the Marathas were to have the fortress ultimately, and if they could secure its surrender without firing a gun, then why should Watson have made the demand that the Commandant must deliver up the fort in an hour's time and let the English march in, failing which the Admiral would attack and the Commandant "must expect no quarter"? And simply because the Commandant was awaiting the orders of Toolaji who had gone to the Maratha Camp, in regard to this demand of Watson, and could not act one way or the other the Admiral felt that he was "trifling with him", and therefore he was "obliged to attack". The Commandant of Gheria fort was so unprepared for eventualities of such a character as this that he did not even fire a gun, and yielding to the pressure of circumstances allowed the English troops occupy the fortress. He could not do otherwise because Toolaji's fleet had been burnt down by a chance shot from the English guns before this, and even then Toolaji had not returned from the Maratha camp. This action of Watson was obviously in breach of the agreement made between the Marathas and the English.

Now the question is why did Watson attack and capture the fort in contravention of the agreement and plan of operation decided upon by both the parties? If he had been assured that Gheria would surrender without their firing a gun why did he waste his ammunition, suffer the *Kent* to run aground and confess in his letter to the Governor of Bombay there was "nothing to spare"? Had he transgressed his authority? The fact was that in this letter of instruction dated the 6th February 1756, the Council had told him that though according to the agreement the forts of Bankot and Himmatgarh had been handed over to the English the Marathas had not settled their limits, which the Council thought they would readily do "in case this fort or castles of Gheriah is not delivered up to them." That was one of the objects why the fort must be occupied by the English, and must not be immediately delivered up to the Marathas, even though that was tantamount to a breach of agreement. The second object as mentioned in the letter of instruction was this. "There is a place called Haraser contiguous to Mandula on the north side of Marcarry river *which it is absolutely necessary we should have though not stipulated in the articles—which you insist shall be within our limits*". These two objects could be served if, Gheria is captured by the English and retained by them. It did not matter if that was in contravention of their agreement with the Marathas. And yet Grant Duff wrote that the Marathas were guilty of "perfidy" and "the Admiral was certainly justified in commencing the attack". (Grant Duff, Vol. II, pp. 89, 90).

Another point to be noted in the letter of Watson written from Gheria harbour dated the 14th February 1756 is this. He says "I arrived with the squadron the 11th inst. in the evening off Ghereah and came to an anchor when I was informed that Toolajee Angria was acutally treating with the Morattas in order to surrender the place to them". This is a lie. He had been informed of this four days before. Under the date 7th February 1756, the diary of the Superintendent mentions: "this afternoon received letters advising that Toolajee was treating with the Morattas and on discoursing with the Admiral found he was determined to proceed against Ghereah, whether the Morattas joined him or not." This was four days before Ramajee Punt told him that Gheria was likely to be surrendered without a gun-fire. And yet he says he was informed that Toolajee was treating with the Marathas when "he came to an anchor" off Gheria.

That was how Gheria was captured by the English. We may next pass on to the facts about its surrender to the Marathas.

After the capture of the fort the English got large sums of money and every day afterwards there was "new discovery of treasure, plate, jewels etc.". (Letter 16th February 1756).

These rich spoils they did not share with the Marathas obviously because they had not assisted in the capture of the fort. Shortly after this Mr. Garde was sent as the Provisional chief of Gheria and on the 5th March 1756 the Governor issued the following instruction to him. "Conformable to our articles with the Morattas before we entered into an alliance with them for destroying of Toolajee Angria the Morattas were to be put in possession of all Angria's forts and ammunition when taken, reserving the fort of Bancote and Hemetgur with their dependencies to the Hon'ble United E. I. Cy our masters and that the Dutch were not only to be put out of the Nannah's dominions but they were never to be permitted to have any of his ports. The Morattas have not only not settled our limits at Bancote (new ft. Victoria) but some of them, have been tempering to introduce the Dutch again to Bassein, and have actually purchased a large quantity of copper of them. We have reason to believe that the President has overset their scheme at present, but we mention this only to shew you the perfidy of these people..............".

Regarding the terms of settlement "as the fort and port of Ghereah are in all respects so much preferable to Victoria even without the river of Rajipur, what you must insist on, is, that the Hon'ble Company are to possess the fort of Ghereah and our limits to the northward of it are to be two corse to the northward of Cariapatam river quite up to Sambajee Rajah's country as the river runs up N. E. and all the country to the south and as far as Toolajee Angria was possessed of to the Malwans country. Our meaning for demanding these limits are first that the whole royalty of the Kariapatam river may be rested in the Hon'ble Company and next that Morattas may not by keeping a slip of territory be enabled to levy any Tuncan or other duty on our trade any where but to the north and which will be their own territories, and you are to insist peremptorily that no other Tun-can or new duty be levied on our trade but the usual sum of pice on every loaded ore or other loaded beast that passes out of our territories. Should Ramajeea grant us the river

of Rojipore you are then to insist on our limits being two corse to the northward of that river quite up to Sambajee Rajah's territories, but on no account you are to allow of the Morattas having any dominion or territory within the Hon'ble Company's territories".

This letter clearly reveals the motives of the Bombay Council for retaining Gheria. Gheria was to be exchange for fort Victoria or Bancote, because it is "so much preferable" to the fort Victoria. To take possession of Gheria in breach of the agreement, and to coerce an ally to exchange it for another fort less preferable—again in breach of agreement, is certainly not an example of sincerity. And yet to charge those who had fulfilled their part of the agreement with "perfidy" betrays a disposition that hardly knows any scruples. The facts which according to the Bombay Council proved the perfidy of the Marathas were that they had not fixed the limits of fort Victoria, that Toolaji had not been delivered up to them and that the Peshwas had purchased a large quantity of copper from the Dutch. Without wasting time to examine these charges we could quote the words of Grant Duff, who is not too partial towards the Marathas nor too critical of the English. He says that "the first two were evasive, the last did not relate to the point in question". In spite of that the Bombay Council thought they were unimpeachable in their preference for Gheria in exchange of Bankot.

On 12th March at a conference held for the settlement of terms Mr. De la Garde met at Gheria Ramaji Pant, Gangadhar Pant and Govind Pant, and he was told by Ramajee Pant that the terms of the English would not be acceptable and Gheria could not be left with the English. The conference broke off without any result. At this time the Peshwa was busy elsewhere. On the 14th April a letter from Madras stated that the Peshwa with an army of fifty thousand Marathas was advancing against Morari Rao Ghorpade. After that he induced Salabut Jang to dismiss Bussy and his French troops. These affairs kept him away from Poona, where he returned on the 20th July 1756. On the 21st July he replied to a letter of the Governor of Bombay in which he said:—

"I have received your friendly letter, the report of which is, that the fort Ghereah shall be delivered as soon as our agreement is comply'd with, and that at present you cannot bring your people on account of the season; that after the coconuts are hove in the sea you shall send your ships for them. That on my arrival at Poonah you would send your gentlemen to me to settle everything. That as Ghereah has a good harbour for large ships (which Bancote has not) you propose to change Bancote for Ghereah and be barrier between us and the Portuguese; but if this was not liked, you are ready to deliver up Ghereah as soon as our agreement is comply'd with. Bajee Punt and Jeevajee Nanajee have likewise fully wrote to me. But the war which I made with Angria was to get Ghereah, so consider how it would look if I was to deliver that place to you and which is far from our agreement. As for the Portuguese. I am sure, if we both join together we can demolish any power of theirs for which reason there was no need to have so many embarrassments about them. Now you say it is improper time. Your honour and I are hearty friends so what disadvantage would there be to you, should you deliver the fort and order the people to live in the town? I could send the people by land giving them what is necessary..................".

To this the Governor's reply was as follows:—"I never had any intention of keeping Ghereah any longer than till our articles were comply'd with, which though they may seem trifles to you are not so to us, and in particular the Dutch trade being stopped, which you assured me should not only be abolished, but that they should not have any intercourse with your country, and though your people may have told you that they have put an entire stop to it I say they have not, and to this, hour large quantities of Dutch goods are daily carry'd into your country. Your people have informed you that they have delivered us the Bancote and the villages, but to convince you that they have only delivered the fort a little time ago, Badjee Punt shewed me the Sunnuds for the villages but told me that he had orders not to deliver that unless I would previously give him an order for the delivery of Ghereah...........

"That I made a proposal of exchanging Bancote for Ghereah is true, but I never insisted on it, unless it had been agreeable to you, and I do assure you, as soon as the weather will permit, of my people returning here by sea, but I hope you will excuse my being at the expense of their marching overland which would not only be vastly inconvenient but very troublesome".

This correspondence clearly indicated that the Peshwa was bent on occupying Gheria and that the Governor of Bombay would not insist on the exchange of Bancote for Gheria, though he had instructed Mr. Garde in his letter of instruction dated the 5th March 1756 to do so. Shortly after this exchange of letters the Bombay Council in their consultations dated the 30th August noted as follows:—

"Judging it necessary that Messrs. Byfeld and Spencer should have an order from us to Mr. William De la Garde, Provisional Chief of Ghereah to admit some of the Nannah's people into the castle of that place for hoisting his colours, should these gentlemen find the delivery of it to Nannah unavoidable, the same is now drawn out and signed, but he is particularly directed not to deliver up the castle till vessels arrive there from hence to bring away our people and effects and obey any orders he may receive from the abovementioned gentlemen at Poonah".

This attitude of the Bombay Council was changed as soon as they came to know that a war had been declared between England and France on 17th May. This news reached them early in September and on 12th September they ordered De la Garde to admit 20 of Peshwa men into Gheria. In the mean while Messrs. Byfeld and Spencer had been negotiating for an agreement with the Peshwa at Poona. In the negotiations Mr. Spencer played a prominent part and had the agreement concluded on 12th October 1756. According to the terms Gheria was to be surrendered within twenty-four days of Mr. Spencer's departure from Poona, the Dutch were to be excluded from the trade in the Maratha dominions, ten villages in the neighbourhood of Bancote are to be ceded to the English, Toolajee Angria was not to receive any territory below the Ghats on the sea coast and there should be no additional inland duty imposed on English merchandize.

The English had gained certain substantial advantages by this treaty. And their net gains in this Toolaji Affairs were very great indeed. Their enemy Toolaji had been crushed and kept a prisoner for life; their rival

in trade, the Dutch had been excluded from Peshwa's dominions; they had acquired Himmatgarh and Bancote with some villages; they had received certain concessions in matters of inland trade; and lastly they had carried away a vast treasure hoarded by generations of Angrias in the fort of Gheria. What was the gain of the Peshwa? He had had the bare satisfaction of acquiring Gheria and some other forts, of keeping Toolaji a prisoner and of seeing the destruction of his entire fleet.

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Fresh light on the history of the family of Shivaji's mother.

[By Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A , LL.B.]

In my paper "Two historical families of Berar", read before the session of the Records Commission held at Lahore in 1937, an account was given about Lukhji Jadhao, grand-father of Shivaji the great. While searching for the records of the family in the branches residing near about Sindkhed, the principal head quarter of the family, I came across a document called "Surata Majlis" through the exertions of Mr. D. B. Mahajan, a co-worker of mine in the field of research in history and literature. That document is an award given by the panchas on the 30th of Rabilawal 1119 Fasli settling about a dispute of the watan of the family among its branches. The disputing parties had placed before the panchas several documents detailing the acquisition of the watan during various periods and have thus disclosed certain events connected with the history of the family. The Surata Majlis has been written in Marathi. Instead of giving its translation I shall state in brief the history which it brings to light for the first time. In order to identify the members of the family mentioned therein, the unpublished manuscript No. G. 24 in the India Office library was of great use. In my tour of Europe, undertaken to attend the International History Congress held at Zurich in Belgium, I had an occasion to read in the India Office library at London for nearly a month in 1938. I had then made notes of the said manuscript which contained the statement and the geneology of the Jadhao family of Sindkhed. This statement and the family tree were prepared by Raja Jagdeorao Jadhao, the then representative of the family in 1820 A D. He was brother-in-law of Chhatrapati Pratapsinha Bhosala of Satara and was also then residing at Satara (Shahunagar).

The dispute, for which the Surat Majlis was given, was between Raghoirao Jadhao, great grandson of Bahadurji, the 3rd son of Lukhji Jadhao on one side and Bahadurji grandson of Bhootji, who was the younger brother of Lukhji and Ranoji, the great grandson of Achalkarna who was the 2nd son of Lukhji.

The history, as mentioned in the Surata Majlis, is as follows:—

Lukhji Jadhao was invited for an interview by the emperor of Ahmadnagar in the fort of Daulatabad and was treacherously killed there along with his three sons and one grandson. Bhootji, his brother wanted to take revenge. He volunteered his services to help in seizing the fort; as a reward for which the emperor issued a farman on the 28th Shahriar of 3rd Ilahi by which he gave an assurance to Bhootji to grant him the Deshmukhi watan if he succeeded in his attempt. Bhootji, however, succeeded and the emperor ultimately granted the watan by a farman in the Ilahi year 8. Bhootji got watan recorded in the name of Bahadurji, son of his elder brother Lukhji as he had then no issue. By this farman the family got Deshmukhi watan of 25 perganahs. Bhootji, thereafter went to Delhi along with Bahadurji for service with the emperor. A

son was born to him at Delhi, he was named Rustumrao. Ultimately Bhootji died at Delhi.

After the death of Bhootji, Bahadurji returned to the Deccan along with Rusturnrao who was then minor. In consultation with Bimbai widow of Bhootji, Bahadurji divided the Deshmukhi watan in four parts in 1633 A.D. It was shared by (1) Vithoji, son of Anchalji or Achalkarna, 2nd son of Lukhji, (2) Thakurji, son of Dattaji, the eldest son of Lukhji, (3) Bahadurji, the 3rd son of Lukhji himself and (4) Rustumrao, minor son of Bhootji. The four sharers were exclusively enjoying their respective shares. Rustumrao, after attaining majority, thought that he was defrauded of his legitimate half share so he lodged a complaint before Khan Dauran the then subahdar of the Deccan. As a result the whole watan was temporarily resumed by the government. Thereafter in the reign of Aurangzeb, Raghoji and Rao Jagdeo sons of Dattaji, grandsons of Bahadurji and great grand sons of Lukhji made an attempt and as a result got the whole Deshmukhi watan exclusively in their own names by a farman of Aurangzeb on the 5th of Rabilakhar of the 30th Julus, and thus excluded all the sharers from the watan. Being aggrieved by the high-handedness of Rao Jagdeo and after him his son Raghoji, Bahadurji son of Rustumrao and Ranoji son of Girjoji filed a complaint before Raja Shankaraji Malharrao Yakshtikar the then Nazam Subah of the Deccan. With the consent of the disputing parties the dispute was referred to the arbitration of the following panchas, *viz.*, (1) Trimbak Mahadeo Deshmukh of Perganah Ambad, (2) Antaji Bapuji Deshpande of perganah Bid, (3) Mahomad Aurang Birad Mahomad of Warkhed in perganah Newasa and others. The panchas inspected several documents produced and recorded evidence of the witnesses given by the parties and gave an award confirming the partition made by Bahadurji son of Lukhji in 1633 A.D. Raja Shankaraji Malhar, the Nazam Subah of the Deccan confirmed the award and passed the order accordingly on the 30th of Rabilawal 1119 Fasli in 1719 A.D., and restored the shares of the watan to their respective possession. Since then the family has been subdivided into several branches many of which are still enjoying the watan.

It would be interesting to find that the Sindkhed family of Raja Siwaji's mother Jijabai had several matrimonial connections with the family of Shiwaji. From the statement in the India Office manuscript I note down the following connections :—

(1) Jijabai daughter of Lukhji Jadhao was given in marriage to Shahaji Bhosala and was the mother of the great Shiwaji.

(2) Emperor Aurangzeb got Shahu, grandson of Shiwaji married with Ambikabai, probably daughter of Bahadurji, grandson of Bhootji at Delhi while Shahu was the emperor's ward in captivity.

(3) Tarabai wife of Rajaram and daughter-in-law of Shiwaji gave her daughter Ambikabai in marriage to Raghojirao Jadhao of Sindkhed, whose son Babaji Jadhao resided at Satara and took part in politics there in the reign of Shahu.

(4) Trimbakji Raje Wawikar, whose son was given in adoption to Chhatrapati Ramraja and had succeeded him as Shahu Maharaj, had his

daughter married with Kamaloji Jadhao, descendant of Achalkarna the 2nd son of Lukhji Jadhao. Kamaloji's son Jagdeorao was residing at Shahunagar in 1820 A.D., the year of the statement, under the patronage of his brother-in-law. Chhatrapati Pratapsinha of Satara.

Thus it will be seen that the private records of old families throw, sometime, much light on history and it is therefore useful to search for and preserve the records in possession of private families.

Mughal Farmāns in Peshāwar—I.

[By Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.)]

In the course of my search for historical material in Peshāwar I was lucky enough to light upon some interesting official documents relating to the Mughal Period. Some of them are *Farmāns* of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. For the present I have taken only two of them [1]: one of Shāh Jahān issued under the *Nishān* of his son, Murād Bakhsh, and the other of Aurangzeb, issued under the *Nishān* of his son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh, and made them the subject of this paper. A *Nishān* means " a letter written by a member of royal family to anyone except the Emperor."[2] When issued by a Prince entrusted with a responsible post to a subordinate officer or any other person, it can take the form of a *Farmān*. The presence of the Imperial *Tughra* on the two documents in question, the trend of the text and the nature of contents give them the stamp of *Farmān* or mandate and hence, to avoid confusion, I have preferred to call them Royal *Farmāns* to distinguish them from the Imperial *Farmāns*, issued directly by the Emperor. Before dealing with these documents in detail and describing them at length, I deem it proper to delineate the principal features of Mughal *Farmāns* in general. They are as follows :—

1. *DEDICATORY RELIGIOUS FORMULA*, such as *Bismillah ar Rahmān ar Rahīm*, *Allaho Akbar*, *Howal Ghanī*, *etc.* with which the Mughal *Farmāns* begin. The *Farmāns* of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, who were orthodox Muslim Kings, begin with *Bismillah ar Rahmān ar Rahīm*, written on the top in Arabic script or *Tughra* style of hand-writing.

2. *IMPERIAL TUGHRA*, embodying the name and titles of the Emperor. It appears just below the dedicatory formula. When a *Farmān* was issued by a Prince it bore another *Tughra*, that of the Prince, containing his name and title, just below the Imperial *Tughra*. *Tughras* found on the Mughal *Farmāns*, as far as I have seen, are square in shape and written in Arabic script with vermillion or besmeared with gold dust when the writing was still wet.

3. *SEALS*. The Imperial *Farmān* was sealed with two circular seals, one of the Emperor and the other of the *Wazīr*, the former finding place on the top and the latter at the bottom of the *Farmān*. The Royal *Farmān*, *i.e.*, that issued by a Prince, was stamped with his own seal, containing his name and title. In some special cases the Imperial *Farmān* also bore the *Panjah*,[3] or palm impression of the Emperor, dipped in vermillion, or a sentence or two in his own hand-writing in order to emphasise the importance of the *Farmān*, or to remove all doubts about its authenticity and genuineness, or to do special

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[1] I shall continue the series till I have finished with all of them. I may, however add here that the owner of these and other documents would not part with them even for a day or two so that I had to read and copy them for myself at his place within a ridiculously short time.

[2] *Muqaddama Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, S. Najīb Ashraf Nadvī, p. 24; and *Mughal Administration*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 229—35.

[3] The *Panjah* was a rubber representation of the Emperor's palm. It was carried about in a bag. See *Mughal Administration*, p. 231; and *Muqaddama Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, p. 20.

honour to the addressee.[4] Some of the *Farmāns* issued by the Mughal Emperors under their own seals were also stamped with a small circular or oval seal called *Auzak*.[5]

4. *SUBJECT-MATTER*, opening with the name and title of the addressee and ending with an emphasis on the importance of the matter and the urgency of the *Farmān*.

5. *DATE*, which is invariably given at the end of the text in the regnal year of the ruling Emperor.

6. *ENDORSEMENT AT THE BACK*, consisting of the entries made by the office[6] and the seal of the *Wazīr* or *Dīwān* through whom the *Farmān* was transmitted to the addressee.

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[4] *Mughal Administration*, pp. 231-32; and *Muqaddama-Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, p. 20.

[5] *Mughal Administration*, p. 235; *Muqaddama Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, p. 24; and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin's trans.), p. 45.

[6] The Mughal Emperors had a highly elaborate and efficient system of writing, despatching and receiving *Farmāns* and other communications. They had a separate department (*Dār-ul-Inshā*) to deal with the work of correspondence. For details see *Mughal Administration*, pp. 225 ff.; and *Muqaddama Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, pp. 17 ff.

3

FARMĀN OF SHĀH JAHĀN

ISSUED BY MURĀD BAKHSH

Transcript.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

ابوالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی

نشان عالیشان سلطان مراد بخش

مراد بخش بن شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی سنه ۱۰۴۵ع[7]

شجاعت شعار لایق المرحمة والاحسان الله وردی بیگ بعنایت سلطانی شرف افتخار یافته بداند که شجاعت شعار شیخ فتح الله و چتر بهوج بندهای بادشاهی را امر فرمودیم که مبلغ پنج لک روپیه خزانه سرکار خالصه شریفه از اتک بنارس بدهانه دهکه آورده بگماشته شهامت پناه شاد خان بسپارند که او نیز از حدود متعلقه خود بسلامت بگذراند باید که بمعرفت مشار الیهما خزانه مذکوره را بقصبهٔ پشاور بسپارند آن شجاعت شعار بجماعت خود و مردم زمیندار آنجائی بامومی الیهما موافقت نموده بمحافظت تمام خزانه مذکوره زبده که رسانیده حواله گماشته خان مشا (ر الیه بکند)[8] درین باب تاکید تمام دانسته عنایت سلطانی راشامل حال خود شناسد

تحریراً فی دویم شهر شعبان سنه ۲۴ جلوس همایونی –

(برساله)[9] کمترین بندهای فدوی .... عبداللطیف –

عبداللطیف......[10] .... شاه جهان نقل گرفته شد –

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[7] In the original *Farmān* the figure underlined (۴) is not clear. It looks more like ۲ than ۴. The correct figures seem to be ۱۰۳۹, because in ۱۰۲۹ (1029 A. H.) Jahāngīr and not Shāh Jahān was the ruling Emperor.

[8] This portion of the *Farmān* is torn and the words within brackets are supplied by me; they fit in well with the text.

[9] *Ibid.* Also see *Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, S. Najīb Ashraf Nadvī, pp. 394—97.

[10] In the original there is a word here, but it is too dim to be deciphered; at least I was not able to decipher it correctly within the short time at my disposal.

TRANSLATION.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL.[11]
ABUL MUZAFFAR SHAHĀB-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SHĀH JAHĀN BĀDSHĀH GHĀZĪ, THE SECOND LORD OF THE PLANETARY CONJUCTION.[12]

GLORIOUS *NISHĀN* OF SULTĀN MURĀD BAKHSH.[13]

MURĀD BAKHSH SON OF SHAHĀB-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SHĀH JAHĀN BĀDSHĀH GHĀZĪ, THE SECOND LORD OF THE PLANETARY CONJUCTION.[14]

Shujā'at-Sha'ār[15] Allahwardī Beg, who deserves kindness and favours, having been honoured with the distinction of receiving the Sultān's beneficence, should know that we have ordered *Shujā'at-Sha'ār* Shaikh Fatehullah and Chatar Bhoj, servants of the State, to bring a treasure of five *lacs* of rupees of this noble and exalted Government from Attock-Benāras to *Thāna* Dhakka and deliver it to the *Gumāshta* (agent) of *Shahāmat-Panāh*[16] Shāz Khān : that he (Allahwardī Beg) too should pass it on safely through the limits (of the territory) under him : and that when the said treasure is commended to his care in the town of Peshāwar by the persons referred to above, that *Shujā'-at-Sha'ār* (brave man) should accompany them with all his men and the *zamīndārs* of that place to Dhakka and, taking the said treasure to that place with the requisite care, deliver it to the *Gumāshta* of the aforesaid *Khān*. He should treat this as most important and rest assured of the Sultān's favours.[17]

It is written on the 2nd day of the month of *Sha'bān*, the 24th year of the auspicious accession.[18]

(Reverse)

Transmitted through the humblest servants of the devoted servant..........
.......................'Abdul Latīf.[19]

'Abdul Latīf......[20]....Shāh Jahān.[21]

A copy has been taken.[22]

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[11] This is the usual dedicatory religious formula with which the Mughal *Farmāns* mostly begin.

[12] These are the contents of the Imperial *Tughra*, giving the name and titles of Emperor Shāh Jahān.

[13] This is the Royal *Tughra*, containing the name and title of Prince Murād Bakhsh.

[14] These are the contents of the circular seal of Prince Murād Bakhsh.

[15] This is an honorific appellation and means 'the brave'.

[16] This too is a courtesy title and means 'refuge of prowess'.

[17] This paragraph contains the subject-matter of the *Farmān*.

[18] This is the date of the document given in the Muslim luner month and the regnal year of Emperor Shāh Jahān.

[19] This and the rest are entries on the reverse of the *Farmān*, as indicated above. It may be pointed out here that the original *Farmān* is pasted on a piece of thick paper and only the entries just mentioned are left out. The present owner of it was also unable to tell me anything about other entries at the back.

[20] Some word is missing in the original at this place.

[21] These are the contents of a small circular seal.

[22] Whenever a *Farmān* or any other communication was issued a copy of it was retained in the office for future reference.

COMMENTS.

Sultān Murād Bakhsh was the youngest son of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Like other Princes royal, he was appointed governor of various provinces from time to time. In 1059 A.H. (=1649 A. C.) he was entrusted with the government of Kābul, where he remained for about two years. Some of the *Farmāns* issued by him during that period have come to light. Three of them have been published by Sayyad Najib Ashraf Nadvī in his *Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr.*[23] The *Farmān* in hand is the fourth of the series and has not yet been published elsewhere. It measures 2′ 9″ × 1′ 4½″. It is in Persian language and is written in a bold and beautiful *Nasta'līq* hand-writing on a sheet of fine thick paper which has gone pale on account of old age and is now mounted on a piece of thick paper of equal size. It is at present in the custody of Mr. Pīr Bakhsh Khān, M.L.A. (N.-W. F. P.), Peshāwar. It makes a mention of some important historical persons and geographical places. These may briefly be referred to here.

Historical Persons.

The most important official of the Mughal Government whose name and seal, in addition to those of the Prince, find place in the *Farmān* is 'Abdul Latīf. He was the *Dīwān* of the province of Kābul. He is also referred to as the *Dīwān* and *Hājib* of Qandhār and Golconda respectively.[24] His name and seal also appear in the three *Farmāns* reproduced by S. Najīb Ashraf Nadvī in his *Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr.*[25] Next important officer mentioned in the *Farmān* is Allahwardī Beg, the *Faujdār* of Peshāwar. The *Farmān* was issued to him and he is addressed as *Shujā'at-Sha'ār* or ' the brave '. The opening line of the *Farmān* shows that he had the honour of being the recipient of royal favours and in the closing line he is assured of the same. Another officer who figures in the *Farmān* in order of importance is Shāz Khān, the *Thānadār* of Dhakka, to whom the treasure of five *lacs* of rupees was sent. His importance is evident from the despatch of such a huge sum to him and the title " *Shahāmat-Panāh* " with which he is addressed. I have not come across any reference regarding Shaikh Fatehullah in the historical literature except at one place, where too a name like his appears with a slight change [26] It appears that he

[23] *Ruq'āt-i-'Alamgīr*, pp. 394– 97.

[24] *Ibid*, pp. 89, 120, 156 and 169.

[25] *Ibid*, pp. 394—397.

[26] Towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb sent a series of admonitory letters to his son, Muhammad Mu'azzam, who was at that time Governor of Kābul. In one of those letters he takes Mu'azzam to task for having displeased such a valiant soldier as Fatehullah Khān and advises him to treat his subordinates so well as to elicit their spontaneous loyalty and devotion. Whether this ' Fatehullah Khan ' is the same man who figures as " Shaikh Fatehullah " in the above Farmān is a matter of moot. The fact that Fatehullah—leaving out its suffix in one case and prefix in the other—is praised for his bravery in both the documents referred to above, that he was an important officer of the Kābul Government during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and that the same name appears with a slight change in a letter of Aurangzeb written towards the close of his reign leads one to the conclusion that one and the same person is referred to in both the documents. But if ' Shaikh Fatehullah ' of the said *Farmān* dated the 24th year of Shāh Jahān's 32 years' reign, written (32—24=) 8 years before his deposition and ' Fatehullah Khān' of Aurangzeb's letter, written towards the close of his 50 years' reign, i.e., in or about the 45th year, after an interval of about (45 years of Aurangzeb's reign + the remaining 8 years of Shāh Jahān's reign=) 53 years, are taken to be one and the same man, then he must have been, roughly calculated, over (53+22=) 75 years old at the time when he was annoyed by Prince Mu'azzam, assuming that he was over 22 years of age when he was sent to *Thāna* Dhakka in charge of the treasure of 5 *lacs*. This is an unusually long age for active service. It may be pointed out here that 'Fatehullah Khān' in Aurangzeb's letter addressed to Muhammad Mu'azzam was the title of a *Mansabdār* of 4,000, whose real name was Muhammad Sādiq. After he had distinguished himself on the battle-fields in the Deccan, Muhammad Sādiq was transferred to Kābul on promotion in 1117 A. H. His father's name was Rahmat Khān and his grand father, Hakīm Ziā-ud-Dīn, was an influential *Amīr* at the Court of Shāh Abbās, the Safavīd King of Persia. (*Vide Waqāi-'Alamgir*, 13).

was an important officer, enjoying royal confidence, because he was entrusted with a treasure of five *lacs* and in the *Farmān* he is addressed as *Shujā'at-Sha'ār*, 'the brave'. Chatar Bhoj, who accompanied him, was also a military officer of some rank. In a letter of Aurangzeb he is mentioned among important military commanders, *viz.*, Rāja Rājrūp, *etc.*, who took a leading part in an expedition against Qandhār.[27]

Historical Places.

The first historical place that figures in the *Farmān* is Peshāwar. It has successively been the scene of the activities of Buddhist monarchs, Hindū Shāhiya Kings, Muslim Rulers, Sikh Sirdārs, Afghān Chiefs and British Governors. It is in fact too famous a historical place to beggar description. Suffice it to say that when the *Farmān*, with which we are concerned here, was issued, it was an important *Tūmān* (district) of the province of Kābul. Next place mentioned in the *Farmān* is Attock-Banāras. It was called Attock-Banāras to rhyme with Cuttack Banāras, situated at the other extremity of the Mughal Empire under Akbar the Great.[28] The famous fort of Attock was founded by Akbar the Great about the end of May, 1588 A. C. for holding the turbulent tribes of the neighbourhood in check and for establishing law and order.[29] Banāras is a small ruinous town about a mile to the east of the fort, where some tombs and the garden of Akbar's *Atālīq*, Bairam Khān, still mark the site and render it historically important.[30] The last historical place mentioned in the *Farmān* is Dhakka. Situated at the other end of the Khyber Pass, it was and has continued to be an important strategical military outpost up to our own times.

Treasure of Five Lacs.

As regards the treasure of five *lacs* of rupees, I am afraid I shall have to hazard a guess in the absence of any definite remark about it in the contemporary historical literature. On the 30th of December, 1648 (=24th Ramazān, 1058 A. H.) Khawās Khān, the *Qila'dār* of Qandhār, and Pordil Khān, the *Qila'dār* of Bust, applied for aid against the Shāh of Persia who had planned an attack on them, and some time in November next (1649 A. C.) the Governor of Kābul sent 2,000[31] strong and five *lacs* of rupees cash to them to strengthen the defences.[32] As the *Farmān* was issued on the 2nd of *Sha'-bān* and the treasure reached its destination the following month (*Zi'qad*, 1059 A. H.),[33] I am inclined to believe that the amount referred to in the *Farmān* was the same as sent to the *Qila'dārs* of Qandhār and Bust, otherwise there is nothing to account for the despatch of such a huge sum of money to *Thāna* Dhakka.

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[27] *Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgīr*, S. Najīb Ashraf Nadvī, pp. 54-56.

[28] Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. v, p. 443. According to Badāoni, Akbar selected the name Attock-Banāras to rhyme with Katak (Cuttack) Banāras. See *Akbar-Nāmah*, (Blochmann), Vol. iii, p. 520.

[29] *Tabqāt-i-Akbārī* in E. & D. Vol. v, p. 433; and *Akbar-Namāh*, (Blochmann), Vol. iii, p. 524.

[30] Elliot & Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. v, p. 312.

[31] Sir J. N. Sarkar says 5,000 (See *History of Aurangzeb*, i & ii, 117.)

[32] *Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgīr*, pp. 176-77.

[33] *Ibid.*

Meaning of ' Barisālati ' and ' Ma'rifat '.

This *Farmān* helps us to clear a doubtful point. Some writers have taken the word ' *Risālatun* ' or ' *Barisālati* ' to mean ' mediatorship ' and the word ' *Ma'rifat* ' to mean ' transmission '. I differ from them and assert that the former words mean ' transmission ' and the latter word means ' mediatorship '. These are the dictionary meanings of the words. Moreover, in the present *Farmān* there is no request for a grant of land, *etc.*, and hence the question of mediatorship does not arise ; and in the absence of the word ' *Ma'rifat* ' the word ' *Barisālati* ' can mean nothing but ' transmitted or despatched through.'

FARMĀN OF AURANGZEB

ISSUED BY MUHAMMAD MU'AZZAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Transcript.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ابوالمظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی

نشان عالیشان محمد معظم بهادر شاه

محمد معظم بهادر شاه بن عالمگیر بادشاه غازی...[34]

درین ایام میمنت انجام بذریعه مستفیضان انجمن فیض (مسکن)[35] معروض
جناب عالی متعالی شاهی گردید که مشیخت مآب شیخ محمد تقی بن حقایق و
معارف آگاه شیخ عبداللطیف قادری مستحق است و جمع کثیره وابسته دارد امیدوار
فضل است لهذا امر جلیل صادر شد که موازی یک و نیم قلبه زمین بیخلد[36] بآب
از قصبه بکرام مضاف بتومان پشاور بمشارالیه و فرزندانش بطریق مدد معاش مرحمت
فرمودیم باید که متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال (اموال)[37] اراضی مذکوره بآب
قصبه مذبوره حسب الضمن موافق ضابطه پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف مومی الیه و
فرزندانش واگذارند و تغیر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعلت مالوجهات[38] وسایر اخراجات
مثل قلنغه[39] و پیشکش و جریبانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروغگانه و بیگار و شکار

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[34] Here we find the figures of a date, too dim to be deciphered.

[35] This part of the *Farmān* is torn. The word within brackets is mine.

[36] I am not sure about this word. I have taken it to mean ' irrigated '.

[37] The *Farmān* being torn at this place, the bracketed word is mine.

[38] Elsewhere this word is written as مالو جہات. See f. n. *infra*.

[39] This word is so written in the original. I have not been able to make it out. It occurs in another *Farmān*, which has been reproduced by Chaudharī Nabī Ahmad Sandelvī in his *Waqā'-'Alamgīr*, pp. 128-29, but there too it is equally unintelligible. The relevant portion reads :

" و بعلت مالو جہات و سائر جہات و اخراجات مثل قلغہ و جریبانہ .... مزاحم نشوند "

I have read it as قلنغہ which means process fee. (*Ghiās-ul-Lughāt*).

و مقدمی و قانونگوئی و ضبط هرساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کل تکالیف
دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحم و متعرض نگردند و ابواب ممنوعه بارگاه خلافت و
جهانداری را معاف شناسند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزے داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار ندانند و
هرسال (سند)[40] مجدد نطلبند درین باب تاکید دانند — هفتم محرم الحرام سنه چهل
و سه جلوس والا قلمی شد —

TRANSLATION.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE COMPASSIONATE.[41]

ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHĪ-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB BĀDSHĀH GHĀZI.[42]

GLORIOUS NISHĀN OF MUHAMMAD MU'AZZAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH.[43]

MUHAMMAD MU'AZZAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH SON OF 'ALAMGĪR BĀDSHĀH GHĀZI.[44]

In these days of prosperity it has been brought to the notice of the high and exalted Government by the beneficiaries of the institution, which resides in bounty,[45] that *Mashīkhat-Ma'āb*[46] Shaikh Muhammad Taqī son of *Haqāiq-o-Ma'ārif Āgāh*[47] Shaikh 'Abdul Latīf *Qādirī*[48] is a deserving man ; that he has a large number of dependants attached to himself ; and that he is a candidate for a favour (grant). Hence this august order is issued to the effect that we have conferred upon the man, referred to above, and his sons one and a half *Qulbas*[49] of land, irrigated with water from the town of Bikrām, situated in the district of Peshāwar, by way of maintenance. The present and future administrators of important affairs should, after assessing the revenue of the said

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[40] The word in the original is badly damaged. I have read it as سند.

[41] This is the usual dedicatory religious formula.

[42] These are the contents of the Imperial *Tughra*, bearing the name and titles of Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr.

[43] These are the name and title of Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh contained in a *Tughrā*.

[44] These are the contents of the circular seal of Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh.

[45] The reference is obviously to the Imperial Court.

[46] This is a courtesy title and means 'main-stay of greatness'.

[47] This too is a title and means 'aware of truths and possessor of divine knowledge'.

[48] A follower of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī, the founder of a *Tarīqa* or system in Islām.

[49] *Qulba* literally means a plough or a team of oxen. Here it is used as a measurement of land and means an area of land which can be kept under cultivation with it.

land and marking it (land) into a holding on the basis of water from the town mentioned above, as given in the *Zimn*[50], *i.e.*, endorsement at the back, and according to regulations, leave it in possession of the above-named man and his sons. They should not let any addition or alteration creep therein. They should not cause interference or obstruction on account of *Māl-Wujūhāt* (revenue charges) and all such exactions as *Qalangha*, *Peshkash*, *Jarībāna*, *Mahsilāna*, *Mohrāna*, *Dāroghgāna*, *Begār*, *Shikār*, *Muqaddamī*, *Qānūngoī* and *Zabt-i-harsāla*[51] after the specification of the holding, the question of cultivation, all civil obligations and royal dues. They should recognise (the grant) as free from taxes prohibited by the Government of the Emperor. Should there be anything (to the contrary) at any other place, they should not place reliance upon it. They should not demand a new *Sanad* (authority) every year. They should treat this as urgent.[52]

It is written on the 7th of the month of *Muharram-ul-Harām*, the 43rd year of the august accession.[53]

COMMENTS.

This *Farmān* is in the custody of Mr. Pīr Bakhsh Khān of Peshāwar. It measures 2′ 9″ × 1′ 5½″. It is written in a fine *Nastalīq* hand on a piece of superior paper which has gone pale on account of age and betrays signs of being badly damaged. It is mounted on a piece of coarse cloth, apparently to prevent further decay and decomposition. Hence nothing can be said about the *Zimn* or endorsement on the reverse. Its present owner was also unable to tell me anything about it. It may, however, be pointed out that the word "*Zimn* means the endorsement of a grant, giving an abstract of its contents" and that "formerly the words '*Zimn navīsand*', let them write an abstract, were inscribed on a *Sanad*, granting an assignment of revenue which served as authority for the subordinate officers to make out the particulars of the grant".[54] In the *Farmān*, with which we are dealing, it is clearly stated that the land be measured and marked into a holding according to *Zimn* or endorsement at the back.[55] This shows that there must be some entries at the back of this *Farmān*, unless we presume that it was left incomplete and hence inoperative.

Muhammad Mu'azzam and Muhammad Taqī.

A few words may be said about the royal grantor and the revered grantee. Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh, also called Shāh 'Alam I, was the eldest son of Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr. Educated by the Emperor according to his own theory of education, the Prince possessed many good qualities of head

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[50] For comments on this word, see *COMMENTS* on this *Farmān*, first para.

[51] All these are cesses, *viz*., process fee, presents, fee for measuring land with *Jarib*, collector's commission, sealing fee, superintendence charges, forced labour, hunting fee, headman's fee, Qānūngo's fee, and the cost of annual settlement respectively.

[52] This paragraph contains the subject-matter of the *Farmān*.

[53] This is the date of the document given in the Muslim luner month and the regnal year of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir.

[54] Wilson (p. 567) quoted by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*, p. 45.

[55] See *supra*.

and heart. The grant of land referred to in the *Farmān* was made by him as Governor of Kābul (1109—1119 A. H.). It bears eloquent testimony to his patronage of the pious and the learned. Shaikh Muhammad Taqī son of Shaikh 'Abdul Latīf Qādirī, the grantee, was a well-known savant, who commanded great respect and influence among the Musalmāns of the locality. He is mentioned in many of the original documents I have come across in the course of my investigations. In one of the *Farmāns* issued by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī he figures as the recipient of a grant of a big tract of land.[56] In a pedigree table his descent is traced to *Hazrat* 'Alí, the cousin and sōn-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth *Khalifa* of Islām and eventually to *Hazrat* Ādam, the ultimate progenitor of mankind.[57] In two sale deeds he appears as the vendee of 85 and 63 *Jarībs* of land, situated in Bigrām (Peshāwar).[58] In all these documents he is praised for his piety. It was on account of his piety that Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī conferred upon him the grants of land referred to above. He was a direct descendant and follower of *Shaikh* 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī, the founder of the *Qādirīya Tarīqa* or system.

Bigrām (Peshawar).

A word may also be said here about ' Bikrām ' which figures in the present *Farmān* and frequently finds place in the contemporary books and documents. The correct spelling seems to be Bigram from the Sanskrit word ' *Vigrama* ' which means city, for the letter گ is also written as ک in the original Persian works and documents. The name is applied to three ancient sites near Peshāwar, Jalālābād and Istālif.[59] In the present *Farmān* it stands for one near Peshāwar. The one near Istālif in the Koh-i-Dāman (Afghānistān) is remarkably rich in remains of remote antiquity. Some of the finest specimens of Gandhāra or Greco-Buddhist art, recovered from it, are preserved in the Kābul Museum. Abul Fazl mentions Bigrām as a district of Swāt.[60]

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[56] See my Note on ' Historical Documents in N.-W. F. P.'.
[57] *Vide ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] See *Akbar-Namah*, Vol. iii, pp. 855-56.
[60] *Ibid*, p. 524, f. n. 1.

Sá'ādat Ali Khan, Nawab-Vazir of Oudh and Wellesley.

[Being a Persian Account of the Discussion between Henry Wellesley and the Nawab-Vazir about the Treaty of 1801, and of the meeting between the Nawab-Vazir and Lord Wellesley.]

[By Mr. Gope R. Gurbax, B.A.]

In the course of my researches into the history of Oudh during the Governor-Generalship of Wellesley, my attention was directed towards the manuscript collection of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and following his suggestion I found in it some Persian manuscripts dealing with the relations between the Nawab-Vazir and the East India Company. I placed part of this new and unpublished material before the Indian Historical Records Commission at its last (Baroda) session, and it was published in Volume XVII (1940) of the *Proceedings of the Commission* at page 158. I am now seeking the Commission's indulgence to bring to the notice of students of Indian history a further instalment of the same material. The extracts which were quoted *in extenso* in my previous paper were concerned with the deposition of Wazir Ali and accession to the *masnad* of Oudh of Sa'ādat Ali Khan, and were taken from two MSS. entitled the *Swānihāt-i-Salātinăt-i-Oudh* and *Imādus Sa'ādat*. The account which I am citing in translation in the present paper is taken from another MS. entitled *Madan-us-Sa'ādat*. It bears the number 181 of the collection of MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It deals with a later period of the reign of Sa'ādat Ali Khan, *viz*., the period immediately preceding and following the Treaty of 1801. By the end of 1800, Wellesley had secured the enforcement of his military demand on the Nawab-Vazir. But he was not satisfied. Early in 1801 he made a further demand on the Nawab-Vazir for the cession of the Doab in order to support the Company's forces in Oudh. The Nawab-Vazir resisted as best as he could till the middle of the year, by which time Wellesley's patience was exhausted. Despairing of getting his new demand accepted through the agency of the Resident at Lucknow, he despatched his brother Henry Wellesley, on a peremptory mission in July, 1801, in order to secure the acceptance of his demands without further delay. After a long-drawn-out diplomatic wrangling the Nawab at last yielded and a treaty was signed on November 10, 1801.

Three months after that Wellesley himself went to Lucknow and there were meetings and discussions between him and the Nawab-Vazir.

Fairly full accounts of these negotiations and discussions from the standpoint of Wellesley and his associates and colleagues are to be found in the correspondence and documents published in the Parliamentary Papers dealing with Oudh, as well as in Wellesley's Despatches edited by Montgomery Martin. But so far, apart from the translations of the letters of the Nawab-Vazir contained in the above collections of documents, no version of the affairs was available from the Nawab-Vazir's side. The account set forth below furnishes such a version. Its interest lies in the fact that it gives the case and point of view of the Vazir. It refers in a veiled manner to certain persons whose activities were regarded by the Oudh Court as mischievous. The

Nawab-Vazir seemed disposed to make these persons responsible for the misunderstanding and ill-feeling between him and the Governor-General. Who these persons were is not explicitly stated. But the Resident at Lucknow, Colonel Scott was no *persona grata* with the Nawab-Vazir and he might have been one of the individuals in the mind of the compiler of the narrative. The writer, as is only natural, shows the Nawab-Vazir's action in the most favourable light.

The narrative is fully set out below. It begins with the negotiations with Henry Wellesley, and goes on to describe the meeting between the Nawab-Vazir and the Governor-General.

"The beginning of the fifth year of Accession, according to the month of Diqad A.H. 1216.

The New Year's day of the King's accession was celebrated with pomp and grandeur; and on this auspicious occasion one and all benefitted fully from the Royal generosity. Mirza Mehadi Ali Khan Bahadur was admitted into the King's household staff and granted the fief (faujdari) of Ali Gunj. In the same year it transpired that Wellesley Sahib, brother of the Governor-General, intended to start for Lucknow in order to meet Wazir-ul-Mamalik on some other affairs. The news of the dismissal of the army of the Wazir Azam has not only spread in his (Wazir Azam) dominion but throughout India. The Governor-General despatched his brother Wellesley because of the dispersal of the army as the two companies and other battalions had not been paid their salaries and the Governor-General had taken upon himself to recompense the army for their dismissal. He instructed his brother to negotiate this delicate matter with diplomacy and conduct the conversation with due regards to the Wazir's station. When Mr. Wellesley reached Lucknow he paid his respects to Wazir and was treated to several State's banquets. He communicated to the Wazir Azim that for the maintenance of the army *a certain amount was being transferred annually from the Wazir's treasury to the Company Bahadurs.* It was the wish of the Governor-General that in lieu of money a certain tract of country should be placed under the charge of the Governor-General. The Wazir Azam replied: "Whatever has been agreed between us, we should try to maintain. If you will not transgress the terms I shall not." *In short to Mr. Wellesley's every argument the Wazir had a ready reply.* Returned to the Kothi. The mischief mongering Sardars (unsettled) disturbed his mind so that again he interviewed the Nawab-Vazir al Mamalik and put before him the matter with fresh arguments. The Nawab with great patience and forbearance heard him out and tried to convince him with rational and logical arguments. Mr. Wellesley had come to the end of his arguments and wrote to the Governor-General that there was no likelihood of their attempt being crowned with success and the arguments of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik could not be gainsaid. In recounting their arguments he put words into the mouth of Wazir-ul-Mamalik which had not even crossed the Wazir's mind. *When this apostle reached the Governor-General he was confirmed in his intention to visit Lucknow.* At an auspicious moment he set out and when he reached Allahabad Mr. Wellesley who had left Lucknow met him at Cawnpore. Mr. Wellesley recounted to the Governor-General what had transpired at Lucknow adding to it what he had heard from persons whose profession it was to create mischief and disturbance. *His Highness the Wazir-ul-Mamalik hearing of the advent of the Governor-General from Allahabad to Cawnpore left Lucknow for Cawnpore in order to receive him there.* He

reached the banks of Ganges. The Governor-General also started from Cawnpore. Only the Ganges lay between them. The ill-wishing Amins held the Wazir off from seeking an interview with the Governor-General and thus two or three days passed and it became known to the Governor-General that whatever he had heard against the Wazir-ul-Mamalik was baseless and groundless. The two great personages on meeting were very kindly pleased with each other. They entertained each other to banquetes. When the exchange of the usual politenesses came to an end the Wazir-ul-Mamalik in company with the Governor-General returned to Lucknow. *A great cordiality and sincerity had been established between these two.* They were vying with each other to excel in their show of friendship and in complying each with the wishes of the other. On the dictates of the time Wazir-ul-Mamalik executed grants (Asnad) in favour of English Agents (Gumsahtas). The content of the grant was this : We do hereby bestow the province of Allahabad together with fort there and Chakla Kora, etc., in the Sarkar of Ettawa and all the territories of Kathier from Shahbad on the one side to Badaronkar and Najeedabad in the Sarkar of Kananj to the boundary of Kol-e-Halalee and in the province of Oudh the Sarkar of Gorakhpur the paraganas being twenty-two in number and from the Mahalat Mahadew, etc., which amounted to six Mahals in number grant to the Agents to the Governor-General.

One and all of the Bailker Begs Faujdar of the Sarkars administrators of the Parganas Chowdharys, *Qanoongose* and the peasants and cultivators of the lands concerned should go and make their abesance and submission to the Agents of the Governor-General. Remit the land taxes to the treasury of the Governor-General and with all due emphasis I command them to carry out the orders contained herein. *When these two documents, that is, the grants and the orders to the officials came to the notice of the Governor-General he was highly pleased with and grateful to the Wazirul-Mamalik.* After the lapse of a few days the Governor started on his return journey. He dispatched his agents and when they reached their stations the soldiers of the Wazir-ul-Mamalik stationed in these places were dismissed and they made for Lucknow, there was a great concourse of the dismissed soldiery, who found themselves in a great dilemma neither they could remain in their own country nor were they permitted to leave for another. In short there was a great to-do and the disturbance of the armies in Lucknow. Ultimately every soldier took to the direction his impulse prompted. The battalions which had been dismissed the previous year and the sawars (the mounted soldiers) and the sepoys in the present year had assembled together. *The Wazir-ul-Mamalik could not bear the sight of their dispair, so on the pretext of shikar he went off to Tatahpur Baswar and remained there for a month and more.* On the conclusion of the expedition of the shikar he returned to Lucknow. His return and the date of the anniversary coincided. With the usual pomp and grandeur the anniversary was celebrated and bestowed Khilats on the Prince his son, promotion in rank and honour of the court nobles and chiefs of army and money on his faithful retainers. (MS. *Madan-us-Sa'–dat*, R. A. S. B. No. 181, page 383.)

This account does not require much commentary, but a few points may be further elucidated. There is no doubt that the reference to the "mischief mongering Sardars" who distrubted Henry Wellesley's mind was intended to include Colonel Scott, the Resident. The Nawab-Vazir entertained a very bad opinion about the latter, thanks no doubt to the persistence with which Scott pressed Wellesley's demands. Later, when the Nawab-Vazir met

Wellesley in person, he communicated his opinion and tried to get Colonel Scott removed from Lucknow. In his secret letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 1st January 1803, Wellesley wrote :

" In the course of the conferences which the Governor-General subsequently held with the Vazir, His Excellency became more explicit and unreserved in the expression of his sentiments, with respect to the conduct of the Resident ; and the Governor-General perceived with extreme regret, that those sentiments were of the most unfavourable nature, and that one of the principal objects of His Excellency's wishes was to obtain the removal of Lieutenant Colonel Scott from the situation of resident at His Excellency's count."[1]

The idea was, however, mistaken. Wellesley had become suspicious of the conduct of the Nawab-Vazir not at the instance of the Resident but from his own judgment of his character. In his letter of the 28th September, 1801, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors Wellesley complained of the evasions and subterfuges employed by the Nawab-Vazir.[2] This unfavourable opinion dated from time of the withdrawal of the abdication proposal by the Nawab-Vazir (December, 1799) on account of which Wellesley was " extremely disgusted at the duplicity and insincerity which mark the conduct of the Nawab-Vizir."[3]

Wellesley further suspected that the Nawab-Vazir was expecting the change of government in England in 1801 to bring about a check to the policy hitherto pursued towards Oudh. He wrote to the Secret Committee on September 28, 1801 :

" His Excellency had formed considerable expectations from the intelligence received of the change which had taken place in his Majesty's Couneils at home, under the hope that the Governor-General in Council would be deterred by that event from the active prosecution of the reform successfully commenced in Oude."[4]

The account is, however, correct in describing the meeting between Wellesley and the Nawab-Vazir as extremely cordial. Once Wellesley's points were carried, he was only too anxious to treat the Nawab-Vazir with all consideration. As he himself explained :

" Anxious, however, that my discussions with His Excellency should be conducted with mutual cordiality and good will, and that His Excellency's mind should be reconciled to the important arrangement which had been effected by the treaty of Lucknow, I determined to regulate my communications with His Excellency by a spirit of liberal accommodation, to promote His Excellency's wishes in every mode consistent with the preservation of the rights and interests of the British government, and to manifest a disposition to conciliate his confidence and regard, to assist in the arrangement of his affairs, and to secure the stability of his government."[5]

Thus the chapter of Wellesley's relations with Sa'ādat Ali Khan closed on a note of cordiality on the former's part, and submissiveness on the latter's.

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[1] *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1806, Part I, State Papers, p. 186.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[3] Kirkpatrick to Scott, dated December 27, 1799, *ibid.*, p. 351.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[5] Wellesley's minute, dated 16th August 1802, *ibid.*, p. 188.

Lord Mayo's Diplomacy.

(Mr. Ganpat Rai, M.A.)

Shortly after the Ambala Darbar—an Indian edition of the Field of the Cloth of Gold—held in March 1869, Lord Mayo, in a private letter to a friend, summed up his foreign policy in the oft-quoted following words, "*Surround India with strong, friendly and independent States, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other power, and we are safe.*"[1] There is no getting over the fact that Lord Mayo throughout his rule (1869-1872) strenuously struggled to create a cordon of States on this basis all along the north-western, northern and north-eastern land frontiers of British India from Baluchistan on the Arabian Sea to Burma on the Bay of Bengal. This basis of British foreign policy seems to be so sound and sensible that it has wrested appreciation from some of the greatest Indian political leaders—Ramesh Dutt voiced the opinion of politically-minded India when he remarked, "Happy it were for India if the firm and friendly attitude towards surrounding countries had been always maintained by Lord Mayo's successors."[2]

The present policy of the British Government not only towards Central Asia but also towards other surrounding states seems to have been built up on this very basis. And there would be no exaggeration in saying that a foreign policy on the very same basis appears to be so conducive to Indian interests—by providing huge savings in the military budget and thereby producing healthy reactions on internal development—that the future of British foreign policy still points to the same goal ; and that on the other hand, any radical departure from this path would be a plunge into constant warfare and anarchy, as demonstrated by the foreign policies of Lords Auckland and Lytton.

In the light of the foregoing general remarks let us have a peep into *Lord Mayo's diplomacy and foreign policy with reference to Anglo-Bhootanese relations from 1869 to 1870.* I have, however, to offer an apology for choosing this out-of-the-way subject for this paper. *Firstly,* Bhootan,—lying between 26° 41′ and 28° 7′ N and 88° 54′ and 91° 54′ E—, the wild forest-clad mountainous country on the steep southern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas, bounded on the north and east by Thibet ; on the south by Eastern Bengal and Assam and on the west by the Chumbi Valley, the little state of Sikkim and the British district of Darjeeling, is an independent state of strategic importance, forming, as it were an important break-water between the spheres of activity of the British and the Tibetan, and for that matter, the Chinese, governments. *Secondly,* the subject has been so meagrely treated in published books that all writers including W. W. Hunter have skipped over it with the result that "The Earl of Mayo" and "The Life of Lord Mayo" by Hunter, supply us practically no information. C. U. Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. VIII ; R. B. Pemberton's Report on Bhootan (Calcutta 1839) ; Ashley Eden's Report on the State of Bhootan (Calcutta 1864) and Political Mission to Bhootan (Calcutta 1865), contain information on certain selected aspects only and carry us to the Sinchula Treaty of 1865 and no further. The present writer had therefore to tap original records and documents in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, to collect material and evidences for the subject of this paper.

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[1] W. W. Hunter—"The Earl of Mayo", Edition 1897, pp., 127-128.
[2] R. Dutt—"India in the Victorian Age", Edition, 1906, page 255.

With a view to establish our historical background and to facilitate the understanding of the subject in its true perspective a few general observations appear to be necessary. *First*, it is an accepted fact that the north-eastern frontiers have never been a factor of so great diplomatic concern and imperial importance to the power paramount in India as the north-west frontiers. The *Pioneer* wrote in its issue dated the 9th April, 1870: " Five and forty years ago the North Eastern frontier had imperial claims upon the attention of the Government and of the public. But since the Burmese were driven out of Assam, the interest therein has flagged and flickered, to be only temporarily revived by the war with Bhootan and finally to be classed among things provincial and obscure." But there is a striking similarity in the nature of the problem in both cases, inasmuch as the policy on both frontiers is a two-fold problem. 1st, *The outer frontier policy* involving international relations with Afghanistan and beyond it with Persia and (Soviet) Russia on the north-west ; and with Nepal, Sikkim, Bhootan and Burma and beyond them with Thibet, China, French Indo-China and Siam (Thailand) on the north-east. 2nd, the *inner frontier policy* involving political control, military defence and in certain cases, administrative organisation or direct management of what are known in the Government of India, 1935, as 'tribal areas'—the territory and the tribes in between the North West Frontier Province and the Durand Line on the north-west ; and the hill and forest tribes and their territories in between Nepal, Sikkim and Bhootan on the one side and British India on the other, on the north-eastern frontiers—And also in both cases the leading lines of the policy of the British Government have been similar and same.

Second, the earliest recorded form of government in Bhootan was that of a Spiritual Chief known as the Dhurma Raja—a very high incarnation of the Buddha—exercising both spiritual and temporal functions. The second Dhurma Raja, being of considered opinion that spiritual and temporal powers were incompatible, appointed a minister to whom he entrusted the latter and strictly restricted himself to the former. This minister went on growing from power to power, became the Deb Raja of Bhootan and the form of polity underwent a radical change and came to be known what Kautalya would call, '*Dvairajya*'—government by two—the Dhurma Raja and the Deb Raja—both exercising joint sovereignty. The Deb Raja was chosen by election from time to time from among the great functionaries of the state notably Jongpens and Penlows (Penlops)—Bhootan officials corresponding to Divisional Commissioners of British India—whereas the Dhurma Raja held his office for life. The Chief State Council[2a] consisted of the Dhurma Raja, the Deb Raja, the Penlows and the Jongpens and considered only questions of national import. This form of Bhootanese polity is highly interesting and has a direct bearing on our subject, because it accounts for the curious fact that both the Dhurma Raja and the Deb Raja were signatories to the epoch-making treaty of 1865 ; that many a communication from the Bhootan Government bore their joint signatures ; and also the British Government addressed some of their communications to them jointly. But gradually the Dhurma Raja recedes into the back ground and the Deb Raja is all-powerful. During our period this form of polity is in force in Bhootan[3].

[2a] " The Chief Council, called the Shung Lhengye, is composed of the Dhurma Raja and the Deb Raja, the Penlops of Tongso, Paro and Tagapa, and the Jongpens of Timpu and Punaka "—Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VIII, Edition 1908, page 161.

[3] Hunter—Statistical Survey of Bengal, 1876, Volume X, page 219. Also, Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. XIV, Part IV, p. 71, Edition 1929.

Third, the earliest contact rather collision between Bhootan and the British Government originated with the expedition of 1773 sent by Warren Hastings for the relief of his ally—the Raja of Cooch-Behar. It resulted in the first Treaty of Peace in 1774, by which the Bhootan Government agreed to deliver up the Raja of Cooch-Behar, to pay an annual tribute of five Tangun horses to the British Government and never to encroach on British territory. From that date, with the exception of two unsuccessful commercial missions in 1774 and 1783, there was rather little intercourse with Bhootan till the British occupation of Assam in 1826, which transformed the Bhootan and British Governments into next-door neighbours. Then followed a series of inroads by the Bhootanese on British territory. The British Government retaliated and with a view to stop further mischief resolved to permanently occupy all the Dooārs or Passes on the Assam and Bengal frontiers. The former were occupied as early as 1841 and the latter in 1865[4]. Now it is the political control, the military defence and direct administrative management of these Dooārs along with some adjoining lands, perhaps up to the crests of the lower hills, which is to constitute the inner policy ; and beyond them it is the diplomatic relations with Bhootan and friendly communications with Thibet which are to constitute the outer policy of the British Government along this sector of the north-eastern frontiers.[5]

Fourth, the Sinchula Treaty of 1865 is the most striking landmark in the history of relations between Bhootan and British India during pre-Mayo period. It embodies the principles of the north-eastern frontier policies which were in full accord with the personal views of Lord Mayo and were strictly adhered to throughout his Indian rule. A brief resume of the main provisions of the Treaty of 1865 will not be out of place here. Article 1 provides for perpetual peace and friendship between the contracting parties. The subject matter of Articles 2 and 3 is the cession for ever of the Bengal and Assam Dooārs in consideration of an annual allowance to Bhootan. According to Article 8, all disputes between the Bhootan Government on the one side and the Rajas of Cooch Behar and Sikkim on the other, are to be referred to the British arbitration for final decision. Article 9 provides for free trade and commerce between the two countries[6].

Lastly it is also to be borne in mind that the foreign policy of Lord Mayo's Government was personally and essentially Lord Mayo's own, because except for a short while at the commencement of his rule, he was his own Foreign Minister and himself the initiating member of the Council for Foreign Affairs[7]. That Lord Mayo himself held the 'portfolio' of the Foreign Department throughout his rule and injected his personal views in his foreign policy towards the feudatory states, independent states and the 'tribal areas' is highly important from our point of view.

In 1868 four important issues engaged the attention of the British Government with regard to Bhootan :—

First, maintenance of a permanent Agent from Bhootan at Darjeeling ; *second*, education of young Lamas of Bhootan at the Government High School, Darjeeling, to facilitate the intercourse of the two countries ; *third*, consideration

[4] Aitchison—Treaties, etc., Vol. XIV, Part IV, Edition 1929.
[5] W. W. Hunter—Statistical Survey of Bengal, 1876, Vol. X. Read—"Early History of the Bhootan Dooars", pp. 219-222 and also "Exposition of the policy towards the hill tribes on the North East Frontier of Bengal" which is the subject matter of Foreign Department Proceedings No. 253, July 1869.
[6] Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Edition 1929, Part IV, No. VI.
[7] Hunter—"Life of the Earl of Mayo", Ed. 1876, Vol. II, page 309.

of the requisitions made jointly by the Dhurma Raja and Deb Raja for the grant of land for the personal needs of the former ; and *fourth*, extension of the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta over the Dooārs and the adjoining lands. In short Lord Mayo on this sector of the north-eastern frontier found the situation comparatively smoother and, as said above, the policy already initiated by his illustrious predecessor was in full accord with his own views and therefore his main task was to implement the Treaty of 1865, to cement the transformation of Bhootan into an independent but friendly state and to adopt a policy of peace, conciliation and humanity towards the tribes of the occupied territory. *First of all we take Anglo-Bhootan policy.*

The following joint representation by the Dhurma Raja and Deb Raja to the British Government will throw light on the nature and extent of relations between Bhootan and British India :—

"..................It is intended ", they said, " to place him (Dhurma Raja) on the guddee this year (1868), but it is not possible to do this, unless ground is obtained for the food of this youth and for his *pān and sopāri*...... ....Let the peace that has been written remain in the same way as before, but *if you can*, give the Lama (Dhurma Raja) the small land of Dumsong and Daling, and the ground below, as they were formally held by the Lamas ; from which land the English Government derive no advantage. If you cannot do this, then in kindness write to the Governor General. The agreement between the Government and Bhootan is like that between milk and water. In some way give this land to the Lama."[8]

The Government of India firmly but politely had rejected the demand for land ;[9] but they had sanctioned the maintenance of a Bhooteah Agent, as well as the proposal for educating a few young Lamas (members of the priestly class) in the English School at Darjeeling[10]. Other questions regarding the Bhootan frontier were awaiting sanction and solution.

The most ticklish questions in the time of Lord Mayo were, the outbreak of a civil war in Bhootan, the requisitions of the various parties for British aid ; and the determined prejudice of the Mayo epoch of British diplomacy in favour of perfect neutrality. Lord Mayo had taken his oaths as Viceroy on the 12th January, 1869, and immediately after he found the Bhootan horizon overcast with clouds of a civil war. It was an intestine war—like the wars of the Roses, though on a much smaller scale and extending over a comparatively insignificant period—among the leading Bhooteah chiefs, originally between the Deb Raja, the temporal ruler of Bhootan, and Tongso Penlow, the Governor of Tongso or East Bhootan, a highly influential and powerful chief and official, a member of the SHUNG LHENGYE (the State Council of Bhootan), who went so far as to pay a visit to Lhassa in December 1868, to enlist the sympathies of the Thibetans in his favour[10a].

The alignment of the parties may further be briefly explained. With the Deb Raja were Audiforong Jungpen, Thingbo Jungpen and Undepore Jungpen three highly influential chiefs and state officials ; whereas the Poonah Jungpen and custodian of the Dhurma Raja joined hands with Tongso Penlow[10b].

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[8] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1869, No. 40 (Translation of a letter from the Deb Rajā and Dhurma Rajā dated 7th of the 8th Bhooteah month, year Saddeok)(1868).

[9] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1869, No. 41.

[10] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1869, No. 44.

[10a] Political Proceedings, January 1869, Nos. 386-388.

[10b] Political Proceedings, January 1869, Nos. 101-102.

The other Chiefs, Zamindars, Munduls, Ryots and sundry people must have, in course of time, directly or indirectly, taken sides with one party or the other. These dissensions among the Bhooteah Chiefs came to be officially designated as a civil war between the Jungpens—the supporters of the Deb Raja—and the Tongso Penlows—the enemies of the Deb Raja[10c].

It may also be noted that almost every election of the Deb Raja was a prelude to a civil war, for it aroused the jealousies of the contesting parties to a very high pitch and left a sting behind. The Deb Raja, though in theory elected by the SHUNG LHENGYE from among certain great functionaries of the state, was, in fact, the nominee of whichever of the two Governors of East and West Bhootan happened for the time being to be more powerful.

Early in January 1869, the Deb Raja applied for aid against Tongso Penlow[10d]. Soon after followed another application dated the 12th February 1869, from Deb Zimpen[10e] (a sort of private secretary) on behalf of the Deb Raja for British help, to which Colonel J. C. Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch Behar Division, gave a reply which is *characteristic of Britain's relations with foreign countries* and which ever since has become the bed-rock of Anglo-Bhootanese relations and for that matter, of British diplomacy. "You say," He wrote, "that a civil war has broken out in Bhootan and that both Governments are bound to assist one another by Treaty in time of war, a copy of which I have the pleasure of sending you, and I have again to assure you that *it is contrary to the usage of the British Government to interfere in the internal disputes of countries around India except when our own interests are directly concerned.* For the same reason *we do not allow arms and ammunitions to be carried beyond the frontier nor do we allow our neighbours to enlist soldiers in our country. On this subject I have no option, such are the orders I have received*[11]." The Colonel had most faithfully represented the personal views of Lord Mayo, which the Foreign Department formally endorsed by saying, "The Viceroy and Governor-General in Council entirely approves of the reply which has been given to this Chief (Deb Zimpen) by Colonel Haughton[12]."

Again in June 1869, the Jungpens (one of the leading parties) Thingbo Jungpen in his letter of 5th June; Thingbo Jungpen and Undepore Jungpen in their joint requisition of 13th June and lastly Audiforong Jungpen in his letter of about the same date (13th June) and again in his letter of 3rd October 1869, invoked British help under the additional pretence, real or fancied it is difficult to say, that the opposite party (Penlows) was planning to attack British territory as well[13]. The British Government, however, maintained the old position and returned a similar reply. The despatch of Lord Mayo to the Secretary of State for India reiterated the Bhootan policy as already enunciated, announced and avowed by him. The dispatch reads thus, "Your Grace will observe that we have declined to interfere unless the Jungpens and Penlows

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10c Political Proceedings August 1869, Nos. 206-210.

10d Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1869, Nos. 101 & 102.

10e Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1869, No. 37 (Read English Translation of the Application).

11 Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1869, No. 37 (extract from a letter from Colonel Haughton to Deb Zimpen dated the 16th February 1869).

12 Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1869, No. 38.

13 Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1869, No. 206, as well as January 1870, No. 124. (Undepore Jungpen and Thingbo Jungpen wrote in their letter dated 13th June 1869. "The new and the old Tongso Penlows and the Poonah Jungpen, these are agreed, and this is their purpose—1st, to exterminate all who are friendly with the Sāhibs and when they have accomplished this, to commence war with the British.")

apply to the Commissioner of Cooch-Behar for a settlement of their disputes and pledge, themselves to abide by his decision. We have also approved of the action of Colonel Haughton in declining to afford military aid to the Jungpens against the Tongso Penlows[13a]."

The Home Government fully endorsed the views of Lord Mayo by thus remarking: "In reply", says the Secretary of State for India, "I have to express my cordial approval of your refusal to interfere, as requested, in the politics of that distracted country. This policy is so entirely that of Her Majesty's Government that I am almost disposed to regret the qualified terms in which it was expressed. It appears to me that no pledge on the part either of the Penlows or even of the Rajas to accept and abide by our decision would be sufficiently trustworthy to afford your Excellency's Government a sound basis on which to arbitrate; and we should, as far as possible, confine ourselves to insisting on a rigid observance by all parties alike, of the neutrality of our territory[14]."

Hereafter also repeated requisitions were made by the various Bhooteah Chiefs for British aid but the Government religiously stuck to the old position and policy namely, "that the British Government will not interfere in the present dissensions among the Bhooteah Chiefs". The civil war which had broken out early in 1869, terminated by the close of the year with the result that Tongso Penlow and his brother were at the head of affairs. This *de facto* Government of Bhootan was *ipso facto* recognised by Lord Mayo[15].

Diplomatic position of Bhootan had another aspect also. Bhootan like Sikkim was a quasi-feudatory state of Thibet but practically left alone by its suzerain. Whenever Bhootan requisitioned for Thibetan interference, Thibet declined to take any action to avoid collision with the British Government. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that the Bhooteah authorities looked up to the Great Lamas of Thibet for inspiration and guidance. It may be recalled here that Warren Hastings had entered into friendly communications with Thibet in 1774, when the Bhootanese, after being driven out of Cooch-Behar and pursued into the hills by the British troops, had thrown themselves on the protection of Thibet with the result that the Tashi Lama, then Regent of Thibet and guardian of the Grand Lama of Lhassa, mediated between Bhootan and the East India Company. The mediation was welcomed by the British Government and resulted in the first Treaty of Peace between the two governments on the 20th April, 1774.

After about a century in October 1869, the Commissioner of Cooch-Behar broached the subject of reviving friendly relations with Thibet perhaps with a view to complete the outer aspect of Anglo-Bhootanese diplomacy. Lord Mayo's next object with regard to his Bhootan policy being to open conciliatory relations with Thibet, as in case of his Afghan policy to open similar relations with Russia, he felt fully convinced of the soundness of Colonel Haughton's proposals on the subject which had unfortunately been disapproved by the Government of Bengal. It would not be out of place to quote Colonel Haughton in full. "There can be no doubt", says he, "that the authorities (of Bhootan) look up to the Great Lamas of Thibet and I am strongly of opinion

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[13a] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1869, No. 210.

[14] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1870, No. 140, and also Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1870, No. 227.

[15] Foreign Department Proceedings, December 1869, Nos. 94 and 95, and also consult Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1870, No. 227.

that the friendship of those persons might be cultivated and their influence beneficially used..............If permitted, I would seek to open communications with them by mere acts of civility, entailing no expenditure upon the Government. In saying this, it is scarcely necessary for me, I trust, to assure the Government that *I am absolutely opposed to any intermeddling with affairs beyond the frontier*...............It seems to me strongly to be desired that we should have friends beyond the frontier ; at present we have none, and, as during the last war, no means of obtaining information from the interior. Our old adversary, the Tongso Penlow, has now all but, if not supreme power ; and I think it will be a wise policy to strengthen ourselves by improving our relations in this matter, now so imperfect[16]." It is on record that after a personal interview with Colonel Haughton, Lord Mayo was further convinced of the soundness and wisdom of the proposal and personally encouraged him to despatch verbal or written communications of a friendly nature to the Lamas through some suitable channel with the reservation that no emissaries or messengers were to be sent into Thibet[17].

This aspect of the Bhootan policy also met the full approval of the Duke of Argyll—then Secretary of State for India—who endorsed the views of Lord Mayo in these words—" I am disposed to concur with you that a renewal of the amicable intercourse with the Lamas of Thibet, which has unfortunately been so long in abeyance, need not necessarily, and, if properly managed, is not likely to lead, to any such unfavourable consequences as appear to be anticipated by Mr. Grey—the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal[18]."

Yet another aspect of Bhootan diplomacy was the demarcation of the boundary line between Bhootan and British India. Boundary between Bhootan and British territory on the Bengal side had long since been drawn. It remained, however, to be marked towards the Assam Dooars and forms the subject-matter of a long-continued correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the Government of India[19]. This issue, to a considerable extent, falls outside the period under review ; and if I were to enter on its details this paper would swell far beyond the limits assigned to it.

This exhaustive and somewhat exhausting survey of what I have called the outer aspect of the north-eastern frontier policy of Lord Mayo with regard to Bhootan, or in other words, British policy towards Bhootan, has been systematically treated in its three main bearings with full reference to original evidences. This survey puts us in full possession of the views of Lord Mayo—the proprietor of the Bhootan diplomacy ; of those of the Commissioner of Cooch-Behar Division (Colonel Haughton) and of the Government of Bengal—the executing agents of that policy ; and lastly of the views of the Duke of Argyll—then Secretary of State for India—the final sanctioning and directing authority. These all point to the same conclusion on its most fundamental aspect, namely—*the usage of the British Government not to interfere in the politics of independent States around India except when their own interests are directly concerned.*—But how far this attitude of Lord Mayo's Government during the course of the Bhootanese Civil War " was a direct premium upon successful revolt and tended to render the establishment of any stable government "

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[16] Foreign Department Proceedings, January 1870, No. 124.
[17] Foreign Department Proceedings, March 1870, No. 95.
[18] Foreign Department Proceedings, May 1870, No. 227.
[19] Foreign Department Proceedings, August 1870, No. 77 and June 1872, Nos. 659 to 664.

in Bhootan impossible at least for one year is for the readers to judge for themselves. I cannot, however, help recalling to my mind what Sir Stafford Northcote—then Secretary of State for India—observed regarding the Afghanistan diplomacy of Lord Lawrence. He wrote, " I cannot bring my mind to the proposal that we should subsidise first one and then the other, according as accident brings up Sher Ali or Abdul Rahman to the head of affairs[20]". The fact, however, remains that this aspect of Bhootan policy is characteristic of the Mayo epoch of British diplomacy, though under the new garb of " *Surround India with strong, friendly and independent states..................* ". Bhootan was throughout kept *friendly* through unequivocal expression of antipathy to interfere in its internal affairs and was also allowed to enjoy the status of *effective independence* which she still maintains. But whether British diplomacy under Lord Mayo contributed to the *strength, stability and solvency* of Bhootan is, in my view, a highly doubtful issue. If Bhootan, however, formed a sort of buckle on the north-eastern frontier belt of India, then Lords Lawrence and Mayo may be said to have buckled this belt firmly.

Other aspects of Bhootan policy are not so important and have not been dealt with in full details. The question of the revival of friendly relations with *Thibet* did engage the attention of the Government of India and the Home Government and there was striking agreement in their views. The Secretary of State for India set the seal of final approval on the views of Lord Mayo in these words, " I entirely concur with your Excellency's Government that benefit may reasonably be expected from the proposed measure of abandoning our recent policy of isolation towards Thibet and resuming the former friendly communication with its Rulers, which were originally opened by Mr. Warren Hastings when Governor General of India, and which have unfortunately been too long in abeyance[21]." The question of the demarcation of boundary line between Bhootan and British India was also taken in hand by Lord Mayo on the lines laid down in Article 2 of the Sinchula Treaty of 1865[22]. It was partly solved in the time of Lord Mayo and partly in the time of his immediate successor. I have, I trust, given sufficient space to a critical discussion of Lord Mayo's Bhootan diplomacy, and I must now close this paper without branching out into non-essential details.

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[20] W. W. Hunter—" The Earl of Mayo", Edition 1892, p. 124.
[21] Foreign Department Proceedings, June 1870, No. 102.
[22] Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. XIV, Part IV, No. VI.

Two news-papers of pre-Mutiny Delhi.

[By Dr. I. H. Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)]

I. The Nūr-i-Mashriqī.

This Urdu news-sheet was published every Friday and consisted of four pages (12″ × 7·9″) lithographed on good thick brown paper. The page was divided into two columns. The editor's name does not appear; a certain Saiyad Amīr 'Alī was the printer and publisher. The press which lithographed this paper was called Matba'-u'l-hidāyah. The price was an anna per issue, the monthly subscription being four annas. Very few advertisements appear in the paper; the charge was an anna a line per issue.

The paper gave greater prominence to local news. A regular feature was the bulletin issued from the Fort regarding the health and engagements of Bahādur Shāh II. Every issue in my possession contains at least one ghazal written by the Emperor, who, as is well known, was a poet of great originality and feeling. Some issues had poems written by some princes as well; but these were much less frequent and inferior in quality. Any little scuffle in the bazar or intrigue in the court which disturbed the otherwise placid life of Delhi was given a good deal of space. News regarding international affairs or even about matters of importance to the whole of India were reported very briefly; the only exceptions were items regarding Russia, Turkey, Iran and Haiderabad, which always seem to have aroused lively interest.

I possess the following issues:—

Volume I, nos. 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40.

The first (Volume 1, no. 27) bears the date Friday, the 25th Jamādī-u'l-awwal, 1270 A.H.; the corresponding Christian date given on the issue is 24th February, 1844.

The language used is the slightly archaic but elegant Urdu of the Mutiny period with a sprinkling of Persian and Urdu couplets. A few English words, of course in the Persian script, also appear, for example, 'correspondent', 'Christian' and 'compositor' are freely used. An interesting feature is that most of the issues contain attacks, open and veiled, on the policy of a contemporary called the Nūr-i-Maghribī. As the titles 'Nūr-i-Mashriqī' and 'Nūr-i-Maghribī' mean 'the light of the East' and 'the light of the West' respectively, it is possible that one of these was started as a counterblast to the other.

The main value of the Nūr-i-Mashriqī lies in the fact that it throws some light on the social life of Delhi, its politics, its controversies and its interests during those days.

II. The Akhbār-i-Dehlī.

A much better news-paper was the Akhbār-i-Dehlī which was also published once a week. The late Sir John Thompson, at one time the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, possessed a volume of this journal which contained all the issues from 2nd June 1837 to 23rd February 1838, except the issue bearing the date 7th July 1837.

This paper was well edited and maintained a high standard of impartial criticism. The language was elegant pre-Mutiny Delhi Urdu, and it is a pleasure to read it. English words occur here and there but they are less frequent than they are in the Nūr-i-Mashriqī. It was larger in size than the Nūr-i-Mashriqī and was lithographed on better paper. Sir John Thompson kindly lent his volume to me for a year during which time I took fairly comprehensive notes.

This newspaper also published a weekly bulletin from the Fort giving full news of the Emperor's health and engagements. These bulletins are very revealing; they tell the sad tale of the comparative squalor of this once splendid court—the petty largesses and gifts bestowed by an Emperor who wanted to maintain the semblance of dignity in exceedingly adverse circumstances. These bulletins also bring back to life the picturesque pageantry and ceremonial of the court of this Emperor without an empire; the mockery of the Emperor of Delhi holding his court, of officials presenting nadhrs and performing mujrā, of the bestowal of high sounding but empty titles, of royal processions, and even of the representatives of the mighty power then ruling India offering homage was maintained and can be studied by the curious in the files of this news-paper. The respectful way in which the Emperor was always mentioned and the fact that not in one place is this powerless and nominal sovereign mentioned in any but the most affectionate and dignified manner show that Delhi regarded him as the symbol of its past greatness and valued him for that reason.

It seems that Bahādur Shāh's ghazals were very popular; for after his accession there is not one issue in which one of his poems does not appear. It is true that the Emperor's poems were very readable; they breathed the pathos which is bred by a feeling of futility which agreed well with the spirit of Delhi at that time; yet this could not be the only reason for the prominence which every newspaper gave to the royal ghazals. Even if they had been of less merit, I have a feeling that they would have been popular as depicting the feelings of one whom people loved and respected and whose position excited sympathy. Every now and then a poem by the poet laureate and the Emperor's instructor in poetry, the famous Dhauq also appeared. Once again the reason was not that Dhauq was a great poet, but that he was the Emperor's instructor, otherwise there existed at this time the great Ghālib; and though Urdu has not produced a greater poet, his odes were neglected.

In the volume under review four events of importance are described; the death of Akbar II, the accession of Bahādur Shāh II, the visit of the British Commander-in-Chief and that of the Governor General. These events are described very fully. The ceremonial is given to the minutest detail. These descriptions throw very welcome light on the relations between the Emperor, the princes of blood, the officers attached to the Fort, the nobility and the British Government.

The Akhbār-i-Dehlī is better informed about world and Indian affairs and its comments are intelligent and shrewd. It gives proper prominence to news from foreign countries and Indian States and kingdoms. In the affairs of the neighbouring potentates, it naturally takes greater interest; for instance very revealing are its observations supported with facts and figures regarding the government of Begam Samrū who is denounced as a blood-sucking tyrant. Very illuminating is its sober and dignified criticism of certain measures adopted

by the British Administration ; at places it grows sarcastic and its comments show the growing discontent which ultimately resulted in the Mutiny. Nor does British diplomacy escape criticism : British intentions in certain directions are already suspect. This has great historical value, for it gives the student some insight into non-official public opinion.

An interesting side-light is thrown on the social life of the small English community in Delhi, their habits, their amusements and their relations with prominent Indian citizens. The favourite pastimes were rides in buggies in the afternoons, boating and shikars. Hostesses could afford to be extravagant in entertaining ; the monotony of life was broken every now and then by a visiting juggler or a nautch party. Skinner and Hindu Rao took a prominent part in the social activities of the European population and seem to have been quite popular.

Nor does the paper limit its interest to the doings of the rich and the great. The hardships and difficulties of the poor and the peasants find a sympathetic mention ; certain details could be useful to the student of economic history.

I know nothing about the whereabouts of this volume ; if it has not found its way to some dealer of oriental literature, it should be in the possession of Sir John Thompson's heirs. However, an effort to collect and preserve the old files of these and other Indian journals of the pre-Mutiny period would be amply repaid, for they contain such a treasure of historical knowledge that no study of the period, howsoever comprehensive, can be complete without its study. A number of such journals must still be in the possession of old families and libraries ; they are more likely to be destroyed than family sanads and farmāns or manuscripts ; and therefore an immediate and sustained effort is required to save them for posterity.

Post-script.—Since the above was sent to press, I have been able to secure from a dealer five more issues of the Nūr-i-Mashriqī, namely, Vol. II, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8. The first of these (Vol. II, no. 4) bears the date 28th Dhi'l-Hajjah 1270 A. H. corresponding to 22nd September 1854. The paper was still published every Friday : there is no change in its external appearance ; but there is a deviation in its policy. It devotes less space to the affairs of Delhi and bestows greater attention on foreign news. The Russian activities in Central Asia and the Near East, the politics of Afghanistan and the happenings on the Frontier are given special prominence. These issues contain vigorous propaganda in favour of the Allœpathic system of medicine. Instead of publishing the usual bulletin from the Fort, the journal now records only events of importance, though still all references to the Emperor are respectful and affectionate.

The Ranger Snow Episode.

[By Mr. I. H. Baqai, M.A.]

The treaty of Salbai was ratified on the 20th December 1782 and the execution of some of its articles was postponed till the 24th April 1783. But meanwhile there occurred an incident which might have nullified all the efforts of Warren Hastings and Mahadaji Sindhia and could have easily resulted in the renewal of war between the Honourable Company and the Peshwa. The Bombay Government had, however, its hands full on the Malabar Coast and the Peshwa wisely attributed the incident to the ignorance of his Admiral, Anand Rao Dhulap. The *Ranger Snow* episode, therefore did not develop into a major crisis. It. however, throws interesting light on the Anglo-Maratha relations immediately after the treaty of Salbai and on the efforts of Mahadaji Sindhia to maintain *'entente cordiale'* between the Maratha powers and the English. It also shows that the first consideration with the English was, at this time, to subdue the rising power of Tipu Sultan.

Tipu Sultan was at this time on the Malabar Coast. He had returned from the Carnatic to the Bednore Country, and got possession of all the passes leading up from the coast;[1] consequently Bednore had to be surrendered to him.[2] After taking Bednore he proceeded towards Mangalore and besieged General Mathews there. The situation was serious. Mr. David Anderson, Resident with Mahadaji Sindhia, wrote to Fort William, "this critical situation of General Mathews makes me extremely anxious to induce the Marathas to take part in our favour."[3]

But the Bombay Government wanted a change of command. General Mathews had already forfeited their favour by his behaviour at Bednore. He ignored the agents appointed by them "to take charge of their property as captors."[4] The senior officers of the army, including Colonel Macleod and Major Campbell, made a strong representation to General Mathews. It was turned down and they accordingly came to Bombay to prefer charges against the General. The Select Committee at Bombay, therefore, decided to suspend him, now that he was also losing fort after fort to Tipu Sultan, and appointed Colonel Norman Macleod in his place In their letter,[5] dated Bombay the 4th April 1783, they asked him to proceed to Bednore country and instructed him to collect the divided forces, to seek co-operation of the Madras Army, to keep a journal or diary of his proceedings and to be "punctual and unreserved" in his correspondence with them and the Select Committee at Madras. They empowered him to appoint and confirm general court martial as well as a judge advocate.

With these instructions and powers Colonel Norman Macleod, along with Colonel Humberston and Major Shaw, embarked on the illfated *Ranger Snow* on the 5th April 1783.[6]

1 Imperial Record Dept. (I. R. D.) Sec. Cons. 16th June 1783.

2 Bednore (or Haidar-Nuggar) was lost to Tippu Sultan through the treachery of its faujdar Ayaz.

3 Sec. Cons. 16th June 1783.

4 Sec. Cons. 29 May 1783 No. I.

5 Appendix to Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783.

6 *Ibid.*

On Tuesday the 8th April at sun-rise they saw "two sail (ships) to the South-west and soon after several others."[7] On the 9th these were identified as those of the Marathas "consisting of two large grab ships and ketch, and eight galivats steering with studding sails set."[8] Commander Pruen immediately took all necessary precautions. He was rather keen on a fight as he wanted to show to the distinguished passengers on board that a "Company's cruiser could fight as stoutly as a King's ship."[9] It now seems likely that the actual fight could have been avoided if the Commander had been "less sailor like"[10]. The fight, however, did ensue, and proved a touch one. Commander Pruen says in his account[11] to the Bombay Government, "the engagement was carried on by musketry by both the sides, on ours from the main deck, quarter deck, and fore castle. The European servants upon the main deck were under Lieutenant Stuart. Lieutenant Taylor was, on the appearance of our being boarded forward, detached from the quarter deck to defend the forecastle—a position which he maintained against heavy numbers till he fell by a shot. Colonel Macleod, who had been with me on the quarter deck from the commencement of the action and had (though I was not acquainted with it) received two shots in his left arm, yet this did not prevent him from running forward to the forecastle, which was now on the point of being carried by the enemy from the prow of the ship. This place he nobly defended, supported by a few with his sword in his right hand, till he received a third shot through his body. The brave Major (Major Shaw) was now lying dead at my feet with three sepoys. Colonel Humberston, who had rendered me every service first at the great guns and laterly at the small arms, was now—about half past two—shot through the body as he was running along the booms to regain the forecastle and fell upon the main deck."

The loss of these gallant officers,[12] the breaking out of fires on many parts of the ship and the serious loss in firearms forced the commander to strike the colours. After the Marathas had cleared the ships and the ketch a rope was made fast to the vessel from the second in Command

7 Lt. Commander Pruen's letter to the President of the Select Committee at Bombay (Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783-F.).

8 *Ibid.*

9 Low. History of the Indian Navy, p. 157.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783.

12 In an enclosure to his letter to the Select Committee at Bombay Commander Pruen gives as below the list of those killed or wounded on board the ship.

Killed.	*Wounded.*
Major Shaw.	Col. Maclead.
3 Sepoys.	Col. Humberston.
1 Topass.	Lt. Taylor.
	Lt. Stewart.
	2 European Seamen.
	3 European Servants.
	7 Lascars.
	1 Naigree.
	5 Sepoys.
	1 Servant.
	23

and it was towed into Gheria where they anchored at nine that night above the fort.[13]

The Marathas also sustained heavy loss. Commander Pruen estimated it to 16 killed (including four "principal men") and 43 wounded. Their fleet included the ships '*Naran Pant*' '*Madoo Pant*' and '*Ramprant*', equipped respectively with guns $\frac{22''}{12} - \frac{2''}{12}$, $20'' - 2''$ and $\frac{14''}{4} - \frac{2}{12}$. There were also eight galivats with 2 to 3 guns each.[14] It was commanded by Anand Rao Dhulap, the best known, if not the ablest of the Peshwa's naval officers.[15]

The Bombay Government came to know of the capture of '*Ranger Snow*' by 18th April. They were rather surprised at the news as peace had been proclaimed at Bombay before the despatch of the vessel and special orders were given to the Commander not to commit hostility against any Maratha vessel.[16] On the 19th the President of the Select Committee at Bombay wrote a letter to the Peshwa and in the mean time the Commanders judged it proper to countermand the orders for making the restitutions stipulated by the Treaty of Salbai until this affair was properly settled.[17]

But sixteen days passed and the Peshwa did not send any reply.[18] The President again wrote to Poona. Mr. David Anderson was also informed. He had no doubts about the sincerity of Mahadaji Sindhia but the silence of the Peshwa led him to suspect the Peshwa's ministers. But Mahadaji Sindhia, "the Principal and Guarantee"[19] on behalf of the Marathas in this period, removed all his doubts. He writes in his diary "Sindhia seemed not to have the smallest doubt regarding the *Ranger*. He assured me that Nanah (Nana Fadnavis) had sent down a Pundit to make enquiry into the cause of the affair. He said that it was alleged the Maratha fleet had been out on a piratical cruise for some time and could not possibly be informed of the final conclusion of the peace."[20] Madhu Rao Narayan Peshwa had meanwhile written a letter dated the 2nd May which was received by the Bombay Government on the 8th; stating "I hope upon your account ordered the said Dhulop to release the English officers and the vessels. I hope they and the vessel will arrive to your Honor safe and shortly. The English ought to and will comply with all the articles of the treaty."[21] To this the President sent a reply of mild protest and assurance saying "How can the English comply with the treaty until you write that there is peace and send persons properly authorized to receive the districts. A treaty is not binding upon one party only and what could I think when I saw our vessels taken by your fleet after I had been acquainted that you had agreed to the Treaty and that your *sicca* had been affixed to it." After thanking him for the orders of the release of the vessel he added, "I now assure you of my

13 Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783.
14 Sec. Cons. 28th July 1873 No. F.
15 S. N. Sen, 'Military System of the Marathas', p. 237.
16 Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783 No. A.
17 *Ibid.*
18 Sec. Cons. 28th July, 1783 No. B.
19 Sec. Cons. 25th August 1783.
20 Extract from the dairy of Mr. Anderson, dated the 12th June. Forest's selec tions from the For. Dept.= Recods,p. 979.
21 Sec. Cons. 28th July, 1783-C.

sincere desire that there should be a firm peace and friendship between the English and your Circar (Sarkar). Great advantages may be produced thereby to both nations. I also assure you that there shall be no delay on my part in complying fully with the article of the late treaty.'[22]

Besides this diplomatic pressure Colonel Macleod also claimed to have paid Rs. 10,465 as presents for the speedy release of the vessel. In his letter to the President and Council of Bombay about his pay and allowances he added, "I also enclose an account of money extorted from me by the Maratha Anand Rao Dhulap without which he refused to release the *Ranger Snow* belonging to this Presidency and of presents sent to Nana Furnase (Fadnavis) at Poona by the Captain General of Goa to induce him to order the release. These sums were paid by David Scott, Esq., by bills of Exchange and are by him charged to my private account. The amount is 10,465 Rupees.'[23] The Government, however, questioned his authority to make such presents and referred the whole matter to the Court of Directors.[24] The vessel reached Bombay on the 27th May in too disabled and a despoiled condition to be able to proceed southward.

The Court of Directors presented Lieutenant Commander Pruen with a valuable sword in token of their appreciation of the devoted gallantry he had displayed and the Bombay Government gave pecuniary rewards to the survivors of the Crew.[25]

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22 Letter to the Peshawa, dated Bombay, 15th May 1783. Sec. Cons. 28th July 1783.
23 Public Dept. Cons. 15 Sept. 1785 No. 19.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Low, History of the Indian Navy.

A Collection of Original letters by Nizam Ali Khan addressed to Mohamed Ali Wala Jah.

[By Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B.]

The object of this paper is to introduce to the research scholars, a collection of original letters which were addressed by Nizam Ali Khan to Mohamed Ali Wala Jah who governed Karnatak Painghat under Hyderabad Nizams, and later on, under the English Company. These letters, which form part of a large collection, are preserved in a small library of Hyderabad called Syeedia Library. Modest though the library appears, and it is run entirely by private persons, it is, yet a repository of valuable historical records. Apart from the old books belonging to the early centuries of Hijra, it contains a very large collection of manuscripts of various kinds such as letters, private and official, royal edicts, deeds, 'Sanads' and documents, so valuable for the study of the political condition of the South in the Eighteenth century. They are full of historical facts which have a direct bearing on the history of the Deccan as well as of Coromandal Coast, and on the part played by the English and the French Companies in the country. Originally the collection lay scattered among different Mohammadan families at Madras, and had it not been collected and preserved by the sincere efforts of the Library Managers, it would have perished sooner or later.

The letters of Nizam Ali, which are a very important field for historical research, cover a fairly long period from 1171 A. H. corresponding to 1757 A. D., when he held the post of the chief minister under his brother Salabat Jung, till his death—a period which was very critical in the history of the Deccan and that of the Coromandal Coast, on account of the forces which were competing for domination in the country. The letters throw valuable light on the entire course of events in the Deccan and Coromandal Coast from Vizagapatam up to Madras, which was the scene of ceaseless warfare sometimes internal and sometimes against foreign powers. The letters reveal how the young kingdom of Hyderabad, which was then passing through her early stages of consolidation, had to struggle hard against the Marathas on one side and the foreign powers on the other. The Marathas had gathered a very formidable power to the West and the South of the kingdom and therefore an incessant war raged between the former and the latter since the days of Nizamul Mulk. The English and the French Companies had occupied key positions on the Coromandal Coast, and seeking alliance with the native rulers, were pursuing an ambitious policy with a view to dominate the whole of the Southern region.

The Sub-Province of Karnatak Painghat which was situated to the East of Hyderabad, stretched from the river Krishna upto Malabar and possessed very important Sea Ports as Chinapatan (Madras) Pondichery and Portonovo. The province was formely left in the charge of the Nawayet family of Saadatullah Khan who was succeeded by his son Dost Ali. But owing to the weak government of Saadatullah Khan's successors, the province was frequently ravaged by the Maratha raids, and therefore Nizamul Mulk was forced to replace them by Anwaruddin Khan Shahamat Jung who proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. But unfortunately the survivors of the old family lingered on and making common cause with a European Company struggled hard to regain their former power. They were supported by the French, whereas Shahamat Jung and his successor,

Mohamed Ali Wala Jah, were supported by the English Company. Hence a grim struggle between the rival claimants followed, which not only disturbed the peace of the Coromandal Coast but it also involved the Hyderabad State which claimed paramountcy over Karnatak Painghat and the Coast. The Hyderabad Nizams were under political obligation to support their Sub-governor Mohamed Ali who had succeeded his father Shahamat Jung after the battle of Amboor in 1749, and indirectly the English Company which had identified itself with the former's cause. This unhappy state of affairs continued throughout the reign of Nizam Ali Khan, to which he refers in most of his letters. There is a series of letters which refer to the aggressions of the French and his efforts to support Mohamed Ali against the former.

But the friendly relations between the Nizam and the English Company did not last long. The letters supply reliable facts showing how the English Company drifted slowly to the opposite camp after gaining ascendency in the Coromandal Coast at the cost of the French. In pursuit of its aims the Company slowly changed its attitude towards the Nizam with a view to take Mohamed Ali directly under its control so that it might assume the paramount power which was exercised by the Nizam so far. This change slowly came to a head and the Nizam was at last persuaded to forego his claims of sovereignty over Karnatak in a treaty which was concluded with the Company on 12th February 1768. Mohamed Ali no longer owed allegiance to the Nizam after the treaty came in force, yet it appears that he never ceased to respect the time-honoured superiority of Hyderabad and found himself at least morally bound to follow the wishes of the Nizam. He acted as an intermediary between the Company and the Hyderabad government. Most of the letters of Nizam Ali Khan which dealt with the problems of Karnatak and Northern Circars were not directly addressed to the English Company, but passed through Mohamed Ali who always communicated the wishes of the Nizam to the Company and tried to ease the situation whenever the need arose.

These letters, some quite short and others fairly long, are of semi-official character, concerned with affairs of the moment and sometimes with urgent government business. They all bear the small seal, whereas the state letters and ukases bore the large state seals. These letters were rolled up and stuck with a slip with the seal on it. A comparative study shows that Nizam Ali Khan used a seal of his own from his younger days, which differs from those of his father and brothers. It is easily distinguishable from that of Nizamul Mulk in size and engraving. It is also curious to note that the seals were renewed from year to year with the change of date, because they bear different dates from 1171 A. H.—1758 A. D. to 1218 A. H.—1803 A. D. His initials which he put at the end of every letter are of two kinds.[1] Some of his early letters, which are very few in number, bear a type of initials which seem to be a distorted copy of his father's. It appears that in the beginning, Nizam Ali Khan, like his brothers, used to copy his father's signature, but later on, he changed it and adopted a particular type of initials of his own. The latter is a sort of a circle with a bend on one side like the Urdu figure "five".

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[1] The initials which the Nizams of Hyderabad put down at the end of the letters are known as بیاض Baiz. They have nothing to do with their names, but served as a sign in their own hand.

Excepting the initials and some minor notes and additions sometimes made on the margin, all the letters are written, not in the Nizam's own hand, but by government clerks appointed for the purpose. But it appears that the letters were most probably dictated by Nizam Ali Khan, because they are all distinguished by a scholarly style and are worded in statesman-like manner. Their dignified tone and high style show that the writer was fully alive to the sense of political responsibility and was highly qualified to compose his letters according to the status and mentality of the persons addressed and according to the trend of the political situation. First of all, the epithets which begin the letters, vary according to the position of those who were addressed. Men of lower ranks, like Zamindars and Poligars, were addressed in terms as جلادت دستگاها master of endurence; تهور دستگاها master of bravery. But Mohamed Ali Wala Jah who held a distinguished place as a Sub-governor of the Karnatak Painghat, was addressed in higher terms as امارت و ایالت، مرتبت شجاعت و بسالت منزلت one who is distinguished in nobleness leadership, endowed with galantry and heroism. Some years later when Karnatak was excluded from the Hyderabad sovereignty, Mohamed Ali was accorded equal treatment and was addressed with a noble epithet as برادر عزیزالقدر my esteemed brother, which was a unique honour.[1]

The letters are not monotonous as the style varies according to the persons addressed and according to the magnitude of events recorded. Every letter is written in a brilliant language suited to the particular occasion and purpose. Letters which were meant to communicate administrative or military reports are couched in a simple language which serve the ordinary purpose, and those which were intended to encourage the state officials or to exhort them to be loyal and dutiful in their field of action, are expressed in higher terms; whereas the letters which were addressed to foreign powers are quite distinct in their expression. They are written in a diplomatic phraseology which conveys an air of superiority and greatness, sometimes combined with the spirit of accommodation and trust. And thus the letters not only breathe the political atmosphere of the time, but also reveal the standpoint from which the Nizam faced and solved the situation. For example, in a long letter written in connection with the seizure of Murtaza Nagar (Guntur) by the English Company, he uses the expressions which give a sense of intimidation combined with the spirit of friendly understanding. And in another letter dated 1178 A. H., in which he expressed his displeasure at the disloyal attitude of Wala Jah, he uses the expressions as عجب است که ازان خلف الصدق دودمان صدق و صفا در این امر واجب الادا تعویق مفرط بلا معرض وقوع آمد it is strange that a noble descendent of a noble family with high traditions of loyalty and devotion, like you, should be remiss in the discharge of duties which were strictly binding.

As the limited space of the paper does not allow the enumeration of all the letters with their contents, a few important letters may be mentioned here. A small volume contains a series of small letters which were issued simultaneously to various Zamindars and military chiefs of Kanarese and Telegu districts to help Mohamed Ali Wala Jah against the French. The

1 I did not find the letter of Nizam Ali Khan which communicated this honour to Mohamed Ali. But a copy of the latter's reply in which the royal favour was gratefully acknowledged, is extant in the collection, and it is dated 1181 A. H. corresponding to 1768 A. D., which falls after the ترفعظمی was awarded. The first letter written by Nizam Ali Khan with the epithet is dated 1182 A. H.-1768.

letters which are 13 in number, have no date, but the seal bears the date 1171 A. H. which corresponds to 1758 A. D., and therefore they refer to the French military movement against the English Company after the arrival of Lally. They, varying only in minor details, are all to the effect that the French have made an incursion into Arcot and have challenged Mohamed Ali and therefore the addressees are advised to march with their fully equipped reinforcement to his help, so that this undertaking may end in success.

Out of the other groups, there is one important letter which was issued after the accession of the Nizam. It conveyed to Mohamed Ali the good tidings that Nizam Ali Khan was recognized by the Emperor of Delhi as the rightful successor of his father with an implication that the subordinate governors should pay their allegiance to him. A copy of the Emperor's Farman is also enclosed herewith saying that Salabat Jung is replaced by Nizam Ali Khan who is recognized as the legitimate governor of the Deccan.

Another letter dated 19th, Zehuj 1175 A. H.—1761 A. D. gives an assurance to Mohamed Ali that the Nizam would not allow any political matter under the former's jurisdiction, to reach him directly, but through him—a point of administrative discipline.

Another letter dated Shaban 1176 A. H.—1762 A. D. refers to Husain Ali Khan who was in charge of Rajmandri and who had misappropriated the revenue of the district and sought refuge with the English Company at Madras. Mohamed Ali Wala Jah is directed in this letter to see to this matter and warn the English authorities not to help the defaulter in any way.

A letter dated 23rd Safar 1207 A. H.—1792 A. D. relates that one Abdul Majeed Khan was deputed to Masulipatam to meet the sub-governor of the port under the English Company and settle the dispute relating to the territorial jurisdiction which had arisen between the government of Hyderabad and that of the Company.

Another letter dated 6th Shawal 1208 A. H.—1793 A. D. is a reply to Mohamed Ali that the government of Madras was entrusted to him. Nizam expressed his pleasure at this happy event and hoped that it will maintain friendly relations between the government of the Company and that of Hyderabad.

Another letter dated 2nd Rajab 1210 A. H.—1795 A. D. was issued on the death of Mohamed Ali. His successor Omdatul Omara was condoled and honoured by the Royal presents consisting of a turban, sheet and other precious ornaments. The list of the presents which was forwarded to Madras is also attached to this letter.

Note on some Ancient Documents from Dodbállapur, Bangalore[1]

[By Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.]

These documents refer themselves to the family of Sardeshpande Nagappa, whose descendants at present possess them. They consist of certain *sanads* relating to certain inams and *jagirs* in the present Dodballapur Sub-division, Bangalore district. They are mainly in the Persian and Marathi languages and bear seals of the respective kings, emperors, ministers, generals and others who issued them. The Bijapur *sanads* are in Marathi, while the Mughal *sanads* are in Persian and Marathi languages Dodballapur is a town on the right bank of the Arkavati, 27 miles north-west of Bangalore, with which it is connected by rail and road. It is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name and a municipality. It has at present a population of some 10,000. In the 12th century, when the Hoysala Kings ruled this part of the country, it was embellished with fine temples, whose ruins are to be seen here in Dodballapur yet. It was then evidently an important centre of trade. During the period of the Vijayanagar Kings, the Palegar chief, Malla Baire Gauda of Avati, the founder of Devanhalli, founded Dodballapur and cleared the forests round about and built a temple and a fort. He established his brother, Havali Baire Gauda, in the place. His successors, Dodda Havali Baire Gauda, Havali Baire Gauda II and Chikkappa Gauda, held the place one after another. In the third year of Chikkappa Gauda's Palegarship, Randulah Khan besieged Dodballapur and took it on behalf of Bijapur in 1638 A. D. About 1678, it surrendered to the Mahrattas, by whom the fort was enlarged. Kasim Khan, the Mughal General, invested it in 1689, and it surrendered to him after a stout defence of two months. Dodballapur and a part of the country surrounding it was then formed into a jagir yielding a revenue of 54,059 pagodas and bestowed on a favourite general named Ali Kuli Khan. But he enjoyed it only for a short time and died. His son, Darga Kuli Khan, then Subadar of Sira, succeeded him, relinquishing his office at Sira. On his death a year later, it remained attached to Sira, the Mughal headquarters, for nearly 49 years, when it was seized by the Nizam of Hyderabad, and bestowed as a *jagir* on Abbas Kuli Khan. In 1761, it was captured by the famous Haidar Ali, on behalf of the King of Mysore, and has ever since been subject to Mysore.

I have recently visited the fort, which goes back to at least the 16th century A. D. It seems to have been built out of the ruins of other buildings, it is said, belonging to Rajaghatta, not far away. There are the remains of several fine buildings and tanks in the fort. Of these, the most notable one, now almost entirely destroyed, is the *Ashur Khana* erected by Abbas Kuli Khan, above referred to. Another is a fine well, laid with three flights of stairs leading down to it and a very stout stone grating over the water. Towards the west of the town is the tomb (dargah) of the Saint Mohid-din Chishti, who is reported to have died here about 1700 A. D. It has been built largely from materials taken from some Hindu temples which are no more.

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1 These documents are in the possession of Sardeshpande Madhava Rao, B.A., B.E., Assistant Engineer, Mysore P. W. D.

A Hoysala lithic inscription, dated in 1267 A. D., found here is of special interest on account of the symbols at its top having been removed to make room for an inscription in Persian, dated in 1691 A. D. of the time of Aurangzib. This inscription records that in the 32nd year of the reign of Aurangzib, Ballapur was in the hands of the family of Samba (Sambhaji, son of Sivaji), that through the exertions of Kasim Khan, Faujdar of the Karnatak Province, it passed from his hands into the possession of the Mughal Emperor, and that in the 34th year of his reign, it was granted to one Shaikh Abdullah. His identity is not yet settled. Whether he is the same as Ali Kuli Khan above referred to, is not quite clear. The slab on which the inscription is recorded evidently belonged to a Hoysala temple at the place—probably the ruined Adinarayana temple whose other remains show unmistakably its Hoysala origin—and was moved to its present place in the 30th year of Aurangzib's reign, and as it referred itself to a charitable grant, it was, it is said, erected to perpetuate the memory of Shaikh Abdullah.

With this background of general history, we may glance through the documents, which, taken together, show how successive governments tried or rather were compelled to build their administrations on the foundations laid by their predecessors.

The traditional story of the family to which the documents relate themselves may be briefly told. During the time that Havali Baire Gauda secured permission from the then Vijayanagar king—*Circa* 1565 A. D.—to found Dodballapur, he was helped by one Nagappa, an able and energetic Brahman, who was well versed in accounts and civil administration generally. He was evidently in revenue charge of the territory. At Dodballapur itself, he is said to have dug the tank now known as Nagarkere, whose outlet and bund, it may be remarked, are built mostly of the materials of ruined temples. For this service, he was granted a *Kattu Kodige inam*, long in the enjoyment of the family. Apart from this grant, Havali Baire Gauda, the founder of Dodballapur, bestowed on him, besides wet and dry *inam* lands in the territory occupied by him, eight villages to be enjoyed by him and his descendants on *inam* tenure. Also, he was allowed to receive the coveted privilege of the first betel nut with one *fanam* at every *raiyat's* wedding in the area. He was further granted a garden in Dodballapur and another at Ṣivapura, not far away, which are still in the enjoyment of his descendants. Nagappa was designated *Pratikartar* (lit. Substitute Lord), which might be rendered as Deputy of the Palegar. The revenue of the area thus administered was about one lakh of pagodas, a pagoda being equal to Rs. 3½.

No documents of this period—the Vijayanagar period—have survived in the family. When the Bijapur conquest took place as above narrated, in 1638 A. D., Chikkappa, the Palegar, was ousted and Dodballapur was garrisoned by Bijapur troops. The revenue administration, however, continued in the hands of Narasanna, son of Nagappa, and the latter's sons, Giriyappa and Venkanna. Giriyappa is said to have improved the country, which, owing to the war, had suffered no little. He was given the title of *Deshpande*, a title well known in the Bijapur dominions and later adopted by and made a feature of their revenue administration by the Mahrattas. The holders of this and the other titles of *Deshkulkarni*, *Sar-nadgaud*, *Deshmukh*, and *Kanungo*, had mostly to do with the maintenance

of revenue accounts of the territories brought under control. Narasanna was confirmed in his possessions and privileges, besides being allowed a share in the revenue collected. This was fixed at 2½ *pagodas* per cent. on the footing of the *jamabandi faisal*. The Bijapur system of dividing the occupied area into *parganas* also seems to have been introduced at about this time, together with the subordinate divisions of *samats*, *tarafs*, *mauje* and *mujare* of each *pargana*, a *Jamadar* (Collector) being appointed to each revenue division for settling the *jamabandi*, the total amount to be paid. Our modern Collectors are the descendants in title of these old Bijapur officers. Narasanna's 2½ p. c. was based on the amount collected and paid into the local Bijapur treasury.

Of this Bijapur period, a few documents have survived. They are the following:—

(1) *Sanad* granted by Saadat Khan, Bijapur representative, to Narasanna (Narasappa) *Kadatgar* (lit. Keeper of account books). This Marathi document bears the Bijapur seal. It confirms the grant of the villages of Kamdur, Jananhalli and Karenahalli as *inams* in the name of Narasanna, Kadatgar.

(2) *Sanad* granted by Saadat Khairat Khan of Bijapur to Narasanna Kadatgar, and duly sealed. It confirms the above villages in the name of the same Narasanna Kadatgar.

(3) *Sanad* granted by Randulah Khan to Venkanna, second son of Narasanna, dated 1st *Jamadi-us-Sani* (June-July) 1061, *Hijri* (1648 A. D., taking A. H. as A. D. 587). It confirms the village of Kamdur and the Kadatgari rights in Venkanna. As Dodballapur surrendered to the Mahrattas about 1679, the date of this document would seem to show that Bijapur, with whom the Mahrattas were closely connected as its generals and officers, still continued to exercise some kind of authority—real or nominal—over it.

We now pass on to the Mahratta period, of which we have some documents. It should be remembered that the Mahrattas held Dodballapur only for a decade, during which period they enlarged the local fort. Among the documents of this period are:—

(4) *Sanad* duly sealed and granted by Harji Raja of Gingi to Kenchappa, son of Giriyanna. It is dated *Phalguna Suddha* 5, Cyclic year Krodhana (=Wednesday, February 17, 1686), and confirms two minor *inams* in Lingapur village, already in the enjoyment of Kenchappa's family.

(5) *Sanad* granted by Raghunath Narayan, Mahratta representative, to Giriyanna, confirming Kamdur village.

(6) *Sanad* granted by Rango Narayan (Raghunath Narayan Hanumante) to Giriyanna, son of Narasanna, confirming to him certain *inams* and *vatans* in the taluks of Manne, Kolar and Uradakere, long in the enjoyment of his family.

(7) *Sanad* granted by Harji Raja Mahadik,[1] confirming the grant of Kamdur to Kusu Girimaji, to be identified with Kenchappa (*alias*

[1] This is the "Hurjee Raja Mahareek" of Grant-Duff, See *History of the Marhattas*. (Edwardes edition, 1921), I. 238-69. Harji Raja was put in charge of Ginji province by Raghunath Narayan Hanumante when he left that place to Raigarh (op cit. I, 238).

Kusappa), the eldest of the seven sons of Giriyanna, who probably died about this time. A fresh confirmation of the village was evidently necessitated by the death of the father and the succession of the son.

This was in keeping with Bijapur and Mughal practice. The *faujdars* farmed out the districts under their charge to the *Deshmukhs, Desais, Deshkulkarnis*, etc., and the Dewan under them realized the revenue from them[1]. And unless a personal contact was established by the *faujdar* with the person to whom the farming was granted, it would be impossible to realize the revenue collected. Hence a fresh confirmation was felt necessary at each succession.

(8) *Sanad* granted by Harji Raja to Kusu Girimaji confirming the villages of Kamdur, etc., as previously enjoyed.

(9) *Kaulnama* granted by Rango Narayan (Raghunath Narayan)[2] to Kusappa, son of Giriyanna (Kadatgar). This document records the grant of the village of Palanahalli, then in a ruined state, for five years, raising the Kaul from 5 to 25 pagodas. It also authorizes Kusappa to continue the minor *inams* granted to the Patel (village head) from year to year, etc.

The Mughals under Kasim Khan invested Dodballapur and it surrendered to them in 1689, after a stout defence of two months. Dodballapur and a part of the country surrounding it was, as stated above, formed into a *jagir* and bestowed on a favourite general named Ali Kuli Khan.

At the same time, a *Sanad* was issued to Sardeshpande Kusappa, which is interesting as showing the method adopted by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzib, the grantor of the Kaulnama, to bring the country under his control. This is the first document of this period.

(10) The *Sanad* (a Kaulnama) is dated 1 *Shaban* 32 *Julus*[3] (=32nd year of the reign of Aurangzib, or August-September, 1690 A. D.), and authorizes Kusappa to repopulate the *pargana* of Dodballapur—comprising of the ten *Mahals* named therein, which had remained so far in a ruined condition during the years 31 and 32 (*i.e.* 1689-1690, the years preceding the grant)—through the aid of *Deshmukhs* and others. He was allowed to bring in new *raiyats* to cultivate the land by giving them all necessary help. The *inams* to *Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Peshkars*, etc., were expressly ordered to be continued, while the rights of the *Sardeshpande* were to be confirmed as of old. The *Sardeshpande* (Kusappa) was to remain faithful to the *Sarkar* and act economically in all matters affecting the repopulation of the country and making it prosperous. The *Sanad* is duly sealed and runs in the name of the Alamgir Badshah Ghazi, etc.

(11) The second document of this period is also one issued by Kifayat Khan Bahadur Fidvi[4]-i-Alamgir Badshah Ghazi to Kusappa, dated 5th *Shaban Julus* 50 (50th year of Aurangzib's reign, August-September 1707 or 1708) and bears his seal. This *sanad* confirms Kusappa in the dignity of *Sardeshpande* in terms of the *muchalka* given by him to the

[1] See Duff, op. cit., I, 267.

[2] This is the "Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay" (Hanumante) of Duff, op. cit., I. 238.

[3] *Julus*: Year of installation or succession.

[4] *Fidvi*: lit. devoted servant. Accordingly the meaning would be "Kifayat Khan, servant of Alamgir." Kifayat Khan is elsewhere referred to as Minister of Aurangzib.

Bijapur *Sarkar*. According to this agreement, he stipulated to farm the Dodballapur *pargana* at an annual *peshkash* of pagodas 17,063, of which he was to pay in 2/3rd to the *Sarkar* and retain the balance of 1/3rd to himself. This *muchalka* was confirmed to Kusappa.

(12) The third document of this period is found issued in favour of Deshpande Kusappa by Abdul Mukarim Murid, Dewan to Emperor Alamgir. In confirming the office of *Sardeshpande*, it allows him a *rusum* of 2½ pagodas, on the net revenues of the *pargana* of Dodballapur. He is directed to do everything possible to improve the country and keep the people happy and faithful to the *Sarkar*.

(13) *Sanad* granted by Kifayat Khan *Fidvi*-i-Alamgir Padshah Ghazi to Kusappa, and is dated 11th *Shawwal* 51 *Julus* (=October—November 1708—1709 A. D.). It confirms Kamdur rent free to Kusappa, who is ordained to enjoy the same and pray for the prosperity of the *Sarkar*. (In regard to the date of this document, we must note that Aurangzib came to throne on July 21, 1658.)

(14) *Sanad* granted by Kifayat Khan *Fidvi*-i-Alamgir Padshah dated 15th *Shawwal Julus* 50 to Kusappa Sardeshpande. 15th *Shawwal* would fall in October-November of 1708 A. D. in the 50th year of the reign of Aurangzib. This confirms the *inam* village of Kamdur.

(15) *Sanad* granted by Abdul Mukarim Murid *Fidvi*-i-Alamgir Padshah to Shamji, dated 2nd *Rajab Julus* 33, *i.e.*, July-August 1691 A. D. Shamji has to be identified with Shamanna, the only son of Kusappa, mentioned in the several documents above mentioned. This *Sanad* confirms to Shamji the *rusum* of 3/8th pagoda on *Sayar bazi-bab* and Kasba Rampet collections and one *fanam* for every plough to the Kasba Haveli villages. As Kusappa was still alive at the time of this grant, evidently his son Shamanna was recognised as possessing these rights in his own interests.

(16) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam Padshah to Kusappa Sardespande dated 1118 *Fasli* (=A. D. 1709).[1] This permits Kusappa to deduct 250 pagodas from the annual *peshkash* payable by him, the same having been expended by him on repairs to the Dodballapur fort.

(17) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam Padshah to Kusu Girimaji, dated 15th *Ramzan*, confirming the village of Kamdur. 15th *Ramzan*, the date of this *Sanad*, would be about the middle of September-October 1707, when Bahadur Shah was fully established on the throne.

We should here recall the fact that Aurangzib died on February 20, 1707, leaving three sons, Muazzam, who, according to his plan, was to succeed as Padshah; Azam, to govern the country that lay to the south and south-west of Agra, except Golkonda and Bijapur; and Kam Bakhsh, who was to govern the two latter provinces. The war between the brothers ended on June 10, 1707, in which Azam was mortally wounded and Muazzam was victorious. The latter, about 64 years of age, ascended the throne thereafter (June 1707), with the title of Bahadur Shah, also

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1 *Fasli* (or Fusly): Harvest year. In Bengal, it begins in September with the full moon preceding the autumnal equinox; its date also varies 3 years from Madras *Fasli* to find this we have to subtract 593 from the Christian year. In Madras, a *Fasli* year begins on 1st July and ends on 30th June following, though it formerly counted from the 12th July. In Madras, it is 590 years less than the A. D. year.

known as Shah Alam I. Later, Muazzam advanced against his remaining brother and he lay dead on the field of battle, near Hyderabad, early in 1708. Bahadur Shah ruled from 1708 to 1712. He was succeeded by Jahandar Shah, his fourth son (1712-13), whose minister was the capable but rather unscrupulous general, Zulfikar Khan. Jahandar was put to death by his nephew—brother's son—Farrukhsiyar, with his general. Farrukhsiyar ruled from 1713 to 1719. He was a weakling and the powers of government were exercised by the Saiyid brothers, Abdullah and Husain Ali, who eventually murdered him in 1719. Then followed three boy Emperors, of whom the first two died within a few months of each other after their accession, whilst the third, Muhammad Shah, reigned from 1719 to 1748. As will be seen from what follows, the remaining *Sanads*—to be referred to below—were issued in the names of Shah Alam (*alias* Bahadur Shah), Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. The name Abdul Rasul Khan appears in one of the *Sanads* issued in the name of Muhammad Shah, dated in *Fasli* 1132 (=1722 A. D.). But he is not the same as Saiyid Abdullah who died in 1720. Muhammad Shah, tired of Abdullah and Husain Ali, got rid of the latter while on an expedition to recover the Deccan from the Turkish General, Kilich Khan, better known as Asaf Jah (later Nizam-ul-Mulk). Abdullah soon followed his brother, after being first cast into prison, where he died after a short while. Nizam-ul-Mulk, then the Wazir of the Empire, left the capital in disgust in 1723, to his territories in the Deccan, where he became independent.

(18) *Sanad* by Jafar Ali Khan *Fidvi*-i-Shah Alam Padshah to Sardeshpande Kusappa, dated 22nd *Jamadi-us-Sani Julus* I. This *Sanad* relates itself to the first year of Shah Alam I, the corresponding month and year being June-July 1708-1709 A. D.

It states that as the office of Deshpande of Dodballapur *Pargana* had been confirmed in terms of the *Sanad* granted by Dewan Kifayat Khan, under the orders of Emperor Alamgir (Aurangzib) as heretofore enjoyed, Kusappa was to do everything to advance the prosperity and stability of the Emperor's government; to improve the country, add to its resources and to keep the *raiyats* happy and contented by doing virtuous deeds in their interests. He was to pay the *peshkash* according to the terms fixed. As Shah Alam I, had just ascended the throne, a confirmatory *Sanad* seems to have been deemed necessary. It may be inferred that Kifayat Khan continued in office after Aurangzib's death and occupied the same position under Shah Alam I.

(19) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam to Sardeshpande Venkata Rao, dated 3rd *Julus* (=A. D. 1710). This falls in the 3rd year of Shah Alam I and records the gift of Tinnalur, a village in the present Hoskote taluk. Venkata Rao was the second son of Shamanna (the only son of Kusappa) and succeeded his father in the Sardeshpandeship, his elder brother, Narasappa (*alias* Narasinga Rao) being dead. Venkata Rao was accordingly recognised as Sardeshpande of Dodballapur by the Emperor, and his brothers, five in number, assisted him in the discharge of his duties.

(20) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam to Sardeshpande Kusu Girimaji (*i.e.*, Kusappa, son of Girimaji, above named) in *Julus* 3 (*i.e.*, 3rd year of his reign), or 1710 A. D. It confirms to him the *inam* village of Nagalapur, according to previous enjoyment.

(21) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam to Sardeshpande Kusu Girimaji in *Julus* 3 (*i.e.*, 1710 A. D.) gifting the village of Chikkanahalli as *inam* to him. This *inam* is confirmed by him in a *sanad* in the 10th year of his reign.

(22) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam to Sardeshpande Kusu Girimaji in *Julus* 3 (*i.e.*, 1710 A. D.) gifting the village of Holeyarahalli to him as *inam*.

(23) *Sanad* granted by Shah Alam to Sardeshpande Kusu Girimaji in *Julus* 3 (*i.e.*, 1710 A. D.), gifting the village of Adde Koppa, in the present Goribidnur taluk, to him as *inam*.

(24) *Sanad* by Rustum Khan *Fidvi*-i-Farrukhsiyar Padshah to Kusu Girimaji, *Julus* 1 (*i.e.*, 1713 A. D.), confirming the *inams* and *rusums* enjoyed by him and as confirmed by the *sanad* of Saadat Khan. This confirmation was evidently deemed necessary as Farrukhsiyar had just assumed the dignity of Emperor.

(25) An order from Farrukhsiyar Padshah to Zubdatul-Akharan Sardeshpande Kusappa, dated in *Fasli* 1123 *Julus* I. This is accordingly a grant made in 1713 A. D., in the first year of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, his uncle Jahandar Shah, who reigned but for a short time, being not represented in these series of grants. The title *Zubdatul-Akharan* is worthy of note.[1] Evidently Sardeshpande Kusappa's services to the Empire were highly esteemed and he was ennobled by Farrukhsiyar, the title connoting that he was recognised as an equal to the Nobles on the Emperor's personal staff. Undoubtedly he had done much to the Imperial cause at Dodballapur. This order directs the payment of 150 pagodas to one Tulsidass as remuneration for services rendered by him to the Mughal army in the Karnatak and to deduct the same from the annual *peshkash* due by him.

(26) *Sanad* by Abid Khan *Fidvi*-i-Farrukhsiyar Padshah to Sardeshpande Kusu Girimaji, dated *Julus* 4 (*i.e.*, 4th year of Farrukhsiyar, or 1717 A. D.), confirming the *inam* village of Halekota as enjoyed heretofore.

(27) Order from Farrukhsiyar Padshah to Zubdatul-Akharan Sardeshpande Kusappa, dated 7th *Shaban*, *San Julus* 6 (the last year of Farrukhsiyar's reign). This order directs a monthly payment of 44 pagodas to Afzal Beg, son of Kasim Beg, as his pay for services rendered to the Mughal army in the Karnatak and to deduct the same from the annual *peshkash* payable by Kusappa.

(28) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji, son of Sardeshpande Kusappa, dated in *Fasli* 1132 (*i.e.*, 1722 A. D.), confirming Holeyarahalli as *Sarva inam*.

(29) *Sanad* by Muhammad Padshah to Shamji, son of Kusappa Sardeshpande, dated in *Fasli* 1132 (*i.e.*, 1722 A. D.), confirming the *inam* village of Madagondanahalli.

(30) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji Kusappa, confirming the *inam* village of Kamdur as heretofore enjoyed, dated in 9th *Rajab* (July-August) *Hijri* 1132 (*i.e.*, 1719 A. D.).

[1] This is an Arabic combination of words used in Persian, meaning literally "May his greatness be ever on the increase".

(31) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji, son of Kusappa Sardeshpande, dated in *Fasli* 1132 (or A. D. 1722).

(32) *Sanad* by Abdur Rasul Khan Fidvi-i-Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji Kusu Deshpande, dated in *Fasli* 1132, (A. D. 1722), confirming the village of Madagondanahalli.

(33) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji, son of Kusappa, dated in *Fasli* 1136 (or (A. D. 1726), confirming the *inam* village of Kamdur.

(34) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Shamji, son of Kusappa dated in *Fasli* 1136 (or A. D. 1726), confirming the *inam* village of

(35) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah to Venkata Rao Sardeshpande, dated 12 *Zikada Hijri* 1136 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1724). This confirms the village of Nagalapur. Venkata Rao was the son of Shamanna.

(36) *Sanad* by Tayar Khan Bahadur Fidvi-i-Muhammad Shah to Venkata Rao Deshpande confirming (the same village of) Nagalapur in *Fasli* 1136 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1726).

(37) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Sardeshpande Venkata Rao, dated 17th *Shawwal* (October-November), *Fasli* 1146 (*i.e.* A. D. 1736). This confirms the *inam* grant of the village of Kolur for the maintenance of a palanquin by him.

(38) *Kaulnama* granted by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Sardeshpande Venkata Rao, dated *Ramzan* (September-October), *Fasli* 1136 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1746).

(39) *Sanad* by Muhammad Shah Padshah to Venkata Rao Shamji Sardeshpande, dated *Hijri* 1161 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1748). This was the last year of Muhammad Shah's reign.

The last quoted *Sanad* brings us to the last year of Muhammad Shah's reign of thirty years. None of his successors—Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II—are represented in the records of this family. This is natural as by then the disintegration of the Mughal Empire was fully in progress. On the other hand, the progress of the Mahrattas in the south is once again reflected in them. Balaji Visvanath, the first Peshwa, had been called in by the Saiyid brothers to Delhi in 1719, to support them against a rival court faction. Farrukhsiyar was put to death in that year and Balaji Visvanath succeeded in obtaining from his successor Muhammad Shah the three well-known grants which laid firmly the foundation for Mahratta power in India; (a) The right to collect *Chauth* or a fourth share of the revenues of the Deccan and the Karnatak, including Hyderabad and Mysore; (b) the right to collect *Sardeshmukhi* or an additional ten per cent share over and above *chauth*; and (c) the recognition of their right of complete sovereignty over their country by the Mahrattas. Balaji Visvanath, as great in state-craft as in warfare, at once took steps to effectuate these concessions. He established the power and prestige of the Mahrattas in the whole of the Deccan and the South generally. His son, Balaji Baji Rao, extended to the north the Mahratta power, until it received a check at Panipat in 1761. Marhatta activities in Mysore are represented by some 30 documents in this family collection. Of these, one belongs to the time

of Balaji Baji Rao and the rest to the period of Madhava Rao, the great Peshwa. The following details may prove interesting:—

(40) *Kaulnama* granted by Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who is described as Raja Sahu Narapati Harsha Nidhan Balaji Baji Rao Pradhan. This is addressed to Sardeshpande Venkata Rao (son of Shamanna and grandson of Kusappa), *Vatandar* of Dodballapur, and introduces to him Balvant Rao Ganapati, with a request that no difficulty may be caused to him and that every assistance should be rendered to him. It states that there would be no difficulty in regard to the continuance of all the rights and privileges possessed by Venkata Rao as Sardeshpande of Dodballapur.

He is also informed that all his *inam* villages would be safe under the new (Mahratta) Sovereignty.

(41) *Sanad* issued by Peshwa Madhava Rao (headed *Sri Sri Krishna, Madhava Rao Ballal, Pradhan*) to Narasinga Rao Yadava Rao, Deshpande, Pargana Ballapur, confirming an *inam* village and minor *inams*, dry and wet lands, *rusums*, etc., in the Dodballapur, killa taluk, as previously enjoyed by his family. Narasinga Rao was the son of Yadava Rao, the eldest son of Venkata Rao, the Sardeshpande of the time of Balaji Baji Rao. (See No. 40 above). This *Sanad* is addressed through the local Mahratta Commander and authority, who is thus described: *Charana tatpar Sri Mahimaji nirantar* (Mahimaji, Commander on behalf of Madhava Rao Peshwa).

(42—48) *Nirups* issued by Peshwa Madhava Rao to subordinate officers in the Dodballapur Pargana, communicating the several rights and privileges enjoyed by Sardeshpande Narasinga Rao This is also issued through the same Sri Mahimaji Sindhe Nirantar. This and the documents above mentioned are headed thus *Sri Sri Krishna* Madhava Rao Ballal, Pradhan.

(49) *Sanad* by Peshwa Madhava Rao recognising the succession of Shama Rao, fourth son of Venkata Rao, to the *Sardeshpandeship* of Dodballapur, and confirming the rights and privileges of that office to him as also the *inams*, *rusums*, etc., held by him as hitherto enjoyed by his ancestors. Family tradition says that Shama Rao, younger brother of Yadava Rao, above named, was Dewan of Arcot during his father's lifetime and later was co-sardeshpande with his elder brother.

(50—61). *Nirups* by Peshwa Madhava Rao to different subordinate officers in the *Pargana* of Dodballapur to the effect that the rights and privileges of Shama Rao Sardeshpande should be respected by them.

(62—67). *Nirups* issued by Peshwa Madhava Rao to subordinate officers as detailed above, directing that the salaries due to the hereditary officials under Sardeshpande Shama Rao should be paid out of the income of the *pargana* as heretofore.

(68) *Abhayapatra* (Assurance letter) addressed by Visaji Krishna, commander of troops, on behalf of Madhava Rao, to *Deshpandes* of Dodballapur *Pargana*. It is headed:—*Sri Siddhesvara, Charana tatpara Visaji Krishna Nirantar*, Commander on behalf of Peshwa Madhava Rao. This letter directs all concerned not to feel doubtful in any manner but wait in person upon him on its receipt. It is dated 8th *Ramzan*, the year being not mentioned. Evidently, the Mahrattas sometimes reckoned events by the Muslim months and the *Hijri* or the *Fasli* year.

"Visaji Krishna" mentioned in this document may be identified with Visaji Krishna Biniwala, who restored Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor, to his throne (in 1771[1]). It would seem he was in the Karnatak before he was sent up north towards Delhi.

(69) *Nirup* issued by Peshwa Madhava Rao to Mahimaji Sindhe, *Subadar* of Pargana Balapur, dated 16th *Zilhaj* (December-January), the year being omitted. This directs Mahimaji Sindhe to protect the rights and privileges of the *Deshpandes*, *Deshmukhs*, *Deshkulkarnis* and the *Kanungos* of the Dodballapur *Pargana*, in view of their faithful services.

When, in 1761, Dodballapur was captured by Haidar Ali, he allowed the family to enjoy their rights till the Cyclic year *Jaya* (1774 A. D.). In the Cyclic year *Manmatha* (1775 A. D.) he discontinued the *rusum*, but left undisturbed the *jagir* and *inam* lands. In the year *Shobhakritu* (1783 A. D.), Tipu Sultan attached all the *inam* villages so far enjoyed in the whole State, pending the results of an *inam* inquiry he ordered. But, while this inquiry was in progress, he directed the levy of a nominal amount of *beriz* on *Sarvainam* villages, while minor *inams* were allowed to be enjoyed free.

In the *Sadharana* and *Virodhikrit* years (1791-1792 A. D.), Lord Cornwallis invaded Mysore. The Mahrattas under Parasuram Ramchandra (Parasuram Bhao) and Vasudeva Pant Kaka encamped at Dodballapur for one year. Under the orders of Lord Cornwallis, the family enjoyed all its previous rights and privileges. After the Treaty of 1792, Tipu Sultan, angry at the supposed help rendered by the Sardeshpande family to his enemies, reverted to his previous order attaching the *inams* and levying a nominal *beriz* on the *Sarva inams*. In the year *Siddharti* (1799), during the war against Tipu Sultan, General Harris issued a *Kaulnama*, dated 6th March 1799, in favour of Sardeshpande Srinivasa Rao, step-brother of Yadava Rao and Shama Rao above named. This *Kaulnama* restored the long enjoyed rights and privileges of the family. When Krishnaraja Wodeyar III came to the throne, representations were preferred by Srinivasa Rao for the restoration of the *jagiri vatan*. Dewan Purnaiya, the Minister, called for the papers and accounts, but he retired shortly after (December 1811), and nothing came of the application.

Sardeshpande Narayana Rao, brother of Srinivasa Rao, then seems to have put in a statement of his claims before the Hon'ble A. H. G. Cole, British Resident in Mysore, on 25th March 1822. This petition did not prove successful. This statement (called *Kaifiyat-nama*) refers to the old rights and privileges as evidenced by the ancient *sanads*, which appear to have been collected then by the then heads of the family. To this collection, we owe the documents that have come down to us and referred to above.

On the 11th March 1834, the then heads of the family, Udipi Krishna Rao, the youngest brother of Srinivasa Rao above named, and his nephew Yadava Rao, son of the said Srinivasa Rao, preferred a petition to Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India. They were referred on the 11th April 1834 to the Madras Government, to which Mysore was then politically subordinate.

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[1] Duff, op. cit., I, 562, 570, 573-576.

The family still owns immovable property in and around Dodballapur and there are many members belonging to it living in that town and in the Bangalore and Kolar Districts.

Before concluding, I should like to place on record my indebtedness to Moin-ul-Vizarath A. K. Syed Taj Peeran, B.A., Retired Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, Bangalore, for kindly helping me with the correct interpretation of certain Arabic and Persian words and phrases in the documents above referred to. Thanks are also due to Mr. N. Subba Rao, M.A., my Assistant, for valuable assistance rendered in the writing up of this Note.

Letter of Vira Rajendra Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg. (C. 1799 A. D.)

[By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.).]

The document consists of an interesting long paper roll containing a letter written by Veer Rajunder Warriar (Vira Rajendra Vodeyar) of Coorg in about 1799 A. D. to the British. It was discovered among the papers transferred from the Residency of Bangalore to the custody of the Record Office of the Mysore Secretariat. The roll is about fifteen feet long and is composed of about twenty slips of paper,each eighteen inches in length and six inches in breadth. The lines on both the pages extend to a length of 26'-2". The paper is blue and hand-made foolscap containing the water mark of a prancing horse with the English capitals 'A. G' below it. The letter is in Kannada with about 422 lines on the first page and 311 on the second. At the end of the Kannada writing appears a signature in English 'Veer Rajunder Warriar'. The rest of the second page contains some accounts in Mahrati Modi, Kannada and Urdu, which are no doubt a later addition. At the end of the second page are found the Kannada words meaning 'the Coorg Raja's Kaifiyat' with the figure '7'. The document is thus the authentic original copy of a memorial submitted to the English Government by the Coorg Raja.

This document was prepared to furnish the reply and explanation of the Coorgs to a letter from the British addressed to them complaining that an officer of Coorg named Isvaraiya plundered seventeen villages of the Maharajanadurga Taluk (in the Mysore territories) five days after the capture of Seringapatam by the British and carried away women, children, cattle, grain, silver and gold, bronze and copper vessels, etc , of some villages in the taluk. The letter from the British gave a list of the articles carried off by the Coorgs and required them to return these immediately without delay. Word was also sent through Captain Mahoney who had been Resident at Coorg to the same effect The Coorg Government sent this answer to that letter through an agent Karanika Subbaiya.

The answer of the Coorgs may be divided into two parts (1) that relating to the assistance rendered by the Coorg Government to the British in the conquest of Tippu's territories, as per tahrama (treaty) entered into by the Coorgs with the British East India Company; (2) that relating to the explanation rendered by the Coorg Government for their alleged plunder of Mysore territories against which the people of Manjarabad Taluk had complained, as represented by Dewan Purniah's men.

The first part gives details of the part played by the Coorg Government in assisting the British army in the conquest of Tippu's territories.

It begins with a reference to the letter sent by the Governor-General of India, Lord Mornington, to the Coorg Raja at the commencement of hostilities between the British and Tipu Sultan. No date is given for the letter. It states that as war would break out between the English and Tippu, General Stuart (called in the manuscrip Ishtol Saheb) would be passing with his army through Coorg and that the Coorg Government should give him all help that he might require and that they should also be ready to fight to the utmost possible extent when asked by him to do so and that Captain Mahoney (called Mavini Saheb in the manuscript) would be appointed and sent as vakil or envoy of the

English Government to Coorg and that the Coorg Raja should assist the English Government as instructed by him. The Bombay Governor had also sent a letter to the same effect and both General Stuart and General Hartley arrived in Coorg with their armies. Captain Mahoney also arrived (as Resident) at Coorg to receive help from the Coorg Government. The Coorg Government rendered every service to the East India Company in accordance with the instructions given by these three.

The manuscript next gives details of the war with Tipu carried on by the Bombay army and of the kind of help rendered by the Coorg Government.

The first event mentioned is the battle which Tipu Sultan waged with the British at Sidhesvarana-gaddige (or Sedasir) on Wednesday, the first lunar day of the bright fortnight of Phalguna in the year Kalayukti. The Bombay army took up its ground between Ahmostenar and Sidhesvar on the 2nd of March 1799 for the protection and augmentation of the large supplies which were then collecting at Virarajendrapet under the friendly and assiduous co-operation of the Coorg Raja, and from this position General Stuart indended, on its approach to form a junction with the army of Madras. Tipu Sultan "determined to strike a sudden and deadly blow, by attacking the army of Bombay, whilst yet without the confines of his own territory, and in the dominions of a British ally, the Coorg Raja; and for this purpose, taking with him the flower of his troops, amounting to a considerable force, and attended by three of his sons and Meer Kummer-ud-deen Khan, he marched from his camp near Senapatam on the 28th of February, and moving rapidly in the direction of Periapatam arrived there on the 5th March....................". (Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore, London, pp. 19-20). The authority above quoted also states that at Siddhesvar, about 7 miles distant from Periapatam, General Stuart with the help of Major General Hartley defeated, on 6th March, Tipu who thereupon retreated precipitately to his camp at Periapatam. Having remained there until the 11th of March he eventually retired into Seringapatam on the 14th. (The date given in the manuscript, namely Kalayukti Phalguna su 1 Wednesday, corresponds to 6th March 1799; but on that day Magha bahula amavasya tithi lasted till the evening according to Svami Kannu Pillay's Ephemeris. However, the local calendars may have given the tithi as Phalguna su 1).

We next learn of the negotiations between the abovenamed British officers and the Coorg agents. At Sidhesvar the British officers stated that war had begun between them and Tipu Sultan and that in order to harass him it was necessary that the Coorg troops also should attack his army. But the Coorg chiefs contended that although the English had guarded the road from Seringapatam to Coorg through Siddapur there were still other roads to Coorg through which, Tipu might harass them in various ways if they went to war against him. They however undertook to perform the heavy duties of assisting the English by guarding the boundaries from the attacks of the enemy, providing supplies to the Bombay army at their camp and setting up camp bazaars, bringing grain from below the ghauts on two to three thousand bullocks, providing fodder for the military cattle, erecting thatched huts for the preservation of the supplies of grain, looking after the cattle, guarding against the rumoured attack of the Kote Chief (Kote Arasu) and of the Manjarabad chief Krishnappa Nayak. The Coorgs thus declined to take part in a direct campaign against Tipu.

In a few days however a Brahmin named Surayya (later Amil of Arkalgud) who wanted to win the good graces of Tipu is stated to have attacked the villages Torenur, Hebale and Sirangala belonging to Coorg helped by men from Arkalgud, Basavapatna and Konanur in Tipu's territories. The enemy plundered the villages, burnt the houses, killed the ryots by tying their hands and feet and throwing them into the river Kaveri and carried away women and children. The Coorg Chief complained of this to the English officers, General Stuart, Hartley, Baden, and Captain Mahoney, the English Agent. The English retorted by saying that though war had actually broken out with Tipu the Coorgs had refused to go to war with Tipu or harass him with the result that they had to suffer therefor. They were therefore instructed to strive to harass him thenceforward. The Coorgs had reluctantly to agree to these words coming from three English officers. Accordingly after providing for the garrisoning of the territory and helping the English with supplies of grain, etc., they sent one division of their army under Karanika Subbaiya to attack Sadri Mir Muhammad Khan, an officer commanding Kodeyala Taluk and another division under Isvaraiya to attack Heggadedevankote Taluk. Isvaraiya's troops lost some men and joined the English troops at Karadigode informing them that they got no booty since the villagers had run away with their cattle, etc. on hearing of the battle of Siddhesvar.

In the meanwhile, General Lvayin went to Periyapatana; but Tipu's troops prevented the English troops from Bombay from coming into contact with those of General Lvayin at Periyapattana. The Coorg troops were rescued with great difficulty and taken to the camp of the Bombay army. General Stuart was glad to find that the Coorgs were saved and directed them to transport the camp equipage of the English with the guns to Alabattapattana (?). The Coorgs accordingly transferred all the guns from Karadigode to Sidesvarama-gadige. But General Stuart observed that there was no need for these guns, etc. in their army. He ordered that they should be taken back to Siddapur and carefully guarded until the arrival of the English troops within the next 10 or 15 days. The Coorgs obeyed this order, went to Pirivapattana and, after supplying a load of rice etc. on 2,000 bullocks of theirs to the Bombay army at Piriyapattana, returned to their territory at Virarajendrapet. They took charge of the sick cattle etc. belonging to the English army left behind and tended them carefully at Virarajendrapet. They also transported their guns to Siddapur and were collecting provisions for supplying to the English troops on their return.

But the Coorgs could not live in peace. The ryots of the villages Torenur, Hebbale, Sirangala and other places who had been plundered by their neighbours (of Konanur, Arkalgud and Basavapatna Taluks) complained that they should be compensated for their wrongs. The Coorgs hence sent a small army division under Isvaraiya to those villages and proceeded for collection of supplies to Madakeri Isvaraiya marched upon Arkalgud. But the people of the Basavapatna fort fired upon his troops and fought with them. Isvaraiya was in danger. With some difficulty he stormed the fort of Basavapatna, plundered it and carried some women and children to Coorg as reprisals for similar acts done by the people of that village. Later the inhabitants made a cowl or treaty with them. Thus he did them no further damage but remained in their midst.

The other division of the Coorg army sent under Karanika Subbaiya to Kodeyala Taluk encountered opposition from the Mapillas of Kumbala Taluk. Some looting was done. Seeing however that Kodeyala would belong to the English ultimately, the Coorg army did not give much trouble. The garrison of Belarikote fought with the Coorgs but the fort was taken. After overcoming the opposition at Kodiyala the Coorgs occupied the territory up to Barukur and Bagvadi and garrisoned it. At Viragamba the Mapillas rose in rebellion under their leader Sadri. They surrounded the Coorgs with their men numbering three to four thousand. In self-defence the Coorgs fell on them and killed four to five hundred of the enemies. The rest of the Mapillas ran away. A Sardar named Koshatri Krishna Rav was taken prisoner and taken before Captain Mahoney by the Coorg Chief.

Some plunder was obtained in the above-mentioned campaign. Ali Saba of Dantavara fought with the Coorgs but was defeated. Some looting is said to have taken place in this campaign also. At Udyavara aided by the Mapillas under Sadri some Karnatakas, Mir Hamid Ali's 500 soldiers. and the Nairs of Munaru Kol, fell upon the Coorgs. Taking refuge in a mosque, they fired upon the Coorgs, killing fifty to sixty of their people. The Coorgs set fire to the mosque, killed 700 to 800 of their enemy and drove away Sadri. Some looting was done here also. Elsewhere the Coorgs did no damage to the enemy's country. They gave 'cowls' to the people and garrisoned the territory bounded by Mangalore. Kodeyalla, Barakur, Bagvade and Hosangadi protecting it from Tipu's men.

Meanwhile the Coorg Chief remained at Madakeri News of the English armies had not been received for 8 days from Chaitra bahula 30, Saturday. The people of Tipu's territories spread rumours that Tipu sent his family, treasure, etc. to Banchanakalludurga (Chitaldrug) after setting fire to the magazine of gun powder at Seringapatam when that fort was occupied by the English and thus causing them great damage. The Coorgs felt very sad at this news. But a week later, namely, on Saturday the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Vaisakha, a letter was received from Captain Mahoney announcing the death of Tipu, the conquest of his territories by the English and the return of the English troops of the Bombay contingent from Seringapatam. The chief was asked to go to Virarajendrapet immediately, which he did on the next Monday.

Captain Mahoney informed the Coorg chief that 10 days before, namely on Chaitra ba 30 Saturday (4th May 1799 A. D.), the English took Seringapatam after laying seige to it and that its territories were in the occupation of the English. The chief was instructed to stop all hostilities and make over all the territory newly conquered to the Government of the East India Company. The chief was also informed that a British engineer named Hamilton would arrive soon and fix the boundaries of the Coorg and British territories. The chief, however, complained that if he suddenly removed the garrison stationed in Tipu's territories there would be anarchy in the district and wicked people who were partisans of Tipu might cause much disturbance and harm to Coorg. To this Captain Mahoney replied that the Coorgs might retain their control over the conquered territories until the arrival of the Bombay regiments, which would take place early and that after their arrival the Coorg chief was to take

instructions from the General of the Bombay army regarding the future treatment of the territories.

Accordingly, the Coorg chief sent instructions to stop all fighting and plundering to Isvaraiya and other officers stationed at Basavapatna, Mangalur, Barakur, etc. The letters containing his instructions took from 2 to 7 days to reach his garrisons and officers. Isvaraiya replied that beyond some damage including looting while taking the fort of Basavapatna, he did not cause any trouble to Tipu's territories and he promised to prevent looting by his men. Similarly all the officers of Coorg reported that they did no looting after the receipt of instructions from their chief. After this General Stuart and Major General Hatley came to Coorg and thanked the chief for his services in the war. They then went to Cannanore and the chief helped the transport of the stores, supplies, etc. of the army from Coorg to Cannanore. Regarding his garrisons in British territories, etc., the chief was advised to refer to Colonel Wiseman who was going shortly to Mangalore Taluk. General Stuart left for England after once again thanking the Coorg chief. General Wiseman shortly arrived in Mangalore Taluk. Karanika Subbaiya made over the places conquered by him to that officer and returned with his men to Coorg.

But there was some difficulty with regard to the Coorg general Isvaraiya. Some Brahmans who had been formerly in the employ of Tipu went to him, presented some flags which, they said, they had brought from the British and asked Isvaraiya to leave the country and go to the Coorg territories as he had no business to remain in their territory and as the Taluk belonged to them (Mysore State). Isvaraiya complained to his chief. The latter ordered him to leave the Mysore territories out of respect for the British flag and return to Coorg, the boundaries of which were shortly to be settled by Mr. Hamilton. Isvaraiya carried out the above order and returned to Coorg to look after the State lands therein.

The rest of the manuscript contains a resume of the events recited above from the time Tipu arrived in Siddhesvarana Gaddige to the time that Captain Mahoney ordered the cessation of hostilities on Vaisakha su 10 Monday. The chief of Coorg pleads that the people of Coorg would only be responsible for any encroachments on their neighbours' territories or plunder in those territories after the receipt of instructions from Captain Mahoney and issue of the same to Coorg garrison officers. The Coorg people never went against the tahnama or treaty entered into by them with General Abercombie at Tellicherry requiring that the Coorg chief should allow the passage of British troops through his kingdom and give them every possible help. The British generals, officers, General Stuart, Captain Mahoney, etc., were all aware, says the Coorg chief, that the Coorgs never transgressed the terms of the treaty entered into with the British or the orders issued from time to time by the British officers.

Regarding the Mysore boundary complaints, the chief's explanation in the manuscript is to the effect that the people living in the Mysore State near the Coorg boundaries were always the enemies of the Coorg citizens even in the time of Tipu Sultan. They were always making false complaints to Tipu through Purnaiya against the Coorgs. Tipu however was afraid of the English interfering on behalf of the Coorg citizens and used to hold perfunctory inquiries into these complaints and report to the English. Now that Purnaiya was the sarvadhikari of Mysore he was

causing great trouble to Coorg. He also disliked the Coorg chief for his support of the English and hostilities against Tipu. But the Coorg Government relied on their faith in God (Mahadeva) and trust in the British Government dedicating to their service all their kingdom, children, servants, etc. The ryots in the neighbouring taluks of Mysore (which originally belonged to Tipu) were the enemies of Coorg and had demanded compensation for the alleged wrongs done to them.

The demands made by Purnaiya and his men from the Coorg chief by way of restitution for the losses incurred by his people from the depredations of the Coorgs were: Women 67; men 34; little children 11; cows 1,383; bullocks 834; buffaloes 574; clothes 121 pieces; cash Kantiroy varahas 729; trinkets, silver and gold 82; silver bangles 36; coloured bead necklaces 23; silver chains 63; gold ear-rings 54; bronze plates for dinner 215; pots (tambige-tali) 93; guns 67; ear ornaments called muru 6; horses 6; goats 155; swords 115; Kodaga-gatti swords 126; battle-axes (kuradi kodli) 116; bronze plates big 5; iron chains 7; cloth bundles 72. All these were said to have been taken away by the Coorgs while looting the Mysore territories and had to be returned by the Coorg chief without delay as per list enclosed.

To this the Coorg chief's answer was as follows.—None of these things mentioned in the list sent to him had been brought by his people to him. More than the regular soldiers of Coorg who fought with their guns the people who effected greater plunder in the Mysore territories were a regular set of plunderers who had no connection with the army but who followed in its wake. They might have obtained some clothes and metallic vessels. It is not known whether they also laid hands upon some silver and gold. Any way they said that they never knew anything about 700 varahas. They only brought a few bullocks, goats and sheep which the Coorg chief made over to the English government. Regarding the women brought to Coorg, the Coorg chief said that on his instituting inquiries among his people, it was learnt that previously Tipu Sultan had caused 64,000 Coorgs to go to Seringapatam with their families by making them false promises and had imprisoned them there. After some time, only some men escaped and went to Coorg. Tipu Sultan thereupon gave away the women and children to his own followers and killed several of the Coorgs. He also castrated the male children. Even recently a Brahman named Surayya of Arkalgud had made incursions with the help of the villagers of Basavapatna into the villages Torenur, Hebbale and Sirangala of Coorg and plundered the property of the ryots of the villages and carried away their women and children. On seeing this the Coorgs complained to the English. The English told them that they might also loot in the enemy's territories and carry away what they could. Hence acting on this instruction the Coorgs laid seige to Basavapatna and in the fight which ensued several people died on both sides. The Coorgs who were victorious carried from there 50 to 60 women to Coorg. Of these some had run away without the knowledge of the Chief of Coorg, some were married with the Chief's permission and some had died. Now the Coorgs could not send back the rest of the women as their own women had been carried away by Tipu in large numbers and they had married many of these women and were living with them. The Coorgs complained that they could not now live without them. The Coorg chief could not force them to part with the

women. He would leave the matter to the good sense of the British who were the masters.

The Coorg chief also stated that the Coorgs were ready to pay any sum that may be adjudged reasonably and would serve the British East India Company. He pleaded that the English might take pity on the Coorgs, institute careful inquiries in the neighbouring taluks and only levy such sums from them as would be considered just and fair. The Coorgs were under great pecuniary difficulties and felt it difficult to pay up money to the English according to the demand made. They had helped General Robert Abercrombie when he came with the Bombay army. They had also paid to the English the sums demanded from them on the conclusion of peace with Tipu. What little money they had saved out of their earnings and their ancestor's savings they had now spent in serving General Stuart of Bombay. Hence the Coorgs could not pay anything just then. But if 4 or 5 months' time was given they would try to pay up the amount that was considered reasonable. The Coorg chief held bonds of the Bombay Government for one lakh of rupees which he had deposited with them. The Coorgs would also go to their friends in the Bombay army and explain to them their difficulties and beg them (gallahididu bedikondare) for a loan of the money demanded. This amount they would repay somehow or do service under the officers and pay up out of the salaries received. Thus the Coorgs prayed for a reasonable demand in money and five months' time to pay it up.

Next, the Coorgs were asked to return six horses which they had procured (from the Mysore districts). But they had never received any such horses, nor had any one taken such horses to them. They were not available with them. If, however, the English compelled them to render accounts for the same they would have to obey, though there were no horses with them of the description given. But there were four horses with them presented by the English officers, namely General Harris, General Stuart, General Hartley and General Robert Abercrombie. If the English desired they would return these four horses and procure two horses with great difficulty and expense if time was given.

Next, the English had sent word to the Coorgs that they would gratify their desire to see Seringapatam soon after the English army encamped at Seringapatam. The Coorgs were never anxious to see Seringapatam. They had desired to see the officers in the army of the English and Mysore governments. But now that a charge had been foisted on them that they had disobeyed the orders of the English and plundered the Mysore territories, they felt no eagerness to go to Seringapatam. Since Captain Mahoney had been the Vakil of the English government with them and knew all the acts of the Coorgs, the Coorgs would be glad to meet the English officers at Seringapatam if they were to be conducted there by Captain Mahoney from Coorg.

Lastly, the Coorgs stated that they held numerous letters from various responsible British officers: Lord Cornwallis of Bengal, General Abercrombie, Sir John Shore, Lord Mornington, Dunkin, General Harris, General Stuart, General Hartley, Malevar (?) Commission Saheb. Also numerous letters from native rulers had been received in Coorg showing the great respect in which the Coorg chief had been held. But the letter received

from the English now lacks in respect since it did not bear the signature of the officer who issued it. It was difficult to say whether it was not a mere creation of the munshi who wrote it. The great ambition of the Coorgs in serving the East India Company so long lay in their ardent desire that the Company's territories and wealth might increase daily, their flags might fly everywhere, the Coorgs might become friends of the English officers and hunt with them and remain under their protection, and receive greater honour at the hands of the English and live in peace and happiness on earth. It is with this hope that the Coorgs helped the English even at the cost of their lives. They were glad to see with their eyes the defeat of their enemy and the occupation of his territories by the English. It was only natural for the Coorgs to hope that the English would treat them with great respect. It was well known to all the English officers in Hindustan how the Coorgs served the English cause to win their respect and regard. But now on account of the trouble caused by the people of Mysore taluk, the Coorgs did not feel desirous even to live. They had sent Karanika Subbaiya to represent their cause. He would explain the matter orally and there was also the detailed account given in this paper. The Coorgs prayed that the English authorities would carefully examine all these and send a reply about the services to be rendered by the Coorgs.

Petrie Papers.

[By Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F. R. Hist. S.].

Not to compare with either Mackenzie or Orme collections of historical papers which are those of historians who toiled for the sources of British history in India, the Petrie Papers which are very few in number and owned by a proud family in Scotland contain select letters of William Petrie of the Madras Council between 1790 and 1802 addressed to Henry Dundas and Lord Mornington giving his opinion on matters of vital interest in that short period of south Indian history. It may be said confidently that these papers go very properly into a bibliography on the history of Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, as the facts contained in them relate directly or indirectly to that important branch of Indian history.

William Petrie like his contemporaries had a scholar's interest in the subjects dealt with in these papers. He does not select any letter which contains his own contribution to the rise and progress of the British power in south India. Consequently, although he was not one of the outstanding men of his time like Orme, Wilks and Mackenzie in the field of research, he gets some title to consideration in the hands of the students of modern Indian History.

There are many themes which Petrie has tackled in the correspodence filed in the present collection—the Madras system of administration, the diplomatic revolution in the capital of the Nizam, the resources and character of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan and the capture of Seringapatam after the death of Sultan. But the reader's attention is arrested by his thoughts and belief in the case of the last of these themes. Petrie is very much troubled by questions relating to morality and character. Why did the British troops, he asks, behave so cruelly towards the inhabitants and families of Seringapatam on the day of victory ? He says, 'I am afraid that truth will oblige me to retract what I said respecting the unexampled clemency of our troops.' Then, why did they plunder (on the same day) so much that each soldier had to relieve himself of the burden by throwing away a portion of it to any comrade that he could casually meet ? Petrie does not obviously believe that the day of triumph could be celebrated against the laws of humanity or exceed the bonds of the laws of nations.

But by far the most striking study of all is Petrie's analysis of the causes for the success of the last British attack against Tippu Sultan. His observations, which are three, are as follows :—

(*a*) 'The great importance which the possession of the Barah Mahal has proved in the present war and the indispensable advantages which we have derived from this powerful frontier station have corresponded with the expectations of those who from the experience of former wars knew the value of this Province and have completely verified the predictions of that judicious and enlightened Historian Major Rennell in his admirable memoir of 1792....
..............I shall ever think that we are much indebted to the campaign of 1792 for our recent success, and in paying this tribute to Truth and Justice, I will not admit that I am robbing our present gallant army of any part of the merit to which it is justly entitled.'

(*b*) 'And yet the event has been so extraordinary, the revolution so rapid and complete, the consequences so incalculable to India and to Europe, and the

occurrence of circumstances so unlike the usual course of human events, that the more I reflect upon the *whole*, the more I am lost in amazement, contemplation and doubt. From the time the Sultan provoked the war until the day of his fall, his conduct appeared to be under the irresistible influence of a Destiny which hurried him rapidly on to his destruction. Great praise is due to our troops, but candour must oblige us to confess that even if........, or had he.........., the issue of the contest would probably not have been so fortunate for us.'

(c) ' Of course this is a theme on which I am silent here and on which I shall speak and write with great caution and reserve elsewhere. I am possessed of much information on this curious and edifying event, which is still lodged in my mind and from whence I may never have leisure to extract it before many of the most important traces are erased from the tablets of my memory. But I never can forget on how many slender hairs and threads the fortune of this great event has been suspended, almost any one of which breaking would have dangerously retarded, if not entirely frustrated, the grand object of the measure.'

These observations amount to saying that the fall of Seringapatam on the 4th May, 1799 was due to the combined influence of Lord Cornwallis' statemanship, the evil stars of the Sultan and something else which Petrie has carried into his grave.

Now, curiosity is aroused about the last of these, and a historian's duty is to reveal it or suggest it. That the matter was an important one is undoubted, because it is a ' Private and Confidential ' letter containing expressions of fear of the consequences of plain speaking.

What can this be ? Is there any gap in the recorded history of Tippu Sultan which Petrie's deep silence will help to fill ?

The answer is indeed difficult to give. But an attempt may be made to find a suitable one. There is one point which remains yet unstudied but which suggests itself in this place and context. That is the tradition within Mysore which relates to a sort of the Fifth Column activity within the capital before it fell. The folk songs (called *lavanis* in Kannada) mention the conspiracy of some ministers of Tippu on the eve of his fall, and Sir Muhammad Iqbal has left a poem about the three Muslim traitors against the Muslim power in India, *viz.*, Mir Jaffar, Mir Jumla and Mir Sadak whose portrait in the mural paintings of the Daria Daulat has ever been mutilated and whose ' tomb ' in Seringapatam is still spat at and beaten with shoes by every Muslim visitor. A new biography of the dewan Purnayya in Kannada protests against the association of the great man's name with the evil days of the Sultan. Why the author should thus go out of his way to mention this is not clear, but it seems that he is conscious of a local tradition meriting a strong refutation. Above all, there is a common habit among the people of Mysore of referring to Tippu Sultan as a ruler who gave up his land at twelve noon ! The month was May, the day was hot and bright and there was supply for twelve years. Napoleon was behind him and Mornington did not hide the fact that Tippu's was the most formidable power in India in 1799. Elaborate preparations, diplomatic and military, had been made by his enemies (the Peshwa, the Nizam and the British) to humble Tippu to the dust. Notwithstanding these, a single batch of troops which got access into the fort at the weakest point got rid of the commander-in-chief and Sultan within a few minutes of each other and

occupied the capital without much resistance. The people of Mysore, who had seen nothing of the kind in the past when the Mysore army always stood face to face in a grim and arduous battle and made the enemy pay a dear price for invading the country until an honourable treaty was concluded, were naturally aghast at Tippu's folly in this last war and described him as 'Twelve Noon Esquire'.

However unpleasant this tradition may be, it seems to be inevitable that a serious attempt must be made by some historian to either dismiss it as worthless and unconvincing or 'give the Devil his due' in the whole business. And whoever will come forward to do this work it is only relevant to ask him to pay attention to and evaluate the dubious note in Petrie's tone and manner and decide whether he is after all suggesting something as awful and sinister in the character of those individuals on the side of the British who brought about the downfall of Tippu Sultan as in that of the so-called local conspirators against him.

ANNEXURE.

The following two letters have been reproduced, the first wholly and the second in extract, for the benefit of readers. Both contain Petrie's reflections on the third and fourth Mysore Wars.

A. Private and Confidential Reflections on the War of 1792.

Since the month of July we have been preparing for war ; and in September following it was known throughout India that the attack of Seringapatam was the object of this preparation. The practicability of this enterprize was openly discussed, our difficulties too freely and inprudently avowed, especially respecting the defenceless state of the Southern Provinces and the supposed impossibility of collecting the Draught and Carriage Cattle required for the use of the army, if the enemy should throw two or three thousand horse into the Carnatic. From September until the month of January when the whole Army assembled in the vicinity of Vellore, the preparations for the seige of Seringapatam were prosecuted with vigour in every part of our possessions, from Bengal and Bombay to the extremity of this Peninsula. Under a variety of difficulties which the smallest interruption from an enemy would have rendered insurmountable, about 50,000 head of Draught and Carriage Cattle were assembled near Vellore from the country south of the Coleroon, unprotected by a military force and by a route where even two or three hundred Irregular Cavalry might have destroyed or carried them off. The distance of this route was above 200 miles.

The Battery Cannon with the whole of the Ordnance Department was sent from Madras in the months of November and December, and during the whole of the last monsoon the weather was never such as to prevent the inroads of Cavalry through every part of the Carnatic. In the beginning of February the whole army, except the Nizam's contingent and Subsidiary force, which joined afterwards in the Barah Mahal, moved from the neighbourhood of Vellore with its immense equipments and ponderous train of Artillery, unparalleled in the military annals of the East, and after encountering every difficulty and obstacle

except the opposition of an Enemy, arrived by Ryacotah in the beginning of March. Out Battering and Field Train consisted of a hundred pieces of cannon and the Nizams at least twenty more with shots, shells, gunpowder, and every other article of military stores for the service of the field and the seige of Seringapatam, calculated upon a far more liberal scale than in the last war of Tippoo Sultan. By this time an almost universal failure had been discovered in the Bullock Department, and the exertions and labours of the army were probably unexampled between the 6th March, when they entered the pass, and the 2nd of April, when they arrived upon the plain of Mallavelly; in this long and fatiguing march it was owing to the splendid and highly meritorious exertions of the officers and men, extending through every corps and limited by no situation, that the total failure of the Draught and Carriage Cattle of the Army had not produced the entire overthrow of the expedition, but notwithstanding the zeal and unremitting labour of the troops, it is allowed by officers of experience and reputation who were present, that if a hundred collaries or irregular Infantry had been thrown into the jungle through which our Troops marched, and where they were detained for 8 or 10 days, and had impeded the line by the means within their power, all our exertions would have failed in saving the provisions and stores of the army. The feeble attempt at Mallavelly, on the ground where the enemy fought with no advantages, was injudiciously planned and irresolutely executed. In every war small bodies of desperate partisans have been found to charge the disciplined columns of Europeans and to throw away their lives upon the points of our bayonets. With partial ill-supported action the opposition of the Sultan ceases; the army prosecuted its march and crossed the River at Soselly without any other obstacle than what proceeded from its own wants, which had now become nearly insupportable. The conduct of the Sultan was every day more unaccountable, ample supplies of provisions and forage were allowed to fall into our hands, the army approached the Capital and without even the show of resistance, was allowed to occupy a most advantageous position for its different communications and for covering the siege. To what cause can we impute the neglect of the enemy in not having destroyed a wood which furnished the British army with ample materials for carrying on their approaches against the place? The short period from the commencement of the seige to the fall of Seringapatam produced no event of importance............I will as briefly as possible attempt to render justice to both, and in doing this, I shall confine myself solely to the operations of the war, Lord Cornwallis had to encounter an enemy flushed with the success of former wars, of great renown for wisdom in the Cabinet and courage in the field, commanding an army which had frequently opposed, and sometimes with brilliant success, the British army, in the preceding wars under the command of Sir Eyre Coote. We had to contend with a Prince unshaken by misfortune, rich in the possession of extensive and unimpaired Dominions, whose treasury and resources were incalculable, who had already carried the war into the heart of our Dominions and if Lord Cornwallis upon his arrival at Madras did not succeed to the command of a disciplined army, he at least found the troops much discouraged and exhausted with the fatigues of a fruitless and injudicious campaign. His determination to carry the war at once into the enemy's country, was bold and indecisive, and the manner in which he executed the measure, and the subsequent operations of that active campaign, retrieved the reputation which the British arms had suffered in their former contest with Hyder Ally and his son. The question has of late been often asked with little wisdom and less candour, why did not Lord Cornwallis instead of losing time by beseiging Bengalore and the capture of other places

proceed immediately with the Battering Train to Seringapatam and like General Harris terminate the war by the capture of his Capital? Had Tippoo been in the Carnatic at the time of the present war commenced destroying the country and hanging upon the operations of our army, had he then possessed the Provinces of Salem and Barah Mahal and had not been stipped of half his Dominions, together with 3 millions rupees of his treasure by Lord Cornwallis, is there a man acquainted with the subject, who will venture to say, that he believes General Harris could ever have ascended the pass, and far less that he could have commenced the seige of Seringapatam this year? God be thanked the conjunctions were so dissimilar. Rome in the time of the first Ceasars was not much more unlike Rome, when lately the French expelled the aged pontif from the Capital, than the army and resources of Mysore in 1790 were to the diminished force and exhausted powers of the late Sultan. On the commencement of the present war Lord Cornwallis under all those comparative disadvantages, entered the enemy's country with too fewer firelocks, and a greater inferiority in guns and cavalry, than General Harris had, when he ascended the Ryacotah Pass, and by a series of rapid and spirited operations captured Bengalore and subdued a great part of the enemy's Northern Provinces. By those judicious movements, a variety of important advantages were gained, the Sultan was compelled to retreat with precipitation from the Carnatic, and extensive and communicating chain of posts was established as well for keeping open our communications with the Carnatic, as for securing a plentiful supply of provisions to the army by means of the Benjarries from the Dominions of the Nizam; the co-operation of this Prince was secured and the junction of his army with ours soon after effected; in enumerating the advantages which resulted from this campaign, we ought not to omit that our army was maintained in the enemy's country and in a position which alarmed him so much for the safety of his Capital that he kept the whole of his force together and left the Carnatic in perfect tranquillity.

Will ignorance assert that Lord Cornwallis should have remained at Velout [Vellore] or at some other station in the vicinity of Madras, until he had collected from the remote Provinces 30 or 40,000 Head of Cattle, to transport the Ordnance Department to Seringapatam, with the other requisite equipments (which preparation in a period of peace and tranquillity could not be effected in less time than 6 months previous to the late siege) leaving the enemy in undisturbed possession of the Carnatic, ravaging the country, destroying the inhabitants, and depriving us of the means of carrying on the war? The unfortunate campaigns which followed the invasions of 1780 and the unsuccessful movements of General Meadows had sufficiently proved, what has since been admitted as an Axiom by every military man, that this Enemy could only be forced from the Carnatic by the invasion of his own country. The great importance which the possession of the Barah Mahal has proved in the present war and the indispensable advantages which we have derived from this powerful frontier station have corresponded with the expectations of those, who, from the experience of former wars, knew the value of this Province and have completely verified the predictions of that judicious and enlightened Historian Major Rennell in his admirable memoir of 1793. In this advanced position, upon the enemy's frontier, the whole of our Troops assembled at the end of February, from whence they had an uninterrupted admission into the Enemy's country, where they had met with no opposition, as had before been observed, until they had accomplished the most difficult and arduous part of their march

to the Enemy's Capital. Had the Sultan determined to observe a strict neutrality between the English and his own kingdom, or if he had wished to favour our success, I do not think we could have required more of him without adverting to the action and spirited conduct of the Sultan in the campaign, when General Meadows commanded the army. It is only necessary to recall the memory to the events in the neighbourhood of Bengalore, the action at the Caregut Hills and the defence of the Island, to mark the difference between the conduct of the Mysore Troops during the last and present wars. From a desire prevalent in some minds to heighten the splendour of recent merits, by detracting from the gallantry of their former achievements, it has been gravely asserted by some as if they expected so absurd an opinion to be believed, that the army of the Sultan was more numerous, more enterprising and brave in the late contest, than during the former war. As yet, I have not thought necessary to give a serious answer to an assertion contradicted by a thousand facts, and so repugnant to commonsense and to irresistable conviction when it can be proved that the powers of a *part* labouring to effect the *same purpose* and by the *same means* are equal to the power of *the whole*, we will then try to understand by what means the Sultan with half his Dominions and a diminished Revenue could render himself more powerful in resources and more formidable in the field than he appeared in the zenith of his greatness with a double Revenue and twice the extent of his Dominions. The mortifying difference which he experienced between the situation in which he stood, previous to the peace of 1792 and the place he occupied in the scale of power subsequent to that event, is pathetically described by himself in his correspondence with the French. He there complains of having been stript of his most valuable Provinces and a great part of his treasure, which cramped his preparations for war and made him so importunate for the aid of France. It has been frequently said and urged by many candid and well informed men, that the power and ability of the Sultan were not sufficiently reduced by the peace of 1792. This opinion may be combated on different grounds, but even admitting the proposicion to its full extent, it fixes no blame upon that measure, unless it can be proved that it was *better* policy to have continued the war, than to have agreed to a peace upon such advantageous terms as were then obtained: this would open a wide field for argument, in which it would be necessary to advert to the relative state of Europe and Asia at those different periods: it appeared from the last despatches which left England and which were received previous to the Peace of Seringapatam that the agitation in France was advancing rapidly to that crisis, which has produced such fatal effects to the happiness and liberties of Europe. Had we then the same powerful and efficient ascendancy in the Councils of the Nizam that we have since acquired by the wise and spirited measures of the present Governor-General? Were the Mahratta powers of *as little* weight at *that time* in the Politics of Hindostan as they *are now* and had we *then* the same means of prescribing moderation to their demands as we possess at *this period*? These were I apprehend a part of the consideration which influenced Lord Cornwallis's deliberations at the time we are speaking of, but I have always understood that he considered the Mysore Power as a convenient barrier between us and the Mahrattas and that although it was necessary to punish the aggression of the Sultan and to exact adequate sacrifices for the success of our arms, it would, in his opinion, have been dangerous policy to have made any further addition to the Mahratta Empire. As to the ability of Lord Cornwallis with the forces under his command to have taken Seringapatam which to my great astonishment I have

heard recently questioned, although I have considered the subject with much attention and have consulted the best authorities in the army, I have not yet discovered the grounds on which the doubt exists. The best reply on this occasion may perhaps be to the following questions : Is the present army more brave, are the officers more experienced, were they more confident of success, or were they more ably commanded, than the army of 1792 ? Were the different departments better arranged, the provision of supplies more successfully secured, had we previously conquered a great part of the Sultan's Dominions and after possessing ourselves of the adjacent country and defeating his army under the walls of the place, had we surrounded his Capital and rendered it almost impossible for himself to escape ? It is well-known that the army under Lord Cornwallis was amply supplied with provisions, that 2 months of the favourable season were unexpired but that towards the conclusion of the late siege a most serious and alarming scarcity prevailed in camp, that we had nearly lost the whole of our Draught and Carriage Cattle and that the approach of the rainy season threatened with a difficulty which neither ability, zeal nor valour would surmount. Fortunately the place fell some days before the change of the monsoon. From unavoidable circumstances we could only occupy at the late siege one side of the place, but in 1792 it was nearly surrounded and we have since found that the part *then* attacked was the weakest side of the fort. Some of these questions I have asked, and having received no satisfactory answers, I shall add nothing more on this subject. I shall ever think that we are much indebted to the campaign of 1792 for our recent success and in paying this tribute to Truth and Justice, I will not admit that I am robbing our present gallant army of any part of the merit to which it is justly entitled.

B. Extract of a letter to a friend in England 10 and 21 June 1799.

And yet the event has been so extraordinary, the Revolution so rapid and complete, the consequences so incalculable to India and to Europe, and the occurance of circumstances so unlike the usual course of human events, that the more I reflect upon *the whole*, the more I am lost in amazement, contemplation and doubt. From the time the Sultan provoked the war, until the day of his fall, his conduct appeared to be under the irresistable influence of a Destiny which hurried him rapidly on to his destruction. Great praise is due to our Troops, but candour must oblige us to confess, that even if his capital had fallen to the irresistable valour of the Besiegers, he might still have been at the head of a formidable army, defending the other parts of his extensive Dominions, or transferring the war into ours. Or had he, agreeable to the advice of his ministers postponed hostilities by finesse and negotiation, until the expected succours had arrived, the issue of the contest would probably not have been so fortunate for us. The whole of his correspondence with the French Directory has fallen into our hands and will probably be published. He there discovers a mind brooding over disappointed ambition, tortured with the losses he sustained in the last war, anxious and eager for revenge, planning our destruction in wisdom and matured experience, yet hurried on by a restless ungovernable passion to a discovery of his schemes before they were ripe for execution. Every trait of greatness in this extraordinary character, if he did possess any which I must ever question, was shaded and obscured by cruelty, passion, bigotry and pride. You will hear every event and circumstance of this unparalleled war, attributed to the sole cause of the invincible valour and prowess of our Troops. It is natural for military men to look for no other cause. They defeated his army in the field, they surmounted great difficulties, his Capital was

taken by assault, and the Dominion perished with himself. Any abstract reasoning upon previous events or reflections upon the misconduct of the Enemy has an invidious appearance and seems to detract from the merits of the Gallant Army, so well entitled to the praise and gratitude of their country. Of course this is a theme on which I am silent here and on which I shall speak and write with great caution and reserve elsewhere. I am possessed of much information on this curious edifying event, which is still lodged in my mind and from whence I may never have leisure to extract it, before many of the most important traces are erased from the tablets of my memory. But I never can forget on how many slender hairs and threads the fortune of this great event has been suspended, almost any one of which breaking, would have dangerously retarded, if not entirely frustrated, the grand object of the measure. The whole kingdom of Mysore is now nearly in our possession, waiting with patient submission the arrangements of the conqueror. The treasure found in Seringapatam is much under the first estimate, but still it is valuable Booty. The fortune of the commander-in-chief will be very large, and it is reported from the first Dividend he has received 3 Lackhs of Pagodas. The whole of what is termed prize-money property, will amount to perhaps about One million thousand pounds (exclusive of Ordnance, Stores, Grain, Etc.,) of which 800 thousand pounds is in specie, and the rest in gold, silver and precious stones besides private plunder to a large amount, which was taken on the day of storm. Some of the private soldiers were loaded with bags of money, and it is said, and I believe with truth, that Jewels of *immense value* fell into the same hands, which have since been picked up by some of the officers for a small price. It is told of a Grenadier of the 33rd that as he was staggering under his plunder, he came up with a man of another Regiment, who had been wounded in the assault and asked him what success, the other answered him purishly, "Did he not see that he was wounded" on which the Grenadier did him for an unlucky dog, threw him a bag containing a thousand pagodas, and wished him better luck another time. It is reported that *a casket of incredible* value containing the Sultan's own jewels, is missing, but as this is more rumour, I cannot vouch for its truth. Our communication is not quite regular with the army, and only 2 or 3 officers have arrived from camp, who left it the day after the storm. I am afraid that truth will oblige to retract what I said respecting the unexampled clemency of the Troops. In an assault, acts of cruelty are unavoidable and we cannot expect that the capture of Seringapatam would be exempted from them. A report which was conveyed to General Baird in the heat of the action and spread like wildfire amongst the men, that Tippoo had murdered his European prisioners by driving nails into their skulls, produced effects for some time that discipline could not stop, or entreaties pacify. The Sultan was eagerly sought for, and in the search many a poor victim was sacrificed to their murdered comrades. As to the truth of this report we are still in doubt. It is certain the prisoners were murdered in cold blood seven days before the storm, and their bodies have been found. It appears they have been beheaded, but the other circumstance is yet uncertain. I wrote you that the body of the Sultan was discovered under a heap of slain in one of the gateways and his horse lying dead near him. Major Beatson whose authority is entitled to much credit thinks that the Sultan was attempting to make his escape when he fell. Others say that he was hastening to the point of attack which from many circumstances appears to me altogether improbable. A ball had entered the upper part of his head and lodged in the jaw bone of the opposite side, he had also a wound from a bayonet in the side. He was about 5 ft. 7-in. in height, uncommonly well made, except in the neck, which was short

and large, his leg, ankle and foot beautifully proportioned, his arms large and muscular with the appearance of great strength, but his hands rather too fine and delicate for a soldier. As the eyes were closed in death and features disfigured by the wound, they could not judge of his countenance. When I saw him 29 years ago, he was remarkably fair for a mussalman of India, thin, delicately made, with an interesting mild countenance, of which large animated black eyes were the most conspicuous features. Latterly he grew fat, his face became darker, and his eyes fierce and terrific. On the day after the storm l.'- eldest son delivered himself up, saying that he stipulated for no terms, but threw himself unconditionally in the generosity of the English. Tippoo was buried in the Mausoleum of his Father, with the honours of war, which I believe the English soldier paid him with reluctance.

The story of the Casket is confirmed, and from the information of Purnea, the Dewan or minister of the late Sultan, the value of the jewels, which it contained, is rated at £4,00,000. The army I believe offered a reward of 10 Per Cent for the recovery of important prize.

The historical importance of the Abbe Dubois—Alexander Read correspondence, published in the Baramahal Records.

[By Miss M. Sharadamma, M.A.].

The purpose of this paper is to study historically the Dubois-Read correspondence in 1797 and arrive at one or two conclusions which may throw fresh light on the religious policy of the British in India before 1800.

First of all, I should like to state that the biography of the Abbe in Beauchamp's introductory note to *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* does not contain any reference to the Abbe's residence or experience in Tipu Sultan's dominions or his troubles in Baramahal after its transfer to the British Government.

Dubois' difficulty, which was the subject of his petition to Read, was described by himself as follows :—' Black priests have arrived from the Malabar coast in this country and lodged, without my permission, without even preventing (*sic*) me, in my several churches. Amazed of the boldness and impoliteness of such a conduct I asked the cause of it, when I was answered that they came to take this (Country) from me, and to take possession of all the Christian churches in Baramahal and Salem countries, saying that I was nothing else but an usurper, and that if I should oppose any difficulty to their undertakings, they were bearers of orders from the Right Honourable the Governor of Madras to compel me to leave without delay this country and that the orders of which they are bearers, are of so compelling a nature that they leave no choice nor alternative etc. Their bold and determined discourses filled me with surprise and care, all their speeches as well as their behaviour were (........) for me. What reasons, I asked (them) have the English Government to expel me from a country in which I ever made it my principal study to evince my unfeigned gratitude for the protection and other benefits I am receiving from agents ? What crime have I perpetrated to be exposed to such a disgrace and ignominy ? Has my pacific conduct in this country given rise to any distrust on my probity and the purity of my intentions ? If it is the case, how comes it that such an order was not communicated to me either through the gentleman who is entrusted with the charge of the affairs in this department or through any of his assistants ? How comes it, that a Government everywhere famed and conspicuous by its spirit of justice, moderation and impartiality without any apparent subject, without hearing the reasons I may produce in the support of my cause, without my knowledge, deprives me of the peaceful possession of this mission, to give it to those adventurers ? Such an arbitrary step, said I, might frequently occur in the despotic courts of a neighbour prince, but among a nation which occupies the first rank in the civilized world—it is not possible.

" In the meanwhile, the intruders who came to ravish my heritage are carrying on their undertakings with the greatest success ; the calumnies they have spread everywhere against me among this ignorant and credulous people, by saying that I am a French priest, and that all the French-men have since the revolution fallen into heresy, and have been without exception excommunicated by the Pope, that the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church (is heresy) that the English Government sensible of all those motives, has entrusted them with the charge of all the missions in this country ; these and a thousand other absurd discourses, and above all, their likeness by colour, manners, and morals with the people of this country have won them the affection and confidence

of all and they are received and triumphing in all my churches; whilst, despised by all, I am obliged to fly from one cottage to another, and I hardly meet with persons compassionate enough to give me a shelter in their houses".

"In this dreadful situation I have only left one resource, and it lies in your kind protection you have promised me, Sir, to favour me whenever I could stand in need of it. Therefore, permit me in this truly trying circumstances, to call upon you by all the motives which may inspire you with any concern of my helpless condition—I call upon you, Sir, for your protection and justice as a man persecuted without cause, and whose last resource is to you—I call upon you as representing that generous nation which in these times of universal disaster and desolation has manifested so tender a commiseration to my brethern clergy men, who stood in the same desolate state as this in which I am now standing. I call upon you for your justice, because no other help, no other resource are left to me and if I am compelled to leave this country, I have no other way of living left, besides beggary and the compassion that my helpless condition may inspire to sensible hearts. Yet, however hard my actual state may appear God forbid that I should endeavour to move in your mind a false compassion and to bias your judgment to my cause by this plain account of my real state; I only entreat you to attend the reasons on which my claim to this mission are grounded and after having examined them and compared with the claims of my opponents (they are running over both Dharmapuri and Salem) to judge according to what your wisdom and justice might suggest to you".

When the collector did not send any reply for two weeks, the Abbé, who felt that he was in a desperate situation reminded Read of his earlier letter and added that "my situation is such that if you bestow not on me the particular favour of your support and protection against the insults, threats and insolent undertakings of my opponents, I can no more live safe in thiscountry."

To this and the foregoing letter, Read's reply was frank, clear and simple. It contained the statement of the Government policy in religious matters and of the action that he could undertake in accordance with it, in the Abbe's particular case. He said that "All religions being tolerated and every sect permitted to follow its own tenets throughout the British possessions I have hitherto considered it as not falling within my province to interfere in such disputes as the idolaters of this country frequently have among themselves, unless when it becomes necessary as civil magistrates to preserve the peace when I only restrain them from committing violence on one another leaving their several authorities their rights and pretensions to be settled among themselves in the best way they can".

"There appears no reason for my acting differently in respect to whatever sects of Christians may appear in these districts. I wish therefore that you would compound with the black priests that you mention as having arrived from the Malabar Coast in such manner that you may not interrupt one another in the exercise of your religious functions".

The Abbe's acknowledgment of this official communication and his response to it and Alexander Read's further reply to it are valuable only as reflecting their personal characters and do not therefore come in for any analysis here.

Now, the problem of the historian is to know whether Read's reply was a re-statement of the current policy of the Company's Government in matters of religion and worship or whether it was an account of his own *ad hoc* policy in an unforeseen event.

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A survey of the history of the religious policy of the East India Company until 1858, so far as it is known, may be helpful in solving this important problem. Until 1800, 'the Englishman's duty was to keep peace, maintain law and order and to bring some of the Europe's material blessings, but not to worry about their (Indians') family life or private morals'—which opinion is confirmed by the provisions of the Regulating Act and Pitt's India Bill. After 1800, however, the Court of Directors, under the pressure of the entreaties of the Christian missionaries, recognised and admitted their obligation to Christianity and, in all despatches from 1813 till almost the date of abolition of the Company's Government, they gave the place of primacy for that religion and showed preference for the followers of that faith in public service. The directors were, in other words, tolerant of the 'native' religion and temples and worships, but took it upon themselves as the rulers of India to propagate Christianity and to protect the churches and favour the Christians. The only change in their attitude was in 1833, when they substituted *impartiality* for *tolerance* but without the necessary change of heart that should have gone with it. That this was so is revealed in the instruction to the Indian Law Commission in 1833 to pay 'due regard to the distinctions of caste, differences of religion and the manners, etc.' and in their despatch of 1847 wherein they said that 'it is obviously essential to the due observance of the principle [of impartiality] that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military'. But India, a land of religion and spiritual thinking, was soon tired of this Christian Government and individuals, like Raja Ram-Mohan Roy, who had nothing but the highest regard for the principles of Christianity, asked for freedom for all religions and for *non-interference* or *neutrality* in the affairs of religion. The Company turned, however, a deaf ear to their counsels and the result of it led itself finally to the misfortune of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 and the abolition of its own Government in favour of that of the Crown in 1858. The Queen's Proclamation in that year started her Government of India with an implicit belief in religious neutrality and made Christianity to stand and have its career along with the other religions of India.

Thus it is clear that the policy of the present Government of India in religious matters is a product of experience and began only in 1858 with the Queen's Proclamation.

Let me now point out with this thought in mind the importance of the Abbé-Dubois—Alexander Read correspondence. The correspondence, referred to, creates a difficult problem, since it may be easy to exaggerate its importance. I find much in it to believe that Read advocated and even carried into effect the principle of *neutrality*. If I may express my view, it is really important in showing how Read had come nearer than any of his contemporaries and even some of his successors to the discovery of the religious mind of India and had realised that the principle of neutrality was a distinct advancement on the incomplete but dangerous policy of mere religious *tolerance* and *impartiality*. The same ideas were it seems to me in the heart of Read, which the British discovered after much struggle and many mistakes and still cherish. His attitude towards other religions was not one of negative toleration but of positive appreciation; for nowhere in the Baramahal records or in any other writings of his do we find any reference to his own religion or special favour shown to it, in his capacity as a public officer. The Abbé himself who held an entirely different opinion from Read, recognised in him an *impartial* and *disinterested* officer and paid a compliment on Read's high personal qualities.

Further still, the principle of liberty which Read expounded in such unmistakable and emphatic terms was the fruit of his political wisdom and broad mind. It appers that Read did not think of it casually. Baramahal district was under the Company barely for five years. Probably Read realised that the sway of the British Government in the district was not yet secure as the wounded Tiger of Seringapatam may pounce upon it at any time. Lest the displeasure of the people should prove a spring board for rebellion religious *neutrality* was then perhaps the virtue of necessity. Probably, also his long residence in India, his years of experience as an administrator in times of stress, his friendship with missionaries and acquaintance with their work helped him to be so wise even in matters of religion. If we take into account the different settings and different purposes of the time, in which Read lived and moved, the importance of his contribution will be fully realised. Simple and natural enough, as it appears at the present day, in the light of the Mutiny and the long shadows it cast, the idea in the early part of the eighteenth century was a stroke of genius. Read had not much of a past tradition to bind him and no examples to guide him.

If conjecture is the salt of historical research, cannot Read be supposed the first English administrator to conceive the idea of religious neutrality underlying the policy of the British idea hinted in the charter act of 1813, emphatically expressed in that of 1833 and made statutory and public in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 ? Cannot he be rightly recognised as a great personage in the history of the religious policy of the British in India ? Would he not have become perhaps the first earnest minded investigator of the science of comparative religions of India, if time and opportunity were more spacious and favourable to him ? How far his principle was a beacon light to the future statesmen who walked in his foot steps, is not easy to say. The Records Commission will, I hope, solve these problems and prove Read's greatness and I am content to wait the verdict of the Commission, confident that it will do justice to Alexander Read.

Haidar Ali, His Relations with the Crown.

[By Mr. D. S. Achuta Rau, M.A.]

The rise of Haidar Ali was one of the romances of an age when career was open to talent. With an extraordinary power of imagination, directed by a scientific and calculating mind, reinforced by marvellous self-confidence and indefatigable energy and ambition, he was a man who would have risen to fame in any age and in any circumstance. However he took to the profession of arms in which his ancestors had distinguished themselves for generations and carved out a career for himself. He worked his way from the rank of an obscure soldier to that of the helmsman of the state and whatever one might think of the means by which he gathered to himself the supreme powers, it is impossible to withhold admiration for the great natural talents which raised an unlettered adventurer to the supreme control of a powerful kingdom. Like other successful men he was partly the child of his age and partly its creator.

In his acquisition of power Haidar can be credited with perfect sincerity and disinterestedness, for his aims were clear and reasonable, definitely conceived and resolutely pursued without ignoring the continuity of the interests of the traditional Royal House. His life exactly corresponds to the age between the darkness of anarchy and the dawn of order. In his rise to the headship of government there was an element of real policy tinged by patriotic sentiment. The goal of his life was to preserve the integrity of Mysore if possible to extend her frontiers, to consolidate her on solid foundations and to elevate her to the position of the most formidable power in the contemporary India. In short, it was Haidar's ideal that Mysore should be reckoned as a power in South India. With his accession to power he guided the state with great wisdom and firmness and succeeded in bringing about what is essential to the existence of a state, a strong and settled government. He restored peace and prosperity to an afflicted people. Thus it is unmistakably clear that Haidar had a more patriotic programme than the selfish greed of an ordinary usurper.

Speculation is rife as to the exact position of the Raja during Haidar's predominance. The local contemporary sources make it manifest that Haidar occupied no new position other than that of the Dalvoys who preceded him in power under whom the Rāja had been completely isolated from all active interference in affairs of the state and had been placed on the throne as a titular sovereign. His position remained unchanged under Haidar's management. Though the latter exercised unquestioned authority he still owed allegiance to reigning Rāja and acknowledged his nominal sovereignty. Rightly viewed, Haidar was the general of the army who had become supreme in the administration of the state and as such occupied the position of a *de facto* sovereign. He never assumed openly any marks or attributes of legal sovereignty and there is not the least evidence to show that Haidar ever aspired for the throne. Mirza Iqbal unequivocally declares that Haidar was not fond of the throne nor ever thought of possessing one.[1] "He thought it polite to call himself the Raja's Prime Minister and General."[2] The just conclusions of his contemporary biographers Peixoto and M. M. D. L. T. and of the account *Haidar Nama*

[1] Mirza Iqbal. Ed. by Miles, p. 497.
[2] Life of the Lindsays, Vol. III, p. 300.

that he was at best the '*Kāryakarta*'[3] or regent of the kindgom are confirmed by the inscriptional evidence of the period.[4]

All the external appendages of royalty were continued uninfringed on the traditional manner. The reigning Rajas held the annual Dasara festival with usual pomp and ceremony[5] in which Haidar freely participated.[6] Even his bigoted Persian historial Kirmani acknowledges contemptuously that "though he [Haidar] in his heart was averse, still with a view to please and gain the affections of the Mysoreans, that is, the descendants of Jug Krishnaraja Wadeyar and his ministers [participated in the Dasara] for to the deceased Nawab every heart was dear."[7]

There is also another testimony which throws light on the cordial relations that existed between the Rajas and Haidar; the confidence and esteem with which the latter was held. In 1761 when Haidar returned in triumph to the capital after the expulsion of the Marathas, the Raja welcomed him in state and conferred on him the title of Nawab.[8] In 1770 when Haidar was confronted with the invasion of Mysore by the Marāthas he had an audience with the Rāja Nanjaraja Wodeyar and apprised him of the situation arising out of the Maratha invasion and the Peshwa's demand of a crore of rupees which he refused to comply, for "he would fight and show him [Peshwa] that the kingdom dreaded not nis power." The Raja convinced of the great abilities of his general exhorted him saying, "I and this whole kingdom do not dread any invasion of the Maratha or of any other enemy as long as God preserves your life. The security and defence of the kingdom is in your hand and in me the confidence that you will prosper in everything".[9] This valuable delineation of the Portuguese biographer Peixoto is a striking illustration explaining the relative position of Haidar and the reigning sovereign and the former's dutiful loyalty to the acknowledged sovereign and his patriotism.

Haidar avoided the name of king. He was content with the substance of power and never cared to drape himself in regal robes. When the British, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese nations as well as individuals saw fit to regard him as an independent 'Prince' he welcomed the honour. He thought that truth in her nakedness could not be usefully or decorously shown and he seldom ignored the fact in his own action and it was a good deal by virtue of the combination that he managed his contemporaries without sharing their delusions and enjoyed the prerogatives of dictatorial and kingly power with a minimum of its disadvantages. Haidar thus wielded a reality of power with nominal acknowledgment of the sovereign *de jure*. But where he differed from his predecessors, the Dalvoys, was in the intelligent vigour and unswerving constancy of purpose by which he clung to the usefulness of his position and when once obtained he used it for the furtherance of his ideals. This enables us to perceive an essential characteristic which he shares only with a few great men in history.

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[3] Peixoto. MSS. Fl. 148. M. M. D. L. T., Vol. I, p. 24.

[4] M. A. R. 1924, pp. 56-58, Inscription No. 61, dated 5th November 1764 and Inscription No. 62, dated 1st October 1764 refer to Haidar as Karyakarta to Krishnaraja Wadeyar II Epi. car. Vol. II, p. 37, Ins. No. 65.

[5] Kirmani pp. 489-90.

[6] Life of the Lindsays Vol. III, p. 300.

[7] Kirmani p. 489.

[8] Punganuri p. 6, Peixoto MSS. Fl. 4.

[9] Peixoto MSS. Fl. 152.

Haidar throughout his career exercised his authority in an unabated fashion. He loved his power and tried to guard and enforce it, for it was indispensable for the accomplishment of his objects. To that extent his relations with the Rājas were subservient and he perpetuated on the throne a puppet monarch. He was highly intolerant of any infringement of his authority by the former. The means by which Haidar acquired power and the violence which he displayed on some occasions[10] against the Rājas can on no account be regarded as just. But they are effaced by the nobility and the glory of the objects which he professed and by the fact that he only used his power in the interests of the state.

No one can deny that Haidar was a usurper. Usurpation was the prevailing political practice of the day. Once when Appajee Ram, Haidar's favourite diplomat, was present in the Marātha Durbar, the Peshawa Madhava Rao and the general, Patwardhan, accused his master of having usruped the Royal authority and keeping the Rāja as a State Prisoner.[11] Appajee Ram while acknowledging that the Raja was virtually a state pageant under Haidar, added that " the arrangement is not an invention of our own but a distant and respectful imitation of the conduct of our betters."[12] It may be recalled that the descendant of Sivaji was virtually a prisoner in Satara and the Peshwa was the hereditary usurper. It is said that on hearing Appajee Ram's outspoken remark Madhava Rao hung down his head and the whole assembly refrained with difficulty from a burst of laughter.[13] It was thus an age of usurpations in India and a multitude of usurpations had occurred which rendered the subjects quite indifferent to the titles of their monarchs, provided their rule was benign and beneficent. After all it must be kept in view that Haidar too was neither anxious to establish a Musalman government in Mysore on the ruins of the Hindu state nor to perpetuate his dynasty on the throne. There is no greater heresy than to attribute such sentiments to Haidar. His own words may be quoted to show how he himself regarded his regime. Once a celebrated Muslim saint called Peer Laddah complained to Haidar how the Hindus of the capital had beaten his followers (who had attacked a Hindu procession) and argued that the procession was an insult to Musalman religion and that the conduct of Hindus should not be tolerated by Haidar as the head of the Musalman Government.[14] Haidar instantly replied with a grave countenance " who told you that this was a Musalman Government ?........ and sure I never did .... "[15]. Thus it is clear that Mysore continued to remain a Hindu state and Haidar served merely as one of its loyal sons, a soldier of fortune whom a too bountiful Nature had endowed with undoubted powers which helped to achieve the prestige and glory she had never witnessed before.

Whatever may be said of his son's intentions the fact that Haidar had a desire to perpetuate his dynasty cannot be admitted. In that hour of crisis when his end was drawing near he realised that his country needed for a time a strong ruler and confident of the abilities of his son vested him with the reins of government nominated him as successor to the chief command or generalship

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[10] Peixoto MSS. Fl. 137-58.
[11] Wilks, Vol. II, p. 213.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Lord Valentine's Dairy. Q.J.M.S. Vol. X, p. 25.
[15] *Ibid.* For a fuller treatment of the Character of Haidar's Government and administration which was preeminently Hindu in character, *see* Author's article in Q. J. M. S. Vol. XIX, pp. 452-65.

of the army.[16] He hoped that his son would continue the threads of general policy which he had followed with prudence and tenacity as a *de facto* and not as *de jure* ruler and as such it was never his intention to make him a ' Sultan '. But Tippu's policy after his assumption of power was one of distinct departure from that of his father. Towards the court he was habitually insolent and often violent. The Rajas bore a semblance of sovereignty under Haidar and were revered and respected by him. But their subsequent tragic fate under Tippu serves to throw a lurid light on their position. Tippu dethroned the Raja (the successor of Chamaraja) plundered his belongings and confined him as a State prisoner until he was discovered by commissioners after the fall of Seringapatam ' in a mud hovel in a state of squalid destitution '. Besides Tippu assumed the title of Sultan and issued a proclamation in 1789 to the effect that he intended to ascend the throne and called the Kingdom *Khodadad Sircar*, ' the government the gift of God '. Tippu thus openly disavowed the allegiance to the reigning sovereign and himself became the *de jure* ruler overthrowing the ancient royal dynasty. This, added to other factors, fatally weakened the coherence of the state and his power and ultimately brought about his downfall as well as of the fabric created by his father. On the whole Haidar unlike Tippu in respecting the nominal sovereignty of reigning Rājas acted on wise and statesmanlike principles and they contributed in a great measure to the glorious succeess of his career.

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[16] *Haidar Nāma.* MSS. Folio. 154-155.

Jhampanna Nāyak's Kaifyat of Chitaldrug Pālegars.

[By Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A.]

1. This paper is based on a copy of the manuscript called the Kaifyat of Rāja Jhampaṇṇa (or Jhampāḷa) Nāyaka and gives the traditional history of the chiefs of Chitaldrug. The manuscript was found in the house of a descendant of his at Moḷakālmuru in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, and was procured by Mr. Gopalaiya, Forest Ranger, Moḷakālmuru, and sent to the Archæological Office at Mysore in 1924. A copy of this was prepared in the Office by Pandit H. Shesha Iyengar in February 1925, the original being returned to Mr. Gopalaiya. The copy prepared consists of 31 pages with another page copied from another copy of the manuscript, also said to have been procured from Moḷakālmuru.

The manuscript.

2. Chitaldrug is a town in the north of the Mysore State. It is the head-quarters of a Taluk and District of the same name and is situated in 14° 14′ N. Lat., 76° 27′ E. Long. It is surrounded with a line of fortifications and includes an inner fort built at the north-eastern base of a dense cluster of rocky hills which are also very extensively fortified. There are several temples, tanks and ponds on the hill as also the remains of the palace of the Nāyaks, granaries, powder magazines, etc.

Origin of Chitaldrug.

According to the Kaifyat (statement) of Jhampaṇṇa Nāyaka who was a brother's son of the last ruler of the Nāyaka Dynasty at Chitaldrug, the original name of the place was Chimmala-giri and said to have been derived from the word 'chimmu' which means 'to toss off'. A portion of the Kailāsa mountain on which Rāvaṇa is said to have stood is stated to have been chipped and tossed off with his horns by Nandi, the bull vehicle of Śiva, to prevent Rāvaṇa from disturbing his Lord. Hence the name Chimmala-giri or Chinmala-giri; and the later form Chitradurga (or Chitaldrug, the anglicised form) is said to have been derived from it. This, however, is a fanciful etymology. The early name of Chitaldrug as found in the inscriptions is Bemmattanakallu which somehow by the change of the letter 'be' into 'chi' became Chimmattanakallu, Chintanakallu and Chitrakal. With the addition of the word 'durga', meaning a fortified hill, it took the form of 'Chitrakalludurga' which word was later shortened into the form of 'Chitradurga' or 'Chitaldurg'.

As is usual in several parts of India, Chitaldrug is also connected in the legends with the Pāṇḍavas and the temple of Hiḍimbēsvara on the Chitaldrug hill is said, in the Kaifyat, to enshrine the original linga worshipped by the demon Hiḍimba whom Bhīma killed near the spot where the temple stands.

3. The Kaifyat is silent with regard to early dynasties of kings such as the Chalukyas and Hoysalas who ruled over Chitaldrug and have left several monuments at that place but begins with the history of the Nāyak dynasty of Pāḷegārs who are said to have ruled for a period of 431 years from about 1348 A. D. to 1779 A. D. over Chitaldrug and its neighbouring parts. At the height of their power they ruled over the whole of the present Chitaldrug District and some villages in the adjacent districts of Hassan, Shimoga and Tumkur districts. Fourteen chiefs of this dynasty are said to have ruled over the period and their

The early Nayaks of Chitaldrug.

dates and important events that occurred during their reigns including the conquests made, wars waged, public works constructed, etc. are given in the Kaifyat. These dates may not always agree with those of the inscriptions of the period or of those of the contemporaries of the rulers mentioned in the Kaifyat, but they are given here as found in the Kaifyat and important events in each reign set down. The Mysore Gazetteer gives a brief account of these Nāyaks (see pages 500-504 of Rice's Mysore Gazetteer of 1897, Volume II). But some more details are given about them in the Kaifyat and they will be set down in this paper.

4. Of the fourteen chiefs of the Nāyak dynasty who ruled over Chitaldrug the first ten who ruled up to S' 1612 Vibhava or 1690 A. D. will be dealt with in this para. and the rest in the remaining paras.

According to the Kaifyat, the ancestors of the Chitaldrug Nāyaks who were Bēḍas in caste came from Jeḍekaldurga in Vijayanagar-prāntya with the gods they worshipped, their gurus, etc. and settled at Keṇḍagōḍu and Hebbāḷu near Nīrthaḍı (in the present Davangere Taluk). There were three brothers Jaḍavi Nāyaka, Gajagaḍḍe Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka and Ahōbalanāyaka who thus settled at Hebbāḷu. They were told in a dream by the God Narasimhasvāmi of Ahōbala one day to set up the God in some place and pay worship to him. Accordingly they set up the *Sālagrāma* stones of Narasimha in some place and the god Ranganātha of Nīrthaḍi arose on it and the basket containing the sālagrāmas was worshipped as Kampaladēvaru. One Sāligrāma however is contained in it. Of the three brothers Vōbanna Nāyaka had a son Hanumappa Nāyaka who settled in the village Sāgali. His son Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka went to reside at Matti and is known as Matti Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka. He was the first of the Nāyaka rulers of Chitaldrug. Nāyaka which literally means master or lord is a title used by several chiefs, *e.g.*, the rulers of Keḷadi. The name is also used for the Bēḍa community in Chitaldrug District, perhaps on account of Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, ruler of Chitaldrug, belonging to that community.

Regarding Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka's departure from Matti to Chitaldrug and making the latter his headquarters the Kaifyat gives a story that Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, while on a hunting expedition in the vicinity of Chitaldrug, found certain sages called Rasa Siddhas on the Chitaldrug hill and with their favour obtained *rasa* which transmutes base metals into gold and with the gold derived therefrom he was able to build a small town on the hill, fortify it and rule the surrounding territory. He is also said to have obtained from the king of Vijayanagar the office of Nāyaka of the Hoḷalkere kingdom (Heḷalkere is a town about 25 miles from Chitaldrug). He is also said to have heroically stolen the royal horse from the stables of Sāḷuva Narasingarāya, general of Vijayanager at the expense of his hand and obtaining his favour for his courage helped him in the siege of Gulbarga. He is said to have ruled for 56 years up to S'1326 A. D. or 1403 A. D. But there is a difficulty in accepting the chronology as given in the Kaifyat. The date for the usurpation of Sāḷuva Narasingarāya is about 1478 and a stone inscription gives the date S' 1490 (1568) for the grant of Hoḷalkere-sīme to Medakeri Nāyaka by king Tirumalarāya of Vijayanagar and two inscriptions of Kāmageti Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka are found dated in Nala (C. 1556) and Paingala (C. 1557) See Ep. Car. Vol. XI Translations pages 116, 109, 106). We may therefore take it that there is some confusion in the dates as given in the Kaifyat and the Śaka dates seem to have been added later on.

Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka was given also the name Madakari Nāyaka by the Rasa Siddhas. He is said to have constructed the Gōpālakṛishṇa temple at Hoḷalkere, Vīrabhadra temple at Hiriyūr, Ranganātha temple at Nirthaḍi, Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka's tank on the Chitaldrug hill, the forts at Nellikāyi Siddhēsvara, Raṇamaṇḍala and Onikegaṇḍi and the Ānjañeya temple on the Onikegaṇḍi hill. He is said to have incurred the Vijayanagar king's displeasure at the end of his reign and died in Vijayanagar in prison.

The second ruler of the Nāyak dynasty of Chitaldrug was Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka, son of Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka. He is said to have ruled from S'1327 Tāraṇa to S'1371 Vibhava (1404 to 1448) for 45 years. He held the office of Nāyaka during the reign of Rāmarāya (of Vijayanagar) and after his death went to Bijāpur. He also obtained the favour of the Siddhas and he too was called by them Madhakarināyaka (madhakari or madakari means a rutting elephant and indicates great valour). He is said to have constructed a tank at Hullūr and Harakeridēvarapura (both these are in Chitaldrug district) and made a gift of a village for services in the temple of Venkaṭaramaṇasvāmi at Tirupati in North-Arcot district.

The third ruler was Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka, son of Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka. He is said to have ruled for 68 years from S' 1372 Śukla (1449 A. D.) to S' 1440 Dhātu (1516 A. D.). He is said to have fought with Hanumappa Nāyaka, chief of Tarīkere (a town in Kadur District, Mysore) at Kandavāḍi, in the year Śrīmukha (1513 A. D.) and conquered Sante-Bennūr and Vādigere from them. He also defeated the chiefs of Harapanahaḷḷi (a town in Bellāri District) and Sīra (a town in Tumkur District). When Hiriyūr was besieged by Rangappa Nāyaka, chief of Sīra, Kenchaṇṇa Nāyaka, ruler of Hiriyūr sent his wife's ear-rings to the Chitaldrug Nayak and he helped in raising the siege by driving away the enemy and returned the ear-rings in a plate. He called himself *mahānāyakāchārya* (teacher of the great nāyakas), *nāyakas'irōmani* (crest-jewel to the nāyakas), Kāmagēti Kastūri Rāja Madhakari Nāyaka's Rāja Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka. He is said to have ruled over the following: (1) Hoḷalkere-sīme, (2) Sante Bennūr, (3) Tāḷe, (4) Bhīmasamudra, (5) Aṇaji, (6) Holatiyāḷu, (7) Chitrahalli, (8) Honnūr, (9) Kālagere, (10) Jājur, (11) Jānakal, (12) Bāgur, (13) Siddhāpura, (14) Bennūr, (15) Māyikoṇḍa, (16) Bilichōḍ, (17) Dēvapura, (18) Jagalūr. These comprise the greater part of the present Chitaldrug District. He is said to have constructed (1) the fort walls near Gārebāgilu Rāmadēva temple, (2) stone granary, (3) pillars near the Ēkanāthēśvari temple, (4) money granary, all on the Chitaldrug hill.

The fourth ruler of the Nāyak dynasty was Gaddada Medakeri Nāyaka[1] son of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka. He is said to have ruled from S'1440 Īśvara (1517 A. D.) to S' 1494 Prajōtpatti (1571 A. D.) for 55 years. He is said to have been installed in the Siddhēsvara temple (sacred to the Siddhas) at Chitaldrug in the year Nandana (1532 A. D.) and defeated the chief of Tarīkere in the year Vijaya (1533 A. D.) and also the Mussulman general Mallik Saheb who assisted the enemy. He fought with the chief of Guḍikōte and took Nannapāḷa and Aimangala and re-gained Hiriyūr which had been lost. He married Bommavva Nāgati, daughter of Būṭaḍale Bommaṇṇa Nāyaka. He died in the year Ānanda. He is credited with the construction of the fort wall near Gāre-bāgilu (completion of the work begun in the previous reign), the construction of a tank Timmappanakere in the name of his mother, of another

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[1] The name is spelt as Medakeri in inscriptions and Mysore Gazetteer and its spelling is not uniform in the Kaifyat.

tank called Airsinakere near Nāgara-koḷa, on the Chitaldrug hill. A tank at Jīrigehaḷḷi, and the tower of Tyāramallēśvara temple at Hiriyūr, are also stated to be his works.

The fifth ruler was Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka, son of Medakeri Nāyaka who ruled for 17 years from S' 1495 to S' 1512. The sixth ruler was his son Chikka Vobaṇṇa Nāyaka who ruled for 11 years. He was killed by his troops as he could not disburse their pay regularly.

The seventh. eighth, ninth and tenth rulers of the Nayak dynasty of Chitaldrug form a single series. They were Chikkaṇṇa Nāyaka, son of Chikka Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka, his son Medakeri Nākaya, his son Doṇṇe Rangappa Nāyaka, and his son Sūryakānti Rangappa Nāyaka. The four kings had a total reign of 88 years from S' 1523 Śārvari (1600 A. D.) to S' 1612 Vibhava (1688 A. D.). Chikkaṇṇa Nāyaka, the seventh ruler was installed in the year Rākshasa (1615 A. D ?). He paid the arrears due to the army and laid siege to Sāṇekere in Niḍugal and recovered Aṇaji taken by the Harapanhaḷḷi chiefs. He built the Chikkāḷa Nāyakara Suttina-kōṭe in Chitaldrug. He assisted the Subedar of Harihar, Shamsheri Khān in fighting against the chiefs of Sīra and conquered Ujjini in Harapanahalli-sīme. He raised the siege of Būdihāḷ, which had been invested by Podavi Lingappa on behalf of the Golkonda Sultan. He died in the year Akshaya (1686 A. D.?).

Medakeri Nāyaka, son of Chikkaṇṇa Nāyaka was the eighth ruler. He came to power in the year Akshaya (1686 ?) and in two years he was thrown into prison by his general Dalavāyi Muddaṇṇa.

Doṇṇe Rangappa Nāyaka, was the ninth ruler. He ruled also for a short time and shared the same fate as his father.

Sūryakānti Rangappa Nāyaka was the tenth ruler. He is called in one place son of Doṇṇe Rangappa Nāyaka and in another place he is called his daughter's son. Soon after installation he was thrown into prison and when he escaped and brought the people of Aravanahaḷḷi to his help in Chitaldrug he was slain along with his followers.

5. Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka, younger brother of Chikkaṇṇa Nāyaka was the eleventh ruler. He is stated to have ruled from S' 1612 Vibhava (1688 A. D.) to S' 1644 Plava (1721 A. D.) for a period of 32 years. He is also called Bichchakatti (unsheathed sword) Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka. For this chief we have several inscriptions in Chitaldrug district from about 1698 to 1720. His genealogy however is given differently in them. He is called in them (See Ep. Car. Vol. XI, Translations, p. 75) Kāmagēti Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka's grandson, Medakeri Nāyaka's son, of Vālmīki-gōtra whereas according to the Kaifyat he is the grandson of Medakeri Nāyaka, son of Chikka Vōbaṇṇa Nāyaka. (This discrepancy is perhaps due to the general name Medakeri Nāyaka given to all the chiefs of the line and calling adopted sons as sons, etc.)

Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka is said to have been installed in the month Āśviyuja of the year Śukla (1689 A. D.). He appointed the friend of his boyhood Vōbalappa, son of Bētūr Hēmādrappa as sarvādhikāri (minister). He fought in the year Pramōdūta (1690 A. D.) with the chiefs of Harapanahaḷḷi and Bidnur and raised the siege of Aṇaji. The next year he built the forts of Āḷūr and Bētūr. He fought with the chief of Rāyadrug who was assisted by the Mahratta chief of Gutti and recovered Nāyakanahaṭṭi which had been besieged and took Narasimhanadurga, Mechharige and Gaurasamudra. He aided in the years Sarvajit and Sarvadhāri (1707 and 1708 A. D.) Paḍadullākhān, *sarsubedar*

against Malnāḍ chiefs and besieged Hoḷehonnūr (near Shimoga). In return he received from him Doḍēri. He also took Hoḷalu in Harapanahalli-sīme and gave it to Hanumantagauḍa of Hāvanūr. He assisted Dargā Kulīkhān in putting down the revoit of the *killedār* of Bāgūr in the year Śārvari (1720 A. D.) He helped Siddhōji Rao (father of Murāri Rao of Gutti ?) in taking Jēnuguḍḍa and re-naming it Rangaiyanadurga added it to his territories. His greatest successes were against the chief of Niḍugal from whom he gained in the year Durmukhi, the following places: Chaḷḷakere, Aravanahaḷḷi, Magaḷagere, Kanchīkere, Rāmagaṭṭa, Chikka Mugaḷagere, Nirugunda, Guḍāḷu. In the previous year he had taken Taḷak, Guḍāl, Gaṭaparti and Vuḷavarti.

Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka received the blessings of Immaḍi Murige-svāmi (Lingāyat guru at Chitaldrug) and built for him a matt both on the hill at Chitaldrug and at some distance from the town of Chitaldrug. The guru had gone to Delhi, and performing a miracle by reviving the royal elephant which had been dead gained the favour of the Padshah (Moghul Emperor). He also brought a sannad for the Nayak at Chitaldrug.

Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka built numerous tanks, at the villages Lingamma Nāgatihaḷḷi, Ālugaṭṭa, Bharamasāgar, Iṭṭigehaḷḷi, Chitrahaḷḷi, Kyāgarahaḷḷi, Aṇaji, Kundūr, Bharamasamudra, Annehāḷu, Bhīmasamudra, Chikka Siddappanahaḷḷi. He also constructed the tanks of the Murigesvāmi Maṭha near Chitaldrug, Karekalhoṇḍa and Gāre-hoṇḍa ponds at Chitaldrug, Rangayyanakere on the Chitaldrug hill and the forts called Medakerenāyakanakōṭe, Kastūri Rangappa Nāyakanakōṭe near Annehāḷu, etc. He also built the temples of Kambadarāya-svāmi at Banjegoṇḍanahaḷḷi, Hanumanta temple at Biḷichōḍu, Ekanathēśvari temple, Kāḷahasti temple, Siddhēśvara temple, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple, Huchchangamma temple (upper portion), Gōpalakrishṇa temple, Venkaṭaramaṇa temple, Prāṇa-linga temple near Nāgadōṇe, Chandraśēkhara temple, all at Chitaldrug. He also built the bastion near Pachche-Kaṇive, the fortified doorway called Sante Bāgilu and palaces at Chitaldrug. These details are given as contained in the Kaifyat as they would give the traditional account of the origin of these public works. This Nāyak, Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka had two principal wives Hire Siddamma Nāgati and Chikka Siddama Nāgati. The elder wife had two sons Hire Medakeri Nāyaka and Jhampāla Nāyaka. The younger wife had also two sons. The Nāyak had besides seven wives and 25 sons. He died in the year Plava.

6. The twelfth ruler of the Nayak dynasty of Chitaldrug was Hire Medakeri Nāyaka, son of Bharamaṇṇa Nāyaka. He ruled from S' 1644 Plava (1721 A. D.) to S' 1673 Vibhava (1749 A. D.) for 29 years. He defeated the Pāḷegārs (chiefs, fief-holders of Vijayanagar Kingdom) of Guḍikōṭe and gained Paramēśvaranadurga, Bommanūru, Nāgasamudra, etc. He also conquered Veṇukaldurga in the Ratnagiri-sīme. But he gained most in his wars with the chief of Rāyadurga : the possessions gained in this campaign in the year Raktākshi (1744) were Koḷapāḷa, *alias* Siddaiyanadurga, Malanūr *alias* Gaurāpura, Taḷakere (Kaḷakere ?) *alias* Ekavīrapura, Māmaḍūru *alias* Rangaiyanadurga, Mangapōṭi *alias* Mahadēvapura, Jānumoddi *alias* Kanakāpura, Śivaśankarapura *alias* Eraḍukere, Manchenahaḷḷi, *alias* Triśankhāpura, Kōḍihaḷḷi *alias* Mrityunjayapura, Boranatippe *alias* Bairanadurga. In his time the Chitaldrug kingdom had practically reached its highest limit and brought an annual income of 940,000 varahas. He built the temples of Kāḷikābhavāni, Kōṭesiddhēśvara, Brahmēśvara and Amṛitēśvara (all at Chitaldrug). He died in the battle of Māyikoṇḍa (a village in Dāvanagere Taluk, Chitaldrug District)

while fighting against the armies of Rāyadurga, Harapanahaḷḷi and Bidnur who had besieged the place. A bullet shot struck him while seated on an elephant and Hire Medakeri Nāyaka died on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year Vibhava (11th February 1749 A. D.).

7. The thirteenth ruler of the Nāyak dynasty was Rājā Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka, son of the last ruler Hire Medakeri Nāyaka. He ruled for five years from S' 1673 Vibhava (1749) to S' 1678 Śrīmukha (1753). He first raised the siege of Māyikoṇḍa to help Siddōji Murahari Rao of Gutti and Ilāyat Male Khān, Subedar of Ādavāni on payment of one lakh of rupees by them. The next year (in the year Śukla) he received Murahari Rao of Gutti at Chitaldrug and helped him in recovering Vaḍḍinakōṭe from the ruler of Ānegondi. He also invaded Kampili-pyāṭe of the above ruler. He laid siege to Gājanūr. He took in Rāyadurga-sīme Karekallu Timmalāpura and re-named it Mahadēvanakōṭe. He met the Subedar of Sīra in the next year and got from him the office of *nāḍudalavāyike* (some military office) of the province and invading Būdihāḷsīme gained the places Huliyūr, Yaḷanaḍavu, Yeṇṇagere and Heggere and also Būdihāḷ which he renamed Girijānagar. He died in the year Bhāva on Saturday 2nd lunar day of the bright half of Āshāḍha (22nd June 1754 A. D.).

8. The fourteenth and last ruler of the Nāyaka dynasty was Rajā Chikka Medakeri Nāyaka. After the death of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka (the 13th ruler) there was some difficulty in succession to the throne. Rājā Medakere Nāyaka was the grandson of Jhampāḷa (Jhampaṇṇa) Nāyaka, uncle of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka. He was adopted as the son of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka and performed his funeral ceremonies. But Ōbavva Nāgati mother of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka gave poison to him and caused his death with the object of preventing him and his relations assuming power. She wanted to nominate the ruler herself and in the end she installed two sons of Todalu Bharmappa Nāyaka, a distant kinsman of this family. The elder called Hire Medakere Nāyaka was made commander in chief and the younger, Chikka Medakere Nāyaka, was given the royal ring and invested with sovereign power in the year Bhāva (1754 A. D.) He ruled for 25 years from 1754 A. D. to S' 1703 Vilambi (1779 A. D.). Thus says the Kaifyat. But in the same manuscript Chikka Medakere Nāyaka is called the son of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka. It is evident that he was taken in adoption and became the adopted son of the previous ruler (13th Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka).

Chikka Medakere Nāyaka, the fourteenth ruler of Chitaldrug married a daughter of the chief of Guḍikōṭe. In S' 1678 Vikrama (1760 A. D. ?) he defeated the chief of Harapanahaḷḷi at Hosakere. But Haider Ali first laid siege to Chitaldrug in the year Chitrabhānu (1761) and raised it after taking two lakhs of varahas from the chief Chikka Medakeri Nāyaka. The Nāyaka helped him in his expeditions against Hullikere, Sante-Bennūr, Vādigere, Hoḷe-Honnūr, Bidnūr, etc. He also helped him in the siege of Bankāpur and in his wars with the rulers of Turavēkere, Beḷḷūr, Kōlār, etc. In the meanwhile Mādhava Rao, the Mahratta Peshva also sent for the help of the Nāyaka and he gave him assistance. He took part in the siege of Gutti by Haider. His friendship with the Mahrattas caused Haider to lay siege to Chitaldrug with the assistance of the chiefs of Harapanahaḷḷi, Rāyadurga etc. The Mussalman Jamedar of Chitaldrug and other people in the chief's service who were disaffected towards him were bribed and on the plea of taking part in the Muhurrum festival the Mussalman Jamedar came out and joined Haider along with his followers. This enabled Haider to take Chitaldrug on Friday 10th lunar day of the dark

half of Māgha in the year Viḷambi, 3rd March 1779 A. D. The whole of the possessions of the Chitaldrug Nāyaka were added to the territories of Mysore State by Haider and the chief Chikka Medakere Nāyaka along with his brother and other relations was taken to Seringapatam as prisoners. Thus ended the rule of the Nayaks in 1779 A. D. The last ruler Chikka Medakeri Nāyaka had built the Īsvara temple in black stone near the pond Karevarti on the Chitaldrug hill as also Basavanakōṭe, near Lāḷankōṭe, the bastion near Vanakegaṇḍi on the same hill, Siddāpura tank, etc.

The Kaifyat next gives an account of the history of Chik-Medakeri Nāyaka after his fall and of the later descendants of the Nayak dynasty. Chik-Medakeri Nāyaka was confined in Seringapataṃ in Ṭenkasāle Venkaṭara-maṇaiya's house for some time but was later killed by poison when his relations who were confined at Kabbāḷdrug tried to escape but were caught and hanged. His elder brother Doḍḍa Medakeri Nāyaka, son (adopted) of Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka, who was also imprisoned at Seringapatam was released by Tippu and sent on an expedition against Calicut. But later he incurred his displeasure and escaped to Travancore where he received the hospitality of the king Kirīṭapati Rāmarāja who refused to surrender him to Tippu. When the British went to war against Tippu, Medakeri Nāyaka helped them by leading an expedition against Tippu. After the death of Tippu and the restoration of the Hindu rule in Mysore Medakeri Nāyaka went to Madras and seeing "Lal Saheb" asked for his re-instatement at Chitaldrug. He was however ordered to go to Purniah at Mysore and press his claims. Purniah gave him a pension payable to his descendants also and gave presents to him on the occasion of the marriage of his son Jhampaṇṇa Nāyaka. The latter was also entrusted with the command of 4000 horse and sent to the battle of Raṇagamba and later was sent to guard Nagar-sīme. He was given rich presents and in the year Vishu he went to Sura-pūr (in Hydarabad State) in great state to marry Venkaṭamma, a relation of the chief of that state in the year Vrisha (1821 A. D.). Here the Kaifyat ends abruptly.

But in a separate sheet said to have been copied from page 7 of a different copy of the manuscript and appended to the manuscript we find the date of the death of the chief in the year Jaya (1834) while engaged in negotiating with the Commissioner at Bangalore for the recovery of Chitaldrug. His fighting in the battle of Raṇagamba is next recorded. Then comes the statement: Here ends the Kaifyat of Raja Jhampāḷa (same as Jhampaṇṇa) Nāyaka. After this the names of the wives, sons and grandchildren of Jhampaṇṇa Nāyaka are given.

Ikkēri Samsthāna Ālike Vivara.

or

An Account of the Administration of the Kingdom of Ikkéri.

[By Mr. L Narasimhachar, M.A.]

This is a paper manuscript discovered at Gauja, a village in the Sāgar Taluk of the Shimoga District, Mysore State, during one of the tours undertaken last year on behalf of the Mysore Archæological Department. It consists of 59 pages (foolscap quarto) of written matter in Kannaḍa prose and gives a brief account of the kings of the Keḷadi dynasty. The manuscript has not been noticed elsewhere. Its discovery in a village which is not far removed from Ikkēri which was a capital of the dynasty enhances its value, though, it must be admitted, it contains several statements which radically differ from those made in works like the 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya' and so on. It is the purpose of this paper to deal with a few of such statements and indicate at the same time that it is not impossible to question some of the statements made in other source books like the 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya'. One way or the other all these statements require corroboration from inscriptional or other evidence.

The Manuscript.

Among the manuscripts bearing on the history of Ikkēri the following are mentioned elsewhere :—

1. *Keladi Arasu Pūrvōttaram.*—a narrative on palm leaves compiled by China Bhaṇḍāra Purushōttamiah.
2. *Keladi Arasu Vamśāvali*—also on palm leaves, giving an account of the kings of Keḷadi and also notices of some of the Vijayanagar sovereigns, the Nawabs of Savanore, the Rajas of Harapanahaḷḷi, etc.

Other Sources.

3. *Keladi Rāya Paditti*—stated to have been translated into modern language by Dewan Pūrniah and delivered to the Bengal Government.
4. *Ikkēri Arasara Vamśāvali.*
5. *Ikkēri Ārasara Pīlige.*
6. *Keladi Samsthānada Charitre*—published in 1918-19 in 'Malenāḍu Samāchāra'.

Nos. 1 and 2 are mentioned by H. H. Wilson in 'A Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, etc., collected by Col. Mackenzie' page 332. No 3 is mentioned by Francis Buchanan in 'A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar' Vol. II, page 378.

Among the published Kannaḍa works bearing on the history of Keḷadi the two following are important :—

1. Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya—a *champū* work attributed to the poet Liṅgaṇṇa.
2. History of Ikkēri in Kannaḍa by M. S. Puttanna, published in 1921.

No. 1 happens to be the most important source yet discovered for the history of the kingdom inasmuch as it is stated to have been written shortly after the fall of the dynasty in 1763 and, at any rate, before 1804, when the manuscript was collected for Col. Mackenzie. No. 2 depends a great deal on No. 1 for its details and happens to be an up-to-date work giving an account of the dynasty.

The manuscript discovered recently is in prose and gives only a brief account of the reigns of the several rulers. There is no indication in the manuscript as to when it was written and by whom. Nor is it possible to surmise if it is a copy of an original manuscript on palm leaves. The paper used is old and thin and appears to belong to the earlier half of the last century.

Date of the Manuscript.

The statements made in the manuscript are by no means authoritative. They require corroboration from other sources. Nevertheless the manuscript has its own value of having been discovered in a place near the old capital and of giving some points which have not been known up to now.

Importance.

A peasant named Basappa lived in the village of Haḷḷi Bayal which belonged to the Keḷadi province. He had two sons named respectively Chauḍa Gauṇḍa and Bhadra Gauṇḍa of whom Chauḍa Gauṇḍa was the elder. Both the brothers were valiant and pious. One day a Brāhmin appeared in a dream before Bhadra Gauṇḍa and told him of the ant hill near their fields which contained the Rāmēśvara Liṅga. He was pursuaded to clear the ant hill and worship the liṅga and was told that if he did so he would eventually become king. In the 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya' and other books it is the elder brother Chauḍa Gauṇḍa who is said to have had this dream. A *Jaṅgama* priest, not a Brāhmin, is said to have appeared before him. Be that as it may, both the brothers worked together, discovered the liṅga and worshipped it. On another occasion it is said that while Bhadrappa (Chauḍappa, according to other sources) was sleeping under a tree a cobra shaded his head from the heat of the sun and that on his having been awakened by his mother the cobra directed him to a spot where, after digging, the brothers discovered a treasure. The discovery of this treasure helped them in their rise.

Early History.

According to the manuscript the Vijayanagar Emperor at this time was Sadāśiva Rāya. The 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya' mentions that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was the ruling sovereign. In the 'Keḷadi Arasu Vamśāvali' (see Mackenzie's collection) Achyuta Rāya is said to have been ruling. If, as is said in the 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya', the rule of Chauḍappa Nāyaka in Keḷadi began in 1500 A. D. none of these rulers can be said to have been ruling then, though it is true that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was living at the time fighting against his enemies within and without. The ruling sovereign in 1500 A. D. was Vīra Narasimha Rāyā I. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya came to the throne in 1509 A. D. The manuscript under review states that the rule of Chauḍappa Nāyaka commenced in 1530 A. D. This is not also correct for Achyuta Rāya was the sovereign then. The evidence of 'Keḷadi Arasu Vamśāvali' must thus be taken to account if 1530 A. D. is the real initial date for the commencement of Chauḍappa's rule. According to the manuscript Sadāśiva Rāya sent for the brothers and after consulting Chinna Bhaṇḍārada Timmarasayyana Nāraṇappa employed them against his foes. Finally he sent Chauḍappa Nāyaka to Keḷadi in the year Vikṛiti, corresponding to 1530 A. D., with power to rule over Keḷadi. Bhadrappa was detained at the court and was given the name of Sadāśiva Nāyaka after the Emperor's own name.

Initial Date of Foundation of Dynasty.

Bhadrappa *alias* Sadāśiva Nāyaka served the Emperor well in his several wars against the Muslim and other foes and in Śaka 1468 (corresponding to 1546 A. D.) was sent to Ikkēri with honours and titles. Bhadrappa now founded

the city of Ikkēri and constructed the Aghōrēśvara temple. From now on he commenced to rule in Ikkēri, while his brother Chauḍappa ruled in Keḷadi. But the latter died shortly and the rule of the dynasty was continued by Bhadrappa at Ikkēri. Thenceforth Keḷadi ceased to be the capital. The evidence of the ' Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya ' is quite different in this regard. After the return of the brother from Vijayanagar no more is heard of Bhadrappa. It is said that Chauḍappa had a son named Sadāśiva Nāyaka with whom he was once wandering in the neighbourhood of Ikkēri sometime during the year 1512 A. D. and that having seen there a hare pursuing a hound he founded the city of Ikkēri and continued his rule thenceforth at the place. He was succeeded by his son Sadāśiva Nāyaka who ruled from 1513 A. D. to 1546 A. D. The manuscript under review does not at all mention this son of Chauḍappa but gives an account of the reign of Bhadrappa *alias* Sadāśiva Nāyaka down to 1562 A.D. It is possible that the son is mistaken for the brother; but the statement of the ' Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya ' and other source books to the effect that Sadāśiva's rule ended in 1546 is certainly open to doubt. For Sadāśiva subjugated Chandragutti, at any rate, not until 1550 A. D. (Mysore Gazetteer, New Series, Vol. II, part III, page 2037); and there are a number of records found in the Shimoga District which range in date from 1550 to 1556 and go to show that he was ruler of Āraga under the suzerainty of Sadāśiva Rāya of Vijayanagar. In view of the existence of these inscriptions (E. C. VIII, Nagar 77 ; Sorab 429 ; Nagar 5 ; Tīrthahalli 103 and 171 ; Nagar 1 to 4), it is hard to believe the statement made in the ' Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya ' and elsewhere that the rule of Sadāśiva Nāyaka of Keḷadi ended in 1546 A. D.

Sadāśiva Nāyaka.

Sadāśiva Nāyaka of Ikkēri was a very able general and terminated successfully many of the wars in which Vijayanagar was engaged. The Emperor bestowed upon him many titles among which, according to the manuscript, ' Yaḍa-Murāri,' was one. This title was bestowed upon him when he defeated and slew a chief of that name. But the ' Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya ' and other books mention that this title denotes the names of two servants of Chauḍappa and Bhadrappa who willingly offered themselves to be sacrificed on the occasion of the discovery of the treasure mentioned above.

Sadāśiva Nāyaka was succeeded on the throne of Ikkēri by his son Hire Sankaṇṇa Nāyaka in 1562 A. D. The latter's rule endured till about 1572 A. D. (Āngiras Samvatsara). The manuscript states that at this time Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagar had died and that Rāma Rāya had become the Emperor. But we know from other sources that Sadāśiva Rāya lived till about 1570 A. D. if not longer. Nevertheless it is true that Rāma Rāya was the *de facto* ruler at Vijayanagar at the time. According to the manuscript Rāma Rāya was a haughty ruler and brought upon himself and Vijayanagar total destruction at the battle that was fought with the Muslim rulers of the Dekhan in Śaka 1487 Raktākshi (1565 A. D.) at Rakkasidaṇḍige (Rakkasa Tagaḍi). According to the ' Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya ' and the History of Ikkēri by M. S. Puttanna Doḍḍa (same as Hire) Sankaṇṇa's rule ceased in 1558 A. D. and the person in power at Ikkēri at the time of the battle was his brother Chikka Sankaṇṇa. The manuscript under review does not mention the rule of this Chikka Sankaṇṇa at all. It states that Hire Sankaṇṇa was succeeded on the throne by his son Rāma Rāja Nāyaka in 1572 A. D. There is no mention in the manuscript of the story of the grand pilgrimage said to have been undertaken by Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa to Delhi and other places and of his having vanquished Ankuś

Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa and his brother.

Khān. The 'Keḷadi Ārasu Vamśāvali' (See Mackenzie's Collections, page 333) mentions that Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa was deposed by Rāma Rāya for putting a *Jaṅgam* priest to death and that Chikka Sankaṇṇa was made the Nāyak in his place. In the 'History of Ikkēri' by M. S. Puttanna it is stated that Chikka Sankaṇṇa was murdered by Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa's son Rāma Rāja in 1571.

Rāma Rāja Nāyaka.

No incidents of importance are recorded in the 'Keḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya' during the rule of Rāma Rāja Nāyaka. But the manuscript under review mentions that Śankara Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Bidira Haḷḷi, Bhaira Dēvī of Bhaḍataḷa and the rulers of Tarikere and Sode formed a confederacy against him and eventually succeeded in poisoning him in the year Chitrabhānu (1582-3 A. D.).

Rāma Rāja was succeeded on the throne by his brother Hiri Venkaṭappa Nāyaka in 1583 A. D. From this time onwards there appears to be a general agreement between the facts stated in the manuscript and those mentioned in the 'Kaḷadi Nṛipa Vijaya' and other works.

Life and Fortunes of Sevaram Jagadeesh.

(By Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A.)

His Early Account.

1. The name of Sevaram Jagadeesh stands out prominently in the military history of the Baroda State during the last 20 years of the 18th century. His name is written as Sevaram, as Sivaram or as Shivaram indifferently in the same documents. Sevaram Jagadeesh Kumedan (after whose family name a lane in Baroda is called Kumedan Falia) was a Guad Brahmin of Dee in the Sultanpura pargana of Oudh, who seems to have entered the services of the Gaikwads from Poona at the recommendation of the Peshwa.[1] Jonathan Duncan describes him as " a native of Benares formerly said to have been in our (East India Company's) military service ".[2]

Joins the Gaikwad service.

2. The earliest references to his services in Baroda records [3] belong to 1781 A.D. when he is referred to as Sevaram Gardi (Guard). His services seem to have been generously appreciated by his masters as the military Pata (muster-roll) for 1789-90 shows against his name the grant of a huge sum of Rs. 1,18,380 for covering the expenses of 800 gardis and 20 sowars[3]. This was only the beginning of his rise. He was designated as a Gardi Jamatdar at this time. His surname Kumedan denotes a horseman from *Kumed*, a horse. He had always got two elephants in his camp [4].

Ismail Baig's Invasion,

3. The first expedition in which Sevaram was given an independent command of an army was that to arrest the progress of Ismail Baig, the general of Marwar, who was proceeding from Jodhpur to exact tributes from the smaller states which now form the Western Rajputana Agency. Ismail encamped a few miles off Patan, a district town in the Baroda State, to a great apprehension in the mind of the Suba of that place. Sayajirao I deputed what military resources he could command under Sevaram to oppose Ismail, if he encroached on the Baroda territory [5]. Sevaram remained encamped at Mehsana and complained that he could not face Ismail with the poor equipment provided to him by his master [6].

Ismail's Invasion melts away.

4. The Gaikwad rulers therefore enrolled more men in their army and strengthened their fortifications,[7] while they tried to circumvent Ismail's attack on their territory by entering into negotiations with the Raja of Marwar. Before Ismail could reach the Baroda territory a revolution took place in the

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[1] Unpublished family record.

[2] Gense & Banaji's Gaikwads of Baroda, English Documents (abbreviated as G. B. henceforth) Vol. IV-P. 329.

[3] Unpublished record in State Archives.

[4] G. B. Vol. V. P. 122 ; VI-P. 98 etc.

[5] Historical Selections from Baroda State Records Vol. III, 14.

[6] *Ibid* III, 25.

[7] *Ibid* III, 40.

ministry at Jodhpur [8] and the Marwar general had unexpectedly to retreat to Jodhpur. If an engagement between Baroda and Jodhpur had taken place, Sevaram's abilities as a commander would have been put to the test but unfortunately no occasion arose at this time to prove his mettle (August 1791).

In charge of Mulukgiri.

5. Before Sevaram came into power, the mulukgiri campaigns of the Gaikwads were irregular. Sevaram organised the compaigns and fixed the amount of dues in coin. In one of his earliest letters [9] he says, " I visited the Dungarpur State and returned without creating an enemy with a small tribute as ghasdana ". Among the places where they collected tribute were the larger States of Palanpur and Idar. Sevaram is addressed for the first time as a Subhedar in the Dewan's letter dated the 27th May 1794 [10] expressing satisfaction at the result of his operations at Limdi and other places in Kathiawar. It seems his status was raised [11] by this time and in 1798 we find that his friendship was sought by Khawas Meru, the powerful minister of Jamnagar in his rebellion against his master [12]. From 1794 to 1800 he held the office as Subha of the mulukgiri expeditions in Kathiawar, Rewakantha and Mahinkantha. He never met with a defeat, while his conduct towards the conquered people was always humane and considerate. The tributaries were taught by him to look upon the Gaikwads not as their oppressors visiting them annually for plunder but as their sovereigns receiving a fixed annual tribute[13].

His other Exploits.

6. Besides the mulukgiri work, Sevaram achieved success in many other deputations from the Baroda rulers. In 1793, he captured the insuperable fortress of Sankheda, 27 miles E of Baroda from a recalcitrant kinsman of the Gaikwads, where he was for some time posted for maintaining order [14]. He took part in the battle of Dehgam (near Ahmedabad) fought between the Baroda Gaikwads and their relations of Kadi in December 1794, which ended in favour of Baroda [15]. In 1800, dissensions began between Aba Shelukar, the Peshwa's Suba of Ahmedabad and the Gaikwad sarkar. Sevaram's family was at that time living in the Gaikwad haveli at Ahmedabad which was besieged while Sevaram was out. Shelukar was so notorious for his rapacity and outrageous conduct towards his enemies that Sevaram's wife put all the female members of the house to death and then cut off her own head with a sword to save disgrace at the hands of the enemy. Hanuman Baksh the 2 years old son who survived this self-imposed massacre was deprived of a finger and carried away by Aba.[16] We are short of material to enable us to know how Sevaram avenged himself on Aba Shelukar for this wrong or how he recovered his son from the enemy.

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[8] *Ibid* III, 44.

[9] Historical Selections from B. S. Records Vol. III-1.

[10] *Ibid* III 154.

[11] " The main body of the Gaikwad troops is an infantry accoutred and disciplined in the European manner and commanded from the first embodiment by Sevaram." (Nathan Crow's letter dated 22 June 1801. G. B. Vol. IV-P. 67).

[12] Historical Selections from B. S. Records Vol. VI, 40.

[13] Unpublished family account.

[14] Historical Selections from B. S. Records Vol. III, 147.

[15] *Ibid* III, 166.

[16] Unpublished family account.

7. This faithful servant of the Maharaja of Baroda was after this to change into a staunch enemy of the Baroda ministry. Raoji, the Dewan and his brother Babaji, the commander of Baroda, were powerful during the time of Govindrao Maharaja who died in 1800. The new Maharaja Anandrao was at first in the hands of his illegitimate stepbrother Kanhoji who rose to the position of a dictator. The minister and his brother gained over the Arab mercenaries and opulent merchants of the city to their side and with their help they sent Kanhoji a prisoner to the fort of Ranapur. Then they deprived the Maharaja of all freedom and kept him in confinement at the Palace. Their authority in the State excited the jealousy of Malharrao of Kadi, who was a near relation of Anandrao and he commenced offensive operations against the ministry and its adherents. Sevaram had an "undubitable attachment to the cause of Kanhoji"[17]. He therefore sent Malharrao offers of joining him with his troops. "Though the disgust of this commander", Nathan Crow of Surat writes to the Governor of Bombay, "is too well founded and too notorious to admit of doubt, still the prudence of Malharrao would not allow him to trust the introduction of his troops until he gave his son as hostage. He has now got him in Kadi and Sevaram is advancing towards a junction"[18]. Sevaram took 13 guns from Babaji's party to Kadi with him[19]. Previous to his engagement at Kadi Sevaram "had great overtures made him from Raoji at Baroda".[20] His desertion was regarded as an act of treachery by most of the East India Company's officers[21]. But their judgment cannot be regarded as impartial as they had joined Raoji's party and had put their finger into the jam-pot of Baroda politics.

Change of Side.

8. Sevaram's desertion was bitterly resented by Raoji who looked upon it as a defection. Handing over Sevaram to be chastised was to be an important article of the treaty insisted upon by his brother Babaji to the British officers who had joined Raoji[22]. A battle between the forces of the two Gaikwads was commenced at Kadi. Sevaram was the first who began a fire on the English, who were fighting on the Baroda side[23]. Parker, an English commandant of Malharrao treacherously informed the Company's officers that Sevaram, the Pathans and Gosavis had resolved to make a joint attack on the Baroda-cum-English army. Treachery was successful, Malharrao had to acknowledge defeat and surrendered to the British commander. During the negotiations for peace Sevaram was Malharrao's most trusted counsellor[24]. After the complete surrender of Malharrao, Sevaram slipped away from Kadi with Malharrao's family including Khanderao, the son of the unfortunate jahagirdar, and jewellery (4th May[25] 1802) to avoid the members of the family being retained as hostages by the enemy.

Befriends Malharrao Gaikwad.

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[17] G. B. Vol. IV-P. 67.

[18] *Ibid* Vol. IV-P. 19 Letter dated 21st December 1801.

[19] *Ibid* Vol. IV-P. 19 Letter dated 17 December 1801.

[20] *Ibid* Vol. IV-P. 189.

[21] *Ibid* Vol. IV-P. 233 Letter dated 5 February 1802.

[22] *Ibid*, p. 324.

[23] *Ibid*, P. 306.

[24] *Ibid*, P. 362.

[25] *Ibid*, P. 379.

Joins Kanhoji Gaikwad.

9. After Malharrao's surrender Sevaram was glad to regain services under his old master Kanhojirao who had fled from his confinement at Ranapur in November 1802 [26]. Four months later Sevaram was able to muster 200 to 300 cavalry and a troop of 1000 gosavis. Kanhoji and Sevaram were to proceed north-ward but both of them found themselves in distress. "Sevaram was arrested by his own people for their arrears but they allowed him to go away on giving them an elephant, a string of pearls and some gold [27]". After this release he proceeded on 6th March 1803 to Godhra with 150 cavalry and 100 Rajput infantry [28]. But no better fate awaited him there, for the two rebels were severely defeated by the Baroda Army under British officers and had to fly from place to place in the Panch mahals. Both were "very much distressed for the means of defraying their expenses [29]".

Exit Malharrao.

10. Malharrao of Kadi cleverly made his escape from Nadiad on 4th December 1802. He wrote to Sevaram inviting him to join him with a force [30] (May 1803). Sevaram's quota to Kanhoji's army had risen to 150 horses and nearly 4000 sepoys from Bengal, Benares and Oudh [31]. On 25th June Kanhoji, Sevaram and Abud were encamped at a village on the Mahi river waiting for an opportunity to cross it and join Malharrao who was on the S W bank. But this coalition never could take place [32]. Malharrao was not given refuge by any of the Kathiawad Chiefs and his free movements came to an end with his capture by Vitthalrao Devaji in October 1803.

The lost cause.

11. Instead of being disheartened by Malharrao's capture, Kanhoji continued to harass the country. He was firm about his followers and said that he had given them a guarantee in the same manner as the company had given it to the family of his rival the late Dewan Raoji [33]. In August 1804 a reporter of the East India Company wrote : "The kasids (couriers) found Kanhoji encamped with his force in the centre of the town (Ratlam, C. I.), this consisting of 100 horses and about 50 men. Sevaram is the only sardar at present with him. There is but one elephant now remaining of the 3 [34]". Even this sardar was forced to abandon the lost cause of the rebel prince in a short time. No papers are available to show why Sevaram left Kanhoji in 1804-5 but it is clear that he had taken shelter at Wadhwan early in 1805 from an order of the same year from Anandrao Maharaja to the thakor of that place which says, "Sevaram Jagadeesh a declared enemy of the Sarkar was harboured by you for six months and allowed to go away without informing them. All his property down to a piece of cord and up to an elephant should be handed over to the State on oath [35]". He does not appear to have taken active part in any political affairs after this.

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[26] Historical Selections Vol. IV, 511.

[27] G. B. Vol. V-P. 111.

[28] G. B. Vol. V-P. 100.

[29] *Ibid*, Vol. V. P. 113.

[30] *Ibid*. Vol. V., 64.

[31] *Ibid*. Vol. VI-103-105.

[32] *Ibid*. Vol. VI-99.

[33] G. B. Vol. VI-P. 130.

[34] *Ibid*. Vol. VI-P. 150.

[35] Historical Selections from B. S. Records Vol. IV, 81.

12. Sevaram gave up his political career after this and passed the remaining four or five years of his life in peace in the service of God Ranchhodrai at Dakor, 30 miles N. of Baroda. He was reconciled to Anandrao Maharaja and his name was enlisted again as a sardar in 1809-10 A. D. to remain on the scroll only for a short time because he died the same year. The State which had declared him an enemy five years back spent Rs. 1000 for his obsequies [36]. He was a brave man who would fight for principle rather than for personality. But his struggle was never crowned with success and he had to content himself by remembering his version—whatever it was—of the adage, "Not failure but low aim is crime."

His Last Days.

[36] Unpublished family account and State record.

An unpublished Dutch Record in Malayalam of A.D. 1663

[By: Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A.]

This is an old cadjan (palmyra leaf) document dated the 14th July, 1663 A.D., recording an agreement entered into by the Dutch East India Company with the Rajas of Cochin and Purakkad (also known as Chempakasseri or Ambalapuzha). The Raja of Purakkad agrees to become an enemy of any person who is hostile to the Raja of Cochin, to send away from his territory, Goda Varma who was a pretender to the throne of Cochin, and to be an ally of that Company in future just as he was an ally of the Portuguese in the past. He also agrees to permit the Dutch East India Company to erect a factory and to demolish a portion of the mud-wall enclosing his capital

2. The Raja of Purakkad was under the nominal suzerainty of the Raja of Cochin when the Dutch defeated the Portuguese and captured their ports of Cranganore on the 15th January, 1662, and Cochin on the 7th January, 1663. It was necessary for the Company to compel the Raja of Purakkad, of whom they were afraid, to formally acknowledge the overlordship of the Raja of Cochin, after they had virtually made the latter a vassal of theirs, and hence the present agreement.

3. The Raja of Purakkad was eventually defeated and his territory annexed to Travancore in 1754 A.D., by Maharaja Martanda Varma, the Great king of Travancore, who ruled from 1729 to 1758 A.D. He also defeated the Dutch East India Company in the battle of Colachel in A.D., 1741, which paved the way for their disappearance from the Malabar Coast.

The following is the translation of the text of the treaty entered into between the Perumpatappu Valia Tampuran (Raja of Cochin), the Honourable the Dutch (East India) Company and Chempakasseri Swarupam (Porakkad) on 14th Meenam 838 (March 1663):—

"1. Forgetting all that has taken place between the parties in the past, there shall be perpetual alliance and confidence in the future, so long as the sun and moon shall endure

2. The Porakkad Raja shall not in future do any act of hostility towards the Cochin Raja and the Company; and if at any time the Portuguese or any other neighbouring state shall proceed against them as enemies, the Porakkad Raja shall put himself forward as the enemy of such power or powers.

3. The Porakkad Raja shall crush the power of Godavarma and keep him out of the country for ever.

4. The Porakkad Raja shall have faith in the Company, as hitherto in the Portuguese, and shall entertain greater confidence in the company.

5. The Raja shall not allow pepper or cinnamon to be weighed in Porakkad, nor exported from it, without the permission of the Raja of Cochin and of the Company. All rights and dues regarding these articles shall enure to them as already settled by custom.

6. It is resolved that the Honourable Company shall erect a fort for the protection of the Porakkad Raja and his country.

7. The Porakkad Raja shall not permit any one else except the Company to bring elephants to his territories or to take them out of it.

8. All Portuguese vessels in Porakkad shall be given up to the Company by the Raja. The money spent for this shall be given to the Porakkad Raja by the Company.

9. To mark the sincerity of his friendship, the Porakkad Raja will dismantle a fortified wall 100 Koles long and very broad, constructed in his territories; and it is agreed, according to the wishes of the Company and the Cochin Raja, that this wall shall not be repaired and shall be allowed to go to ruin untouched by the hand of man.

10. If any enemy invade Cochin or Porakkad territories, the Company shall render all available help to the Rajas according as truth and justice require and drive out the invaders.

11. The Cochin and Porakkad Rajas agree to give the company all powers and privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese."

Six copies have been taken of this treaty, all being signed and sealed by the parties—that is, three copies in Dutch and three in Malayalam—each party to retain two copies, one in Dutch and one in Malayalam.

The Cochin Raja and Admiral Ryklof Van Goens representing the Company, signed their names and the Porakkad Raja affixed his royal mark—a Shank or conch-shell.

Some Original Marathi Documents.

[By Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A.]

I.

The following memorandum, which the late Mr. S. V. Athalye of Shiposhi, dates 24th March 1772, and which is from his collection, contains references to many orders that may have been issued by the Peshwa, and also throws light on many other matters. It refers to the acquittal of the charge of not crediting to the state treasury the fine imposed on the famous Hingne brothers and also it shows in what matters the Peshwa issued Sanads and in what matters he could issue direct orders. It also throws light on the possessions of the Peshwas, directly administered by them and through the Saranjamdars and also the movements of notable persons.

The document is as follows:—

Memoranda · From before there were continued to Bapuji, Purshottam and Deorao, sons of Mahadeo Hingne, the envoyship of Delhi and other states of (northern) India and also Inam villages, lands, Saranjam, posts, etc After recovering a Nazar (euphesism of a fine or may be succession Tax) of rupees twenty lacs in Samas Khamsen, then at Delhi, they were confirmed. Recently Babaji Laxman Sangameshwarkar, who is a resident of Chanderi mis-represented to the Government that a balance remained to be recovered out of the rupees twenty lacs due from them. Upon that their Envoyships, lands, etc., were ordered to be attached and the matter was referred to a Panchayat (for investigation). (N B. This shows the esteem in which the Panchayats were held in those days, as even state affairs were referred to them for decision). The Panchayat after investigation saw the receipt of rupees twenty lacs in the handwriting of Bapuji Ballal Phadke from the state records and (the Hingnes)—produced the receipt in their possession. Upon this it decided that no balance remained to be due. In these circumstances since Joshi had made a false representation, the Government has decided to restore the possessions (of the Hingnes) granted according to previous orders. Therefore it is prayed (by Hingnes) that the Government may grant Sanads or orders as follows:—

1. Chanderi in Paragana Nasik is held in heriditory Inam. About this an order should issue to Balkrishna Hari Gajre that the village has been freed from the attachment and therefore its possession should be restored to the applicants (Hingnes) and a Sanad ordering that the amount of Revenue recovered from the village (during the time of the attachment) should (also) be restored. (N.B. It also shows in what matters an ordinary letter was issued and in what a sealed document such as a Sanad was necessary. Gajre was in charge of the territory directly under the Peshwas and so an ordinary letter to him was sufficient but as in the matter of the restoration of the money credited to the state treasury, a sealed order was necessary.)

2. The village of Bhagur in Paragana Dindori is held in Inam. About this a letter to the effect that the attachment on it is removed be issued to the Revenue Officer, Sadashiv Dikshit, and a Sanad be issued to the effect that the control over the village be given back as well as any revenue that may have been recovered.

3. At Nasik town Inam lands measuring 25 bighas, according to the Illahi yards. About it a letter containing an order to Khando Ganesh that the attachment has been removed, and also a Sanad to this effect.

4. In Paragana Kalpi, District Bundelkhand, there is given a salary of Rs. 500 (per annum) for the post of Mujumdar (accountant). For this a Sanad should issue to Balaji Govind (a son of the famous Govindpant Bundele) that the salary be paid and the work suspended to be taken.

5. In Paragana Chandwad, there is the service tenure of Mujum-carrying a salary of Rs. 100. For this a Sanad should issue to Tukoji Holkar that the work of the post be taken from an agent (of Hingne's) and the salary be paid.

6. In lieu of the Sardeshmukhi of Gangathadi an annuity of Rs. 100 is paid. A letter be written to Amritrao Krishna to continue it as before and also a Sanad be granted.

7. Mahadji Shinde has to pay Rs. 500 per day according to the Government's Sanad. A Sanad should issue to continue it accordingly.

8. Rs. 200 are attached to the post of Daftardar at Patta Avadha. A letter be written to Ganpatrao Keshav that it should be continued as before and a Sanad granted.

9. At the fort of Ramsej there are two posts for the Subnishi and Sarsubhedari of the Fort. For this letters be written to Naro Shankar to continue the salaries of Rs. 550 as before.

10. A Sanad to issue to Mahadji Shinde that the posts of 50 Cavalry men at Rs. 200 each according to the previous Sanad be continued.

11. It is prayed that Andhrote, Paragana Dindori which is held in Inam according to a previous Sanad be continued.

12. It is prayed that in lieu of the salary for Fadnishi at Nasik, the amount of Rs. 400 be transferred to some part in some other place.

12A. Sanads were issued to Shinde and Holkar granting Rs. 40,000 as Salary for Saranjam in Pargana Meerat District Anterveda. But now Meerut is under the Rohillas. Therefore Sanads were issued by the Shinde and Holkar transferred the amount to paragana Kunch District Bundelkhand. Sanad should issue to give control in Kunch Taluka and give all sorts of help.

13. Sanad should issue to Balaji Govind that he should give over control to our Kamavisdar (Revenue Officer) and give all sorts of help and a Sanad be granted.

14. A letter be issued to Visaji Krishna that according to the Government's Sanad granting amount from Kunch and other Mahals. Shinde and Holkar have given a Sanad transferring it to account of Paragana Kunch District Bundelkhand. (Visaji Krishna) should order Balaji Govind to give over control without trouble and continue the salary as before and a Sanad be granted.

15. The following envoyships (1) State Delhi, (2) State Jainagar, (3) Suja-ud-Dowla, together with the grant attached according to Sanad as before, (4) State Rohilla and Pathans beyond the Ganges:—(i) Ahmad Khan, (ii) Sadulla Khan, (iii) Dundekhan, (iv) Hafiz Rehmat Khan, (v) Najb Khan (should continue).

(N.B. 13 and 14 shows that the Peshwa's officer held equal jurisdiction with Shinde and Holkar in Northern India and that they had no control in Bundelkhand.)

16. Letters to Tukoji Holkar, Mahadji Shinde and Visaji Krishna that the envoyship and Saranjam have been granted as before and therefore they should utilise the services of Hingne's in Hindustan (Northern India). Accordingly three Sanads be granted.

N.B.—The entire document throws light on the complicated yet ordered system of the Maratha Government.

II.

Below is another document in the name of Damodar Deorao Hingne, son of Deorao, mentioned in the first document. This is dated 13th January 1793.

Memorandum.

There is a grant of Rs. 6,000 for daily allowance and Rs. 10,000 for cavalry, total Rs. 16,000 to Damodar Deorao Hingne. The Saheb (Peshwa) has agreed to continue and is continuing it. From date Javal san Tissen to date 29 San Sales Tissen, *i.e.*, for three years and one month, the amount comes to Rs. 49,333-5-3. It was also agreed to allow Rs. 20,000 out of the former balance. Out of this, draft of Rs. 8,000 has been given on Harsangarh Gorai. Out of the latter Rs. 5,000 have been recovered, leaving Rs. 3,000 unrecovered. Adding this sum to the former outstanding, the total comes to Rs. 52,333-5-3. Against this Rs. 8,000 were received from Rajaram Vithal at Jamgaon, leaving the net balance of Rs. 44,333-5-3. It is now agreed that of these Rs. 25,000 should be given from the balance in the Huzur Treasury. They will be received. It is now prayed that for the balance of Rs. 19,433-5-3, draft be given on such a place in Malwa where the amount will be received and for the future the Huzur is competent to carry on our maintenance by a suitable grant.

N.B.—It appears from the corresponding agreement dated 28th January 1793, which enumerates all the items mentioned in the above document that this agreement was made with Scindhia, as it is dated Vanvadi near Poona.

III.

Below is another paper of transactions with Bapuji Mahadeo, dated 4th February 1758.

Memorandum.

Bapuji Mahadeo Vakil has been ordered to pay Rs. 20,00,000 as Nazar. Out of this he has to receive money on account of his dues. To this

have to be added the amount on account of the attachment of villages. That amount will be settled at Poona. If as its result, if any balance remains to be paid to the Government, he should pay it. For the present, as agreed to by him in writing, Rs. 4,50,289-13-0 are kept in abeyance. The remaining amount is credited in Suharsan Saman Samsen Maya and Alaf, as below:—

1. Rs. 7,09,019-12-0, on account of the remuneration to the squadron of Antaji Manakeshwar.

2. Rs. 6,00,000 as loan due from the persons named below; from these persons the amounts will be recovered with interest and credited into the Treasury.

Rs. 5,00,000 due from Chintamani Dikshit.

Rs. 1,00,000 due from Antaji Manakeshwar.

3. Rs. 1,47,115-7-0. The gentleman's remuneration is fixed at Rs. 40,000 per annum. For the four years, San Khamas to the present year it comes to Rs. 1,60,000. Deduct from this his horses, elephants, camels, attached, out of the price of which amounting to Rs. 12,884-5-0, have been credited to his remuneration account leaving the balance (as mentioned here).

4. Rs. 72,375. The price of horses, elephants, camels.

5. Rs. 5,000 to be paid on account of an elephant as an honoured gift

6. Rs. 6,200. The price of ordenance.

Total of the above
Rs. 15,39,711-3-0.

After deducting the above from the amount of Rs. 20,00,000 (which comes to Rs. 19,80,900), the balance is unaccounted for. The state's accounts contains the account as shown above, dated 24th Jamadilaver, Suher San Saman Khumsen Maya and Alaf. So it is ordered. End of the document

N B.—This document also shows the tortuous ways in which accounts were kept and like the two previous ones gives many clues.

IV.

Below is a letter dated 26th July 1791, addressed to Tatya Saheb (? Phadke). It begins :—

Received on 6th Moharum Shake 1713.

To the respected Tatya Saheb

From Govindrao and Damodar, after presentation of respects, it is requested from Delhi. Ere this, letters dated 26 Shaval have been sent to the Government and to yourself. From them all the facts must have become known. As regards happenings here Patil Saheb is on the way resting at Devgad, near Devipur, in District Chittor. Ambaji Ingle and Raja Zalim Singh of Kotah came and reported facts about the affairs. Seventeen lacks of rupees which were to be received on account of the tribute for the management of forts, etc., in that province, have been credited by them. Nothing has been settled about the affair of the

Chittodwala (Oodeypur). He agrees to pay Rs. 10,00,000 but Ambaji Ingle says that if the Patil Buva stops for two months, the former will recover tribute of rupees fifty lacks. Therefore it is now decided to stay here for some days But great scarcity prevails in the camp. The incoming of provisions has been stopped from all directions Rice is sold at four seers for a rupee Consequently people are much disturbed. It is under contemplation to go to Ujjain. The balance due from Jodhpur has been received Jaipur has not cleared the account. It proposes to send some cash and things. Raja Bije Singh has dis-appointed Ismail Beg. Pathans etc., are surrounding the Subhedar of Gujrath. Ismail Beg intends to join them and raise trouble there. This is what is rumoured. Gopalrao Bhau and Jivaba Dada Baxi and others, with their mobile troops, are camping at a distance of thirty miles De Boin Frenchman and Lakhoba Dada have gone to Shekhavati with their troops. After recovering the tribute from them the latter will go to Revadi and after settling the matter of Shahaji, will go to Mathura for camping. De Boin with his troops, will go to Anterveda towards the Sikhs. Subhedar (Malharrao) and Ali Bahadur are still camping at Dewas. Troops and Pendharis daily recover provisions from the territory of Rao Raja After settling the accounts, they will come to camp. Subhedar Saheb proposes that if Patil Saheb goes to Ujjain, he will have Bapuji Holkar with his troops here and himself go to Maheshwar. The Sikhs and Nain Singh, and other Gujars, numbering about 5 to 7 hundred cavalry, are giving much trouble in the districts of Anterveda and Meerut. None can pass safely on the road People require insurance. This is the condition. News has been received by the Government about Taimur Shah, that he has called to him Murad Shah and other Moghal nobles and having taken oaths of allegiance from them, is collecting troops He intends to invade India after two months Shahaji having heard this news has written accordingly to Patil Buva. There is no harmony between the Padshah and his Prime Minister. Nawab Vazir is enjoying himself at Lucknow. After Gopalrao comes to Revadi Shahaji will go there. After going there he will report about developments there.

N.B.—This is evidently an important news letter and the Athalye collection has many such.

A letter of Maharaja Abhayasingh of Marwar relating to the Gujrat Affairs.

[By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu.]

The letter, dated 10th November 1730 A. D. was written by Maharaja Abhaya Singh, from Ahmadabad, to his ambassador at the Mughal court. It discloses the devastated condition of Gujrat as well as the weak administration of the Mughal Court, and commands the ambassador to ask Nawab Khan Dauran, the minister of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, for the early dispatch of men and money in order to bring the affairs of Gujrat under control.

A translation of the letter which is preserved in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, is given below and the letter measures 5′ ½″ × 9″.

(The lines on the top and margin written in the Maharaja's own hand.)

..........You should inform the Nawab precisely what is written.

Nawab had remarked that "in our honour lies his honour. The time has now come to make good his words, and so arrange for men and money to be despatched immediately. Send money atonce, otherwise it will be difficult for us to remain here under conditions in which Sarbulandkhan lived.

Convey this to the Nawab. It is our command. Further you wrote us that we should atonce leave for Gujrat, so that our object may be gained. We have, accordingly, arrived in Gujrat, and succeeded in performing an unparalled deed which has not been performed by any one else before. Now the turn is yours to render service. Your services will only be appreciated on your making arrangements for the 8 months' expenditure (to be now incurred), Jagir, and getting the deputation of military assistants. You have our royal pleasure, so you may live in peace.

(Inscription of the Royal seal.)

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to the sovereign, king of kings, paramount sovereign Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghdeva, who shines like the sun on this earth.

Hari, Amba, Soor (sun) and Vinayaka, may these five deities always bestow favours.

(Approval of the letter by the Maharaja in his own calligraphy.)

It is our command.

Letter.

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, paramount sovereign, Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghji deva, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhman should note his favours. We had already favoured you with a letter and everything should be carried out according to it. We had written in the aforesaid letter for the arrangement of money which we hope might have been arranged after discussion with the Nawab. A fresh reminder has again been despatched, which you should hand over (to the Nawab), and press him for money. Everything depends upon it. Nothing is left out of the *Kharif* crop. Nawab (Sarbuland) has squeezed every pie of the income, whether it was given willingly or under pressure. The district '*Ijardars*' (lease holders) have also likewise collected the rent. This is the real condition of the *Kharif*

crop. As regards the income from customs, it can only be realised when the trade flourishes and that can only be collected when people will re-inhabit their homes. The Nawab might also be knowing that there is no source of income left under this head as the whole of *Khalsa* and *Jagir* lands have been resumed. You should make him conversant with everything.

Further, we are sending the account of receipts after its preparation by the Imperial revenue officers, etc., and the Nawab is fully aware of the forces kept here and the expenditure required. Ten or twelve lacs per month are required here for expenses, while the Emperor provided us in all 15 lacs of rupees, 40 guns, 200 maunds of gunpowder and 100 maunds of lead. As regards assistants, only Azmatullakhan was sent, whose expenses also fell on our own pocket. Such was the poor condition of the equipment and finances when we undertook this difficult task.

A person like Sarbuland Khan was the governor of the place, who, inspite of receiving a crore of rupees as well as a large number of military assistants from the Emperor, sat idle in the city, while the enemy devastated the province, and he (Sarbuland) dare not come out (to face them), but being overpowered paid *Chauth* (fourth part of the revenue). This shows the strength of the enemy. They are not even satisfied by the levy of *Chauth*, but Baroda, Dabhoi, Jambusar, etc., yielding a revenue of 30 lacs, have also passed under their control. Surat including 28 districts is under the sway of Pilu and any remittance of their revenue depends on his sweet-will. Pavagarh is held by Chimna, and the fort of Champaner is under the possession of Kantha. They pretend to be lords of the land and collect *Chauth*, *Desmukhi*, *Peshkash* and administer some of the places also. Such is their audacity.

This was the condition prevailing in the province when Sarbulandkhan, by proving himself untrue to his salt, disobeyed the orders of the Emperor, and severed all his connections with him. The reason was that for the last 15 or 20 years, the Subedars of various provinces have thrown off the yoke of allegiance and have not conceded the control of their province to any one whom the Emperor was pleased to send. The mighty have dominated the weak. This is the condition of the empire.

He (Sarbuland) also viewed it in the same light and was also backed by some miscreants. He thought himself safe relying on his huge artillery, munitions, number of soldiers, a fort like Gujrat and the tottering condition of the Imperial court. Looking to the weakness and the chaos at the court, it might have turned out as he had imagined, but we, on our part, taking into consideration that we have undertaken the task, collected artillery, gunpowder, lead, etc., from our own purse, and as by the grace of God, we already possess the forces we fulfilled this difficult task with the help of our own men only. Among the Imperial officials, only Karimkhan joined us with 200 horse, while the rest of the show was staged from our own purse. We paid off 10 to 15 lacs of rupees to the forces by mortgaging our own jewellery and brought the Miyan (Sarbuland) to book.

The task which could not be performed till now in the present regime could be accomplished (by us) and we gained control over the administration of 22 districts. A man like Sarbulandkhan was defeated and driven away, after being deprived of his artillery, and he quitted the place after many entreaties. All of his big officials were put to the sword, yet he was so proud and arrogant to hand over the city to us only on condition of the receipt of 40 lacs of rupees as his dues. He also invited the enemy (Maharattas) and used all other tactics, but so felt the blow of our sword, that he lost his wits

and begged for pardon saying—" Maharaja, considering the old ties of friendship existing between us, kindly forgive me for the follies committed by me. It was due to my bad luck that I created so much fuss. Some of the Imperial nobles instigated me to oppose you and I reaped what I sowed. Now I may please be spared my life ". This was his plight when he left the place.

We on our part have rendered sterling service and now it is for the Emperor to appreciate it. As we had undertaken to fulfill the task, we completed it by arranging for men and money from our own purse. We never pressed him for money and military assistance, etc., at that moment, thinking that the Nawab might not take it as an excuse for our unwillingness to proceed to Gujrat. This was the main reason why we did not write to him in this connection. But it is not fair on the part of the Nawab that he should sit silent over such a matter. Relying on our own forces and putting our lives at stake we could successfully complete the task, but had anybody else undertook this task he would have been utterly ruined by lack of men and money and the Imperial cause would have also suffered. The laxity in the control of other provinces as well as the weakness of the Empire is the result of this very cause.

The Nawab is wise enough in every respect, and we, relying upon his word had undertaken this task. As the Nawab has the burden of the control of other affairs of the Empire so it is incumbent on him to arrange for the dispatch of men and money at his earliest. The Nawab knows every thing about the enemy. To arrange for the upkeep of the force for a period of 8 months, *i.e.*, up to Ashad is essential and the enemy if not fully crushed will again raise his head. This is the reason why we have to keep a force at an approximate cost of Rs. 5,00,000 per month and accordingly will require rupees 40 lacs for the coming period of eight months. In Gujrat the winter crop has been damaged and the condition of the crop of the rainy season has already been narrated.

Further, Sarbulandkhan who had received a huge amount from the Emperor and in addition plundered the province and resumed *Khalsa* and *Jagir* lands when departed from this place, left 1½ years' salary of his forces in arrears, and as he could not arrange for the transport he managed for it by selling gunpowder and lead. As we too were short of gunpowder and lead, we purchased these things worth rupees 20 to 25 thousands. Others also purchased the same from him. This is the plight of the city and the province. He who dare not even come out of the city, did not maintain a force as large as ours and collected all the dues of the rainy season crop quitted the place in such paucity of funds. This shows the devastation of Gujrat.

You should impress upon the Nawab all these facts and make him aware that if he wants to check the activities of the enemy, he should arrange for all these requirements. A dispute about the *Chauth* between Kantha and Chimna is going on hence they both will return here. It has come to be known that Muhammadkhan has left for Ujjain, and has been given rupees 36 lacs to meet his expenses. Besides this as per his wish he has been promised the services of Hada Durjansal Bhadoriya, etc., to assist him. The Nawab may therefore be informed not to dispatch any one of them (Bhadoriya etc.) to that side and acquaint Chhatar Singh, etc., who have already left the place to reach here as early as possible. The enemy seems to advance towards this side, and the *Zamidari* system is to be abolished. Explain all these facts to the Nawab. Our previous dues were to be recovered from the revenue of Gujrat, but nothing is left here and we owe rupees 15 lacs to the creditors, so try to get the amount of our pay charged to the revenue of Sambhar and also manage for the fresh sum required for 8 months. Further remind the Nawab to carr

out early the orders already issued regarding the rest of our *Jagir*, Rajadhiraj's *Jagir*, extra *Jagir* for ourselves and Rajadhiraj, and the grant of title. Formerly, when Roshanuddaullah put up a false complaint (against us) to the Emperor, you satisfied the Nawab, who in his turn convinced the Emperor and the Emperor wrote (us) about his faith in our loyalty. Now the Emperor has realised the true facts, and the mouth of some of our enemies have been filled with dust. But at present, the condition of the Imperial court is as it is.

Jaisinghji is at present trying to get Fatehpur Jhunjhanu, Jharod, etc., in his *Jagir*, but you should endeavour to get them included in our *Jagir*. In case you fail to do so atleast get them be leased to us but in no case they should pass in his (Jaisingh's) hands. As orders regarding Rajagarh, Masuda, Kharwa Bhinai, etc., have already been issued, so get their compliance immediately. You sent us a request about the affairs of Surat therefore we have despatched Musatkikhan and the Mutsaddi, who have written to us that either the enemy will vacate the place or they will be punished. As they have also mentioned about the money for their expenses required there, so we have instructed the officials to arrange for it accordingly.

It is our command.

Dated 1787 V. S. 12th day of the bright half of Kartik (10th November 1730 A. D.).

Camp Shahibagh (Ahmadabad).

Shuja-ud-Daula's Policy During the Maratha Invasion of 1770-71.

[By Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.]

The first Maratha invasion of Northern India after their disastrous defeat at Panipat (1761), took place during the early months of 1770. With a powerful force estimated at 70,000 Ram Chandra Ganesh, Visaji Krishna, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia crossed the Chambal and penetrating into the Jat kingdom of Bharatpur inflicted a crushing defeat on rajah Nawal Singh near Deeg on April 4-5, while Najib at the same time set about to capture the Jat possessions in the mid-Doab according to an agreement made with the invaders. The Marathas, however, shranked from making an attempt to besiege the impregnable Jat fortress of Deeg and crossed the Jamuna into the Doab, where they were met by Najib-ud-daulah and Imad-ul-mulk. The allies remained encamped in the Aligarh district during the next three months of the rainy season, continuing fruitless negotiations for realising a tribute from the Jats and the Ruhelas.

During their progress in the Jat country the Marathas had made overtures to Shah Alam II, then residing at Allahabad under the English protection, for conducting him to Delhi and installing him on his ancestral throne. The Emperor, who had become fully despaired of English assistance in the enterprize, seized the opportunity and readily entered into negotiations with them. Shuja-ud-Daulah, then in the enjoyment of royal confidence, assisted the Emperor in the delicate task of negotiating terms of an alliance with the Marathas. He seems to have realised that in view of the fact that Ahmad Shah Abdali was dying and the Peshwa Madho Rao had triumphed over his domestic rivals and increased his power, the repetition of the Panipat of 1761 was out of the bounds of possibility, and that the English being hostile to the project of an expedition to Delhi, the Marathas were the only power capable of bringing about Shah Alam's restoration. Accordingly he approved of the Emperor's plan and entered into correspondence with the Maratha chiefs. The artful wazir had one more object in view, and that was to divert the Maratha attention against his immediate neighbours, the Ruhela and Bangash chiefs, the reduction of whose strength, if not their total destruction, being his long cherished policy since his accession to power. It is easily possible to trace with almost full accuracy the course of the wazir's policy during this whole year (April 1770-March 1771) from the advent of the Marathas to the date of Shah Alam's quitting Allahabad for Delhi, from the numerous letters of Harper and Gailliez to the Bengal Select Committee reporting the Nawab-Wazir's hopes and fears, sentiments and movements from day to day, supplemented by his own correspondence and Shitab Rai's regular reports to the English governor. Throughout this period of uncertainty and confusion the clear-headed ruler of Oudh aimed at three things, namely, maintaining friendly relations with the Marathas, retaining his neutrality in the war between the Jats and the Marathas and between the latter and the Ruhelas, and weakening the Ruhela power by instigating the Marathas to invade Ruhelkhand so as to enable him to subjugate that land without much difficulty in the near future. He was further anxious not to offend his allies the English whose policy was to persuade the Wazir not to help Shah Alam in his Delhi enterprize, but to make a common cause with the Jats and the Ruhelas against the Marathas. Shuja-ud-Daulah's diplomacy was directed to endeavouring to convince the Calcutta authorities that he was doing every thing in his power to execute their plan, while he was really following an opposite policy.

Aware of the English sentiments Shuja offered to march to Kora, south-west of Cawnpore, with his troops to make a demonstration against the Marathas and to check the growing power of the latter's ally Najib-ud-daulah under whose guardianship Prince Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, was reported to be proceeding towards Agra to effect junction with the Maratha army. But as he did not really wish to undertake an expedition like this, he postponed his departure indefinitely on the plea that he could not proceed without instructions from the governor.[1] On May 1, he sent a battalion of his troops to Cawnpore, then a small village was granted to him by the king for building a frontier fortress there, and himself set out on 10th May on what turned out to be a twenty-five day-hunting expedition, undoubtedly to conceal the real object of his policy and the divergence between his professions and conduct. In the course of this strange expedition during an unusual weather (May-June) Shuja with his wife and eldest son visited Bahramghat and Bahraich and penetrated into the jungle 18 miles further north of the last named town, hunting and enjoying himself, and returned to Lucknow on 3rd June.[2]

The English policy at this juncture was not to send any part of their own army beyond Kora, but to persuade the Wazir to march to the assistance of the Ruhelas against the Marathas and better still to take up the lead in organising a confederacy of the Jats, the Ruhelas and other important powers to drive the Marathas back to the Deccan. Accordingly the Select Committee gladly approved of the Wazir's proposal of his proceeding to the frontier of Kora at its meeting on May 3. and permitted Harper to join him with his battalion.[3] Cartier tickled the Wazir's vanity by magnifying his " heroic deeds " at the battle of Panipat and by ascribing to him a great share in the Abdali victory in that field, and thus urged him to action against the Marathas: " All eyes are at this moment turned towards the addressee," he wrote to Shuja, " and Hindustan hopes that he will not let her children be food for the swords of the haughty Mahrattas, and thinks that he alone can hold the balance between them and the rest of the Empire." He encouraged the Wazir by informing him of the despatch of two English battalions under Barker to Buxar to be in readiness there to march to his assistance in case of necessity.[4] But Suja clearly realised the implications and dangers of assuming a leading role against the Marathas and as he perceived that the English themselves were averse to taking offensive measures against them by themselves marching to help the Ruhelas and all that they were likely to do was to fight with the invader only in defence of their own territory or those of their allies, he wisely adopted the policy of not antagonising the Marathas, and replied to Cartier that " The truth is that there is no one left in Hindustan to stop the career of the Marathas. For his own part the writer (Shuja) is ready to defend the dominions of His Majesty and those of himself." He asked the governor to take the offensive against the invader, if he really desired the various anti-Maratha powers to make a common cause against the Deccanis. " If it is His Excellency's opinion," wrote the Wazir, " that the Mahrattas should be driven from Hindustan, he should appoint a large army under the command of an officer of distinction to attend the royal stirrup.[5]" Obviously the Calcutta government was not prepared to undertake such a bold step. Shuja therefore, continued his policy of procrastination till

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1 Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., April 16, 1770.
2 Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., May 14, 19 and 26 and June 3, 1770.
3 Ben. Sel. Com. Progs., May 3, 1770.
4 CPC. III. 196.
5 CPC. III. 250.

the rains set in and made military operations impossible. On his return to Lucknow from his hunting expedition on 3rd June, he told Harper that the Marathas were not likely to attempt further conquests owing to internal dissensions among them and the near approach of the rainy season, and hence there was no use marching to Kora.[6] Accompanied by Harper, he marched to Cawnpore and thence to Faizabad, *via* Lucknow, leaving at the first named place a battalion of sepoys with some guns to fortify it and watch the Maratha movements.[7] The Marathas had already cantoned themselves at Aligarh, and heavy rain during the first four days of July caused suspension of all military and diplomatic activities.[8] By his diplomacy the Wazir thus succeeded in avoiding giving an umbrage to the Marathas for more than six months.

Cartier all this time continued exhortations and even mildly accused the Wazir of short-sightedness in not providing assistance to Ruhelkhand, the enslavement of which by the Marathas must be considered as a signal for danger to Oudh.[9] The governor impressed upon Shuja that "your grand object at present should be the reduction of the Mahrattas" and requested him to base his policy on three fundamental points, namely, the separation of Najib from the Marathas, the encouragement and assistance to the Ruhelas, and effecting unity among the Jats.[10] But these exhortations did not much influence Shuja-ud-Daulah who continued the policy of temporising during the rains, sometimes writing that no alliance with the Ruhelas was possible without the King's participation and at other time that measures should be taken to prevent the King's throwing himself into the Maratha hands.[11] After the rainy season he frankly wrote to Cartier that willing though he was for the sake of the country and Muslim religion to help the Ruhelas, yet he was afraid "that their united forces cannot effect much unless they are supported by the English." He enquired of the English governor as to whether he was sending troops to co-operate with him. "If he is (sending)", wrote he "the writer will be glad to help the Rohillas, if not, he will have only his own safety to provide for.[12]"

There was a slight change in Shuja's attitude towards the Marathas when Najib's death on 31st October made him apprehensive of an alliance between them and Imad who had been for sometime intriguing for regaining his former position of wazirship that he had once held with Maratha backing. Now he felt inclined to help the Ruhelas and the preliminaries for a treaty were discussed with Hafiz Rahmat's wakil through the exertion of Harper and it was settled that Hafiz would pay for the expenses of Shuja's troops.[13] The Wazir was afraid that Imad might proclaim Jawan Bakht as king and himself might establish as Wazir and so he urged upon Cartier the necessity of an immediate action against the confederates.[14] The Select Committee approved of the wazir's proposal on 7th November and resolved upon sending some troops under Barker to co-operate with Shuja. But while the Wazir despatched a battalion of sepoys to reinforce his newly established garrison at Cawnpore, he postponed proceeding to Kora until Barker's arrival and his

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[6] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., 3rd June 1770.
[7] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., June 16, 1770.
[8] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., July 4, 1770.
[9] CPC. III 263.
[10] Ben. Sel. Com., Progs., August 1770, CPC. III. 330.
[11] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., July 15, 30 and August 27, 1770.
[12] CPC. III 413.
[13] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., Oct. 24, 1770.
[14] CPC. III. 473.

meeting with him[15] and he once more impressed upon Harper that he would not go to Ruhela help unless he was joined and assisted by English troops.[16]

Shuja-ud-Daulah's conduct during this period of six months appeared mysterious to the English authorities in Bengal who wrote to Fort St. George that the Wazir's views seemed inexplicable, as one day he would be resolved on vigorous measures and declared that he was ready to march and the very next day he would bring in frivolous excuses.[17] Harper rightly believed that Shuja had not entered into any treaty with the Marathas, but that his policy was calculated to put off his march to Kora, as he was interested in the destruction of the Ruhela power. I think probable " wrote Harper " " that he (Shuja) is urging the Mahrattas to this enterprise[18] (invasion of Ruhelkhand) by every means in his power ". Gailliez believed that " If he (Shuja) has entered into any agreement with them (the Marathas) it is now supposed to be with a view of attacking the Rohillas.[19]" But in view of the critical times the English thought it impolitic to call an explanation from the Wazir.

[15] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., Oct. 24, 1770.
[16] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., Dec. 1, 1770.
[17] Ben. Sel. Com., to Fort St. George Com. 9th June 1770.
[18] Harper to Ben. Sel. Com., May 19 and 26, 1770.
[19] Gailliez to Ben. Sel. Com., June 15, 1770.

The Death of Aurangzib and After.

Two Important Letters.

(By Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law.)

Aurangzib's death and succeeding events are ably described by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, Chapt. LVII) and Irwine (*Later Mughals*, Chapt. I.). All possible details relating to those events are given by these authorities and no controversial question about them remains to be settled. The sources of their history, so far used, have been mainly Persian and it must be admitted that they are amply sufficient. There are, however, a number of letters which were written by the East India Company's servants in India and which incidentally bear upon this subject. It is true that these letters do not unearth any new facts, yet, as they were written at the time when the events were taking place and were written by persons who were mostly detached observers of those events, they constitute an important source of the history of that subject. Furthermore, as will be seen, they are very rich in details which, it must be admitted, may not be wholly reliable, because some of them may have been based on mere reports or rumours. Nevertheless they form such an important source as cannot be safely neglected by the student of Indian History.

Out of these letters two are selected and reproduced here. The first was written by Sir Nicholas Waite from Bombay to the Company on March 3, 1707—immediately after Aurangzib's death. The second was despatched from Madras on Jan. 8, 1708. It will be better first to give these letters and then offer necessary comments on them.

Sir Nicholas Waite to the Company, March 3, 1707.[1]

" By way of Callyan[2] but three days by express from Court we have been informed from a great holy Mulla that has been often on this Island, where at his Own Charge supports a Tomb of one of their Chiefest Saints, that the Mogull[3] finding himself wasting upward of two months before he dyed and being dissatisfied with his Second Sonne Ossum Shaw[4] designed approach to him last Season positively ordered to him to a Government up Country, which he refusing the infirm Emperorr sent Severall expresses to his Eldest Grandson down the Ganges who had, 'its daid, a very incredible great Treasure and upward of 20,000 Horse well paid, to come with the utmost expedition to Secure the Throwne to his Father Shaalym ;[5] and about one month after directed Ossum Shaw to go 12 Corse or 20 miles from him and then settle the Government, but not in absolute Sovereignty, Vigepoor[6] and Culcander[7] upon his youngest Sonn Cambucks[8] and Gasdee Cawne[9] the great Generall who has had some years an army of 30,000 Horse and Foot to be his Protector and with him in said Government took his last farewell 12 days before the

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[1] O. C. 8477.
[2] Kalyan near Bombay.
[3] Aurangzib.
[4] Azam Shah, Alamgir's second surviving son.
[5] Shah Alam.
[6] Bijapur.
[7] Golconda.
[8] Kam Bakhsh.
[9] Ghazi-ud-Din Khan (?). About the grant of Bijapur to Khan Bakhsh, and the adviser sent with him see *Later Moguls*, Vol. 1, P. 5.

Emperorr's death, and immediately dispatcht expresses to Shaalim[10] and owned him to be King as ordered by his Father and desired only his consent to enjoy Said Government under him, when (sic.) he made hasty marches to Gasdee Cawne after which the certaine Change drawing to a Period Aurangzeb tooke leave of his great Umbraws and declared Shaalym his Eldest Sonn should Succeed and be Emperorr, and after other directions said he was to dye like unto a poor man, ordered his body to be wrapt in a Cloth but Rups. 2½ Vallue ; then said Umbraws left him and the 16th ulto. departed that great Conquerer who by said Mulla and others was opened and Embalmd all which was Kept private 5 or 6 days by the Emperour's Daughters and declared not till the 22nd do, which day the Umbraws according to Custome sent to Ossum Shaw the nearest Prince who within four hours tooke possession and declared himself King, then gave said Umbraws the usall (usual) oath upon the Alcoran and advanced their pay, etc. Since which have noe certaine particulars but that Shaalym's Eldest Sonne was within 8 days of the Camp 22nd do and the Generall opinion is that Saalym who has 4 Sonns and well beloved and rich will be Emperour without any long Contest, tho these near Provinces may be harast if not destroyed........".

This letter gives several interesting details of the final dispositions made by the aged emperor Aurangzib, and records the universally entertained belief that Shah Alam "will be Emperour without any long Contest". There is however a curious point raised by this letter. The official date of Aurangzib's death is Friday, Feb. 20 (1707) but this letter says that Aurangzib died on Feb.16 and the news was not made public till the 22nd. It must be borne in mind that the person who sent the news of the emperor's death to Bombay was no other than "a great holy Mulla" who frequently visited the island of Bombay to worship "one of their Chiefest Saints" and who was present at the death-bed of the great Mughal. The letter says, "the 16th ulto. departed (the) great Conquerer who by said Mulla and Others was openod and Embalmd all which was kept private 5 or 6 days by Emperour's Daughters and declared not till the 22nd do."

In this connection it may be useful to refer to some other communications made by the Company's servants. On Oct. 13, Fort William informed the Company "The Moghul dyd the 14th February."[11] A Madras letter said that Aurangzib died on Tuesday Feb. 18, "between 12 and one in the afternoon".[12] In an earlier Madras letter it was mentioned, "the 15th March received News the Mogul dyd the 20th February."[13] On May 9, Sir John Gayer wrote to the Company from Surat, "Coppies of my last advising the death of the King Aurangzib (accompany). I esteemed myself obliged to write darkly about it fearing as it went by land to Bombay, it might fall into ill hands; but it was soon after made public by Azum Terra."[14]

The differences disclosed by these several letters are but natural, because some of them may have had mere reports as their sources of information. It is, however, not improbable, and the letters of Sir Nicholas Waite, and Sir Gohn Gayer make it very nearly certain, that the news of the great emperor's death may have been suppressed for a while by interested parties. If this were not the case, the news supplied by the "Holy Mulla" will require explanation.

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[10] Shah Alam.

[11] Coast and Bay Abstracts, Letters Received, Vol. 1, P. 139.

[12] O. C. 8555 A.

[13] Coast and Bay Abstracts, Letters Received, Vol. 1, P. 116.

[14] F. R. Surat Vol. 101.

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Mr. Wigmore from Madras to the Company, Jan. 8, 1708[15].

"On the 28th of the Moon Qulkhawla (Zul Qada) being Tuesday (W. answer to the 18th Feb. 1706-07)[16] between 12 and one in the afternoon in his Camp at Ahmednagar, three days journey from Aurangabad in the 1118 year of the Hegira and the 91st year of his age and in the 51st year of his reign ; his body was soon after without much ceremony carried to Aurangabad and there interred in a Garden. About the beginning of his sickness he dispatch'd his youngest son Cawn bux to Vijapore whereof he made him a grant, and also of the Kingdom of Golconda, and his other son Azem Terra he orders the Côntrary way towards Malva, apprehending what would be the fate of the youngest, if he fell into his hands, and in taking leave gave him his ring off of (sic.) his finger. To this 2d son he gave (as generally it is reported) all the Dehcan[17] Country except Vijapore and Golcondah before mentioned, which conteins in it (besides those two Kingdoms) 4 great Subas *viz.*, the Subah of Aurangabad, the Subah of Zepherabad[18], the Subah of Berar, and the Subah of Chandeesh, and two Subahs more in Hindostan *viz.*, Subah of Guzaratte and the Subah of Malva. And the rest of the Empire he left to Shah Aalam. Azem Tarra was not advanced very farre on his way when news was brought him of his father's death, whereupon he immediately returns to the Camp and with the Consent of all the Omrahs, then present, on the 10th of the next month *viz.*, Zalhajah[19] he ascends his father's throne and in some time after removes to Aurengabad with the Army and having staid the first 10 days of the Moon Meherrum which are days of Lamentation for the death of Yussain and Hassan and reckoned unlucky (sic.). About the middle of this moon which fell upon the 5th or 6th of April 1707, he began his march towards Hindostan, hoping to get to one of the two Capital Cities *viz.*, to Delhi or Agra before the eldest brother, but he failed, for being advanced near the banks of Chumpull,[20] he finds his brother with his army to be encamped on the other side, whereupon he putts his father's Harremie (harem), his women and all his own baggage into Gaulicur[21] under the care of Assid[22] Chem etc. and then advancing towards his brother gave him battle.

"The accounts we have of this Action from Severall parts differ very much in many particulars ; but they all agree in this that in the beginning of the battle Azem Tarra's Army had the advantage of the Enemy, and the Victory for some time seemed to be on their Side ; for they broke the first fouge or Brigade of the enemy Commanded by Azem Uldeen, 2d son to Shah Aalam, Baz[23] Chan who commanded the Vanguard being Killed and almost all his men ; and forced Azem Udeen to turn his Elephant and retire with his troops in great disorder for about a League, leaving his tents and all his baggage a plunder to the Enemy, whereupon Azem Tarra beats the Nagharra or Drum of Victory. But Azem Udeen in some time rallys again and his father and Eldest brother coming up with their Brigades both armies engaged and the fight was maintained very obstinately on both Sides for a long time. At

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[15] O. C. 8555A.

[16] There is obviously some mistake here. 20 Zul Qada was Friday, Feb. 20, 1707 (O.S.).

[17] Deccan.

[18] This name obviously stands for Bidar.

[19] Zul Hijja. The date is correct. See *Later Mughals* 1. 8.

[20] The Chambal river.

[21] Gwalior. See *Later Mughals* 1. 15, 23.

[22] Asad Khan.

[23] Baz Khan. See *Later Mughals* 1, 29-30.

last Beedar Bacht, Azem Tarra's eldest son, who fought in the front of his father's army, happened to be killed upon his Elephant; whereupon that Elephant turned and his whole fauge was put into Disorder and ran away, and with him, I think was Killed his son Beedar Dill. In some time after Wala Jae, Azem Tarra's 2d son was killed upon his Elephant and his fauge put to the rout. When Azem Tarra Saw his two Sons were dead, he grew desperate and said, "all is now lost. I have nothing left me but to dye;" and rushing into the thickest of the enemy, was there killed; but how or by what hands he received his death is variously related. This Battle was fought on the 19th day of Rabiaulaul which in our account was the 8th Junne and Trinity Sunday, 1707, about 10 Krons or Leagues from Agra.

"Since that battle Shah Aalam hath continued in quiet possession of the throne, and hath nothing to fear but his own Sons, who are 4 in number and have so jealous an eye upon one another that none of them dare leave the Court for fear of what may be practised in their absence by them that stay behind, for which reason the Empire is in a great measure unsettled.

"Cawn bux remains yet possessed of Vijapore and Shah Aalam, they say, is willing he should continue so; but the Sons will not consent to it. There hath been a constant report ever since the battle at Chumpall that one of Shah Aalam's sons was coming with an army into the Dehcan Country to settle affairs in all these parts, but hitherto no prince hath come down and no army hath been sent into Dehcan that we hear of.

"Since the writing of the account aforementioned we are advised from severall parts that the true reason the Government is not yet settled is that the Rajapauts have surrounded Agra and Blockt up all the Avenue to the Place permitting none to go or come out but whom they please, and it is by reason of this blockade that there are no new Governours sent to the Severall Provinces of the Empire, no orders for coining of Money, with Shah Aalam's Stamp, or for praying for him in their Mosquids etc. Himself, his Sons and all his great Omrahs being Shutt up in that Citty.

"The occasion of this blockade we understand to be this; Shah Aalam upon the news of his father's death leaves Cabul where he had been Viceroy for some years and marches with his army directly towards Delhie and at the same time writes to the Rajahs or heads of Ragepouts (of which nation 'tis said his mother was) to come and assist him in his expedition. The Ragepouts promist to come to his assistance provided he would give them his Kowl[24] to restore to them the same Privileges and immunities which they enjoyed in Shah Jahan's time. This Shah Aalam gives with much difficulty and thereupon the Rajahs join him with their forces and promising to Sett him upon the throne or dye in the attempt, which some of them actually did at the battle of Chumpull. After Shah Aalam had gained the Victory in that battle and was in quiet of the throne, the Ragepouts put him in mind of his Kowl and desire his Majestie to put it in execution. Shah Aalam who never cared much which may the world Went, much less now in his old age, was not unwilling to perform his Kowl, but the two eldest Sons did vehemently oppose it, urging that they could never answer it to God nor the World if after Aurangzeb had

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[24] "A writing of assurance, agreement or engagement as granted by Government." Molesworth.

gone so far to destroy Idolatory out of the Empire and to establish true religion instead that they should now consent to the Setting up of Idolatory in its Stead. Thus matters stood by our last advices from those parts.

" Now in order to understand the Contents of this Kowl we are to Know that Aurangzeb after he found himself established in the throne, out of his great Zeal for Mohomentanism ordered all the Pagodas or heathen Temples within the Empire to be shutt up, their images to be broken, burried in the ground or otherwise made away with ; ordered beef to be publickly killed and sold in the Buzars and their Temple at Kausey[25]' to be demolished which to the Hindoos was a mother Temple, a place of singular holiness above all others and whither they went in pilgrimage from all parts of the Empire ; and besides all this he laid a Poll-tax or more properly a lock tax upon the Hindoo people throughout the Empire obliging all people that wear a lock or hair upon the Crown of their heads to pay a certain sum yearly to the King. The wealthy and able were obliged to pay 20 rups a head and so downward in proportion to their ability, and whatever towne or country they come into they were obliged to pay this tax if they would not produce a certificate that they had paid it all ready. The Poorer sort in order to evade this tax have sometime cutt off this lock but that would not excuse them, and if they urged that they have nothing to pay it with, the answer was 'then you must turn Muhameton'. Now Shah Aalam in the forementioned Kowl promised to remove all the grievances, *viz.*, to take off this tax, to permit them the free use of their temple and to rebuild Kausey and to suffer no beef to be killed or sold publickly."

This lengthy letter gives reliable details of the march of and the battle between the two elder sons of Aurangzeb. But even more important than these well known details is the light it throws upon the religious policy of Aurangzib. Much authentic information is to be had from this letter regarding the poll-tax or rather the 'Lock tax' as the letter describes it, the destruction of Hindu temples, particularly the 'Mother Temple' at Kashi, and the killing of the cows. Shah Alam "who never cared much which way the world went" promised the Rajputs that he would remove all these grievances, but his "two eldest sons did vehemently oppose it". The Rajputs therefore "surrounded Agra and Blockt up all the Avenue to the Place". The Rajputs pressed their demands for a long time as is made clear in many other letters. Thus on Feb. 11, 1709 Bombay wrote to the Company, "The last rains the Mogul wintered at Auragabad and in September began his march towards Agra, but is impeded by the Rajpoots who demanded the performance of several promises he made them before the battle he fought with Assum Shah his second Brother in which they were great Sufferers."[26] Bombay again wrote on April 26, 1710, "The Mogul who is now disputing the passage with the Rajpoots near Asmeer has had one engagement with them and came off considerably a loser which "its to be hoped will bring him to a reconciliation and end all the intestine troubles of the Empire."[27]

[25] Kashi or Benares.
[26] Orme Mss. Vol. 122.
[27] Idem.

Patiala and General Perron.

[Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A.]

Patiala and the other Sikh States of the Cis-Sutlej territory emerged into history in the period when the controlling authority irradiating from Delhi had broken down, and the resultant confusion had deepened and spread on account of the recurrent incursions into the north by Ahmed Shah Abdali from the north-west and by the Marathas from the south. No surer proof of the utter collapse of the central authority can be given than the fact that within a radius of 200 miles from the heart of the Empire a number of chiefships rapidly established their independence, and, occasionally, even carried their ravages as far as the gates of Delhi.[1]

The external circumstances were favourable to the Sikh Chiefs. But in justice to them it should be told that they and their men were not unequal to the task they had undertaken; nor did they lack the stimulus for it. They relied on the keen sword which they knew how to wield, and they possessed the strong muscle necessary for wielding it with success. The troublous times afforded scope for the adoption of Rob Roy's principle for which they had a liking; and in addition, religion furnished the stimulus to avenge the wrongs done to their community by the Muslim rulers. Aided by external circumstances and prompted by strong incentives, spiritual and material, the Sikh chiefs successfully carved off bits of territory from the paralysed limbs of the empire; and in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century the Cis-Sutlej area was dotted with a number of chiefships of which the important ones were Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kaithal, and Thaneshwar. In the years under review in this paper Patiala was ruled by Maharaja Saheb Singh (1781-1813), Nabha by Raja Jaswant Singh (1783-1840), Jhind by Maharaja Bhag Singh (1789-1819), Kaithal by Bhai Lal Singh (1780-1818) and Thaneshwar by Sardar Bhanga Singh (1777-1815).

Another feature of the history of the period —— a feature that enters into the theme of this paper—was the large number of European adventurers who flocked into India and took service under the Indian rulers. They were employed for the purpose of drilling and disciplining the Indian soldiers in order that the rising tide of British conquest might be successfully rolled back or stemmed. Of the free-lances[2] three were Gen. Perron, Major Louis Bourquien and George Thomas. The first two were Frenchmen in the service of Daulatrao Sindhia. Gen. Perron succeeded the celebrated De Boigne in 1796 to the command of the regular

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[1] Poona Residency Correspondence ed. by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar Vol. I Letters 1, 95-96-102.

[2] Gen. Perron's real name was Pierre Cuillier, and that of Bourquien, Louis Bernard. Bourquien spelt his name with the additional e in the papers that are in the Patiala archives. For the life of George Thomas I have consulted the works of W. Francklin, Major L. F. Smith and James Skinner. G Festing's *Strangers within the Gates* has a chapter entitled "A Freelance from Tipperary" (pp. 185-214). The lives of the three adventurers may also be conveniently read in H. G. Keene's *Hindusthan under Freelances*, in G. B. Malleson's article entitled *Foreign Adventurers in India* in *Calcutta Review* Vol 64 of 1877, and in H. Compton's *A Particular Account of European Military Adventurers of Hindusthan.*

corps in the north and to the jagirs granted for their maintenance. Under him was Major Bourquien in charge of the third brigade raised in 1795.

George Thomas hailed from Tipperary. Deserting (1782) from a man-of-war in the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes he, journeying to the north, found employment in the contingent of Begam Samru of Sardhana (1787). His career in the north covers some 15 years in all, the first ten of which were spent in the services of Begam Samru, Appa Khande Rao and Lakwa Dada. The field of his activities was extensive. From the Upper Doab to the Rajput States, from Jhajjar to the Ghaggar he traversed with his small corps in softening obstinacy and chastising truculence and in storming forts and levying contributions.

His military success naturally extended his ambition and Thomas decided to set up as an independent prince. He chose Hariana as the field of his ambition or as the base for further operations. Thomas was not likely to meet with any opposition here at the beginning of his new enterprise.

In his eyes Hariana had another advantage. It was near the Sikh territories. The significance of this proximity may be gauged from Thomas's own words which are quoted here: "Having at length gained a capital and a country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Punjab and aspired to the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock."[3]

Thomas made Hansi his headquarters. Standing on a hill the town was particularly suitable for defence. Its fortifications were repaired; a gun-foundary and a mint were established; wells[4] were sunk to remove scarcity of water; and people were induced to settle down in the area. These were the preparations which the bog-trotter from Tipperary made for his life of independence.

After having fully established himself at Hansi he invited the Sikhs to join him in his fight against the Marathas. Perceiving that this was merely a clever method of bringing them under his sway, the Sikhs evaded compliance with the invitation. Having failed to coax he planned to coerce them into submission. The time for the invasion was well chosen. Some of the Sikh leaders had gone to Amritsar for concerting plans to be adopted for opposing Zaman Shah. It was at this time that Thomas attacked Jhind which was nearest to his territory. But he miscalculated the situation. On hearing of the attack the other Sikh chiefs hurried back home with their armies, so soon as distance permitted. Gurdit Singh of Ladwa, Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thaneshwar, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and the Maharaja of Patiala with his sister Saheb Kour—all came to the help of Maharaja Bhag Singh.[5]

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[3] Francklin's *Thomas* pp. 133-4.

[4] At Hansi some 30 wells were sunk, at Hissar 300 etc. etc. (Francklin pp. 131-2).

[5] The allied army included 20000 cavalry according to Patiala History; was 25000 strong according to Lepel Griffin. So far as we know from nearly contemporary sources about the military strength of these chiefs, the collected army could not have numbered more than 12000 in all. By Patiala History I refer to the book in Patiala Records Office which brings the history to the accession of Maharaja Narinder Singh (1845).

Thomas began to storm the fort of Jhind but was driven back with a loss of 400 men. He then formed fortified camps with a view to blockade the town. As time elapsed, the Sikh army increased in number. Finding himself outmatched he raised the siege after three months. He retreated towards his own capital giving out that he was going on a raid to Jaipur. The pursuing Sikhs stopped at Narnound in order to enjoy a well-earned rest. But Thomas's movement was a feint. He turned back; and marching all night and arriving before day-break he fell upon the unsuspecting Sikhs at Narnound[6] and put them to rout. The defeated Sikhs went back to Jhind. An attempt made by Saheb Kour to gather together the army for another trial of strength met with no success. The Sikh army was disunited and demoralised[7]. But Thomas, in view of the superior number of the enemy, thought it prudent to terminate the hostilities. Negotiations were opened through his Dewan, Udai Chand, and peace was concluded on the basis of *status quo ante bellum*. The Maharaja of Patiala, however, refused to sign the treaty, although inspite of his remonstrances, it was signed by his sister Bibi Saheb Kour. Thus was sown the seed of discord between the brother and the sister which, other causes supervening, developed into enmity in the course of the next year. The treaty which ended the first incursion of Thomas was presumably concluded in December 1798.

After the conclusion of the treaty Thomas went on a raid to Jaipur in support of Ambaji Inglia. On returning he engaged himself in a war against the Bhattis. During his preoccupations in Jaipur and Bhattiana, Patiala, in violation of the treaty of the previous year, had encouraged depredations into his principality. Hence, when free, he made ready for war. Another cause of it was furnished by the 'undeserved ill-treatment' meted out by the Maharaja to his sister. "It is not unlikely that Mr. Thomas might have been invited to cooperate with her party".[8]

Having made the necessary preparations and obtained from Kaithal and Jhind a promise of neutrality during his absence, Thomas marched into Patiala territory. The first engagement, an undecided one, took place at Dirba whence the invader proceeded toward Bhirian (Ubeywal) where Saheb Kour was being besieged by the Patiala forces. On his approach the Maharaja raised the siege and withdrew to the fortifications of Sunam.[9] As reinforcements arrived under Tara Singh Ghaiba, and then under Karam Singh of Shahabad. Thomas relinquished the idea of attacking Sunam and

6 Narnound or Narawind is about 12 miles south of Jhind and 30 miles north of Hansi.

7 The Nabha army held aloof; and Karam Singh Shahabadia fled on receipt of 5000 Ashrafis. Francklin notes that some banditti once sounded their trumpets so loudly that the Sikhs abandoned their camp thinking that the whole army of Thomas was near at hand (pp. 192-3). Such facts justify the statement made above about the Sikh army.

8 Letter of J. Collins, the Resident with Sindhia, to the Governor-General, dated Fatehgarh January 31, 1800. The proposed ninth volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence containing this letter was kindly lent to me by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

9 The places mentioned here are in the Sunam District of Patiala State. Bhawanigarh (tahsil town) is 21 miles west of Patiala; Baladh is 3 miles from Bhawanigarh. Dirba is 35 miles south of Patiala. Khanauri is in Dhuri tahsil and is about 7 miles north of Dhuri town which again is 43 miles west of Patiala by rail. Khanauri (Ghanauri) cannot be identified with Ghanaur, 17 miles east of Patiala, as Lepel Griffin has done.

struck towards Bhawanigarh. Though harassed all the way by the Sikhs moving round the skirts of his army, he managed to reach Baladh. He looted Baladh and the town of Bhawanigarh, but did not venture any assault on the fort. Retreating to Khanauri he had to fight a sharp skirmish with a Patiala army under Dewan Singh who had stationed himself there beforehand. Passing through Maler Kotla he entered the territory of Rai Ilyas of Raikot[10] and reached Narangwal where he was overtaken by the pursuing Sikh forces under Tara Singh, Bhag Singh and Karam Singh. He put up a show of fight for two hours and then fled away to Jodh Mansur. In order to gain time he resorted to his usual trick of negotiating for peace, and then slipped unperceived to Rajwana which he plundered. He then left the friendly State of Raikot and re-entered Patiala territory where he was given a hot reception at a place called Kakarwal[11]. Defeated there, he finally left Patiala. By this time Kaithal and Jhind had joined Patiala. Overawed by the superior strength of his enemy and anticipating better luck Thomas retreated to Kaithal, then to Jhind where he attacked Sufaydo. He took the fort, but, being compelled to fight, he sustained a defeat beneath the wall of the town. Thence he retreated again to Kaithal territory and opened negotiations for peace.

Both sides were exhausted and desired peace. The Sikhs wished to get rid of the raider, pending the formation of a confederacy against him. He was anxious to go back to the defence of his own territory which was threatened by the Marathas. In the circumstances peace was concluded, though, from the nature of the case, it was bound to be of short duration. According to the terms of the treaty Thomas retained the plundered wealth; and in addition he was to get 1,35,000 rupees. Certain districts were ceded to him, the more important ones being Badsikri, Jamalpur and Tohana from Patiala, Kanhori from Kaithal and Sufaydo from Jhind. The Sikhs agreed not to molest Rai Ilyas who became a protege of Thomas. Besides, Patiala was "to keep two battalions of infantry in constant pay who were to be stationed for the defence of the Punjab frontier, as a mutual safeguard to either party". The exact date of the treaty is not known; probably it was concluded at the end of March 1800.[12].

When the result of the desultory warfare is weighed the advantage is found to lie on the side of Thomas. Inspite of his occasional reverses and in opposition to a numerically stronger army he managed on the whole to have his way and to conclude an agreement on favourable terms. His superiority lay in the mobility of his army; and the weakness of his enemy

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10 The places mentioned here are in Ludhiana District which then, roughly speaking, formed the territory of Rai Ilyas. The Patiala army had moved to Gungrana which is in Ludhiana District and had a clash with Thomas' at Barondi. Jodha Mansur are now two villages, a furlong apart.

11 It is 3 miles south west of Dhuri. Sufaydo mentioned below is 36 miles north-east of Hansi.

12 J. Collins the Resident with Sindhia writing to the Governor-General under date February 22, 1800 says that "the troops of Thomas have evacuated the territories of the Raja of Patiala after committing great depredations". By the treaty with Thomas the Maharaja agreed to treat his sister well. She died in 1856 Samvat which ended about the middle of April 1800. According to Francklin the raid lasted for seven months. From these premises I conclude that the raid began in September 1799 and the treaty was made at the end of March 1800

was caused by the lack of cooperation among the different leaders each of whom was influenced by his separate interest. The divided command prevented the execution of plans with promptitude which alone can ensure success in military transactions. Be that as it may, the spring of the year 1800 saw Thomas at the apogee of his power; and with some justification he could write, as he did, that "he was the dictator in all the countries south of the Sutlej."

He did not confine himself to the south of the river. After the Patiala campaign of 1800 he made a bold attempt to seize Lahore which he intended to make the capital of his future empire. He got within four marches of the place, beating repeatedly back the opposing Sikhs. But on hearing of an attack on his defenceless country by Perron, he abandoned his purpose and returned home with a rapidity of movement which astounded the General.[13] This must have taken place towards the end of the year 1800. Perron thought of a cheap way of curbing the raider. But he was much more clever and his position was much stronger than the General had supposed. But it is clear that in the second half of 1800 Perron recognised the need of crushing Thomas who had become "a promoter of disturbance" in the north-western frontier of Sindhia's dominions. But the time was not yet ripe for making an organised effort against him. The reasons were given by Col. J. Collins, the Resident with Sindhia, who, under date Fatehgarh July 26, 1800, wrote to the Governor-General thus: "Though I can have little doubt that Mr. Perron is jealous of the growing power of Mr. Thomas and would willingly crush it whenever a convenient opportunity occurred, yet I am inclined to think that he will if possible, avoid coming to immediate hostilities with that officer as well on account of the force he commands which is far from contemptible[14] as in consideration of Mr. Thomas connection with Begum Samru who now accompanies M. Perron and whose assistance is of importance in this juncture". The final struggle was only postponed. In the meantime Gen. Perron strengthened himself by an alliance with the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs.

It has been noted that the Sikh rulers concluded the treaty with Thomas on the terms mentioned above with a view only to gain time for forming a league against him. They did not lose much time to send their agents to Delhi for the purpose. Bhag Singh, Lal Singh and Patiala Sardars Chain Singh and Hamir Singh reached the imperial capital. But Gen. Perron was then residing in his kothi (Saheb Bagh) situated midway between Koil and Aligarh. The Patiala envoys went there and accompanied the General back to Delhi. The Wajib-ul-Arz was considered and the terms settled (30th Rabia II, Julus 43, corresponding to September 19, 1800). Naturally enough, the prime request was for a body of disciplined troops for the purpose of expelling Thomas from Hansi. Perron acceded to the request and expressed the opinion that Thomas would be expelled not only from Hansi but 'from wheresoever he might be'. The fourth term related

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13 Major L. F. Smith's *Account of the Regular Corps commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India*, pp. 21 Sq.

14 Collins was informed that Thomas' force in 1800 consisted of 7 battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry 20 field pieces of artillery and 4 howitzers. According to Smith, Thomas in 1801 raised his party to 10 battalions with 60 pieces of cannon and secured a country yielding 3 lakhs a year.

to the restoration of the places which would be recovered from the intruder. The fifth clause stipulated that the payment for the aid was to be made in instalments. The sixth and seventh clauses contained provisions as to what would be done in case the other members of the confederacy (*e.g.*, Rai Ilyas of Raikot and Jaswant Singh of Nabha) did not duly pay their contributions for the enterprise.

General Perron was not unwilling to render help to the Sikhs to crush Thomas. But circumstances prevented immediate assistance. For some time past Daulatrao Sindhia had been carrying on correspondence with Thomas with a view to induce him to enter Maratha service. The reason for it was that Sindhia's affairs at that time 'wore an unfavourable aspect' on account of the hostility of the Bais and Lakwa Dada, and, above all, of Yashwantrao Holkar. Hence an endeavour was made to induce Thomas to join his forces with those of Perron to fight against the enemies of Sindhia. In execution of the policy Gen. Perron carried on negotiations and succeeded so far as to prevail upon Thomas to meet him at Bahadurgarh, 15 miles west of Delhi. The conference (Aug. 19-20, 1801) broke up without achieving anything. The result was not unexpected. As a loyal British subject Thomas could not agree to serve under a Frenchman. Moreover to bind himself down to an agreement of service was to deprive himself of the freedom of plundering the Sikhs at his pleasure. This freedom it was safe for him to enjoy at least so long as Daulatrao Sindhia had to contend against internal dissensions and external aggressions.[15]

Though negotiations for an agreement broke down yet Gen. Perron showed no immediate intention of declaring war on Thomas. But his hands were soon forced. After the conference Thomas, in order to create misunderstanding between Perron and Vaman rao (amil of Kanod), handed over to the latter the district of Jhajjar which the former intended to bestow on M. Filose. Then he retreated to Hansi whence he led another foray into Jhind. In consequence of this renewed depredation the Sikh chiefs pressed Perron to fulfil his engagement for assistance. He hesitated. But when they threatened "to seek a reconciliation with Thomas", the long-deferred war was declared.[16]

The war lasted from September to December, 1801. The third brigade —the worst in Sindhia's service—was detached by Perron to carry on the operations. It was commanded by Major Louis Bourquien, though during the siege of Georgegarh he was superseded by Pedrons. Georgegarh fell; and Thomas escaped to Hansi[17] (Nov. 10) where he was besieged till Dec. 29 when possession was taken of the fort. According to Smith the final surrender took place on January 1, 1802; and the fallen foe was given a battalion of sepoys which escorted him to the English frontier. Perron was highly displeased with Bourquien for coming to an accommodation with Thomas.[18]

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15 Collins to the Governor-General dated Fatehgarh September 10, 1801. For the terms offered to Thomas, Francklin or Smith may be read.

16 Collins to the Governor-General dated Fatehgarh September 10, 1801, para. 3.

17 The distance between Georgegarh and Hansi is 60 miles. But Thomas took circuitous route, covering 120 miles in 24 hours.

18 Collins to Governor-General, Camp near Hindaun January 8, 1802. Perron wanted it to be a war of extermination. Thomas, however, died soon after—at Bahrampur on August 22, 1802.

In the war against Thomas the Sikhs helped Bourquien. From the Wajib-ul-Arz we do not get an exact idea of the nature and extent of the assistance promised by the Sikh rulers. L. F. Smith tells us that they had agreed to assist Perron with 5 lakhs of rupees and 10,000 cavalry. Col. J. Collins[19] was informed that "the Sikh chiefs had engaged to pay Perron Rs. 50,000 per month for six months certain". Information from Patiala sources substantially confirms the statement of Smith. Francklin notes that Gurdit Singh, Bhanga Singh, Jodh Singh (Kalsia) and other Sikh chiefs came with their forces to cooperate with Bourquien. From Patiala the aid in troops does not seem to have been considerable. Be that as it may, the point for us to note is how the common danger from Thomas brought the Sikhs and the Marathas together for an alliance. The pact of aid made in September 1800 developed into a treaty of friendship after the fall of Thomas. "A deed of friendship was written between the Maharaja of Patiala and Gen. Perron" on Ramzan 21, 1216 (January 26, 1802). The friends and enemies of one party became the friends and enemies of the other. They bound themselves not to lend ear to any proposal from persons attempting to cause disunity among them.

The friendship thus formed by treaty was confirmed by subsequent actions; and apparently, utmost cordiality of relations existed between Gen. Perron and the Maharaja of Patiala. In the beginning of March 1802 the Dewan of Patiala waited on Gen. Perron who presented him with a Khelat. It was also agreed that a mutual exchange of turban should take place; hence the Dewan brought to Patiala a turban on behalf of the General. Towards the end of the same month Perron who had gone to pay his personal respects to Daulatrao Sindhia took advantage of "the occasion to introduce a Vakil from Patiala who presented a nazar of 100 gold mohurs on the part of his master".[20] In Col. Collins' letters there are also other references to Dewan Chain Singh having gone to Gen. Perron, and to his having been received with marked distinction by the General.

The friendship was a diplomatic ruse. Under its cloak Perron was insidiously proceeding to reduce the Sikh rulers to a position of subordination. After the fall of Thomas Bourquien went to the Cis-Sutlej country ostensibly to cement the friendship but really to collect the money promised under the pact. His exactions among the Sikh chiefs excited great discontent in that part so much so that the Maharaja of Patiala wrote to Col. Collins "pressing for a renewal of the former friendly correspondence that subsisted between them". Bourquien's extortionate demands[21] coupled with the arrogance of his conduct left on the Sikh rulers "an unfavourable opinion of Perron's friendly disposition towards them". In effect then, the fall of Thomas extended Maratha influence, if not authority, upto the Sutlej.

Perron's ambition did not stop there. He was free to entertain more ambitious ideas. By the middle of 1802 Sindhia's affairs had considerably improved on account of the disappearance of Thomas, the submission of the

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19 Letter to the Governor-General, dated Fatehgarh September 19, 1801.

20 Letters of Collins dated Camp near Ujjain March 8 and 30, 1802; Fatehgarh October 10, 1802.

21 Collins' letter dated Fatehgarh June 4, 1802.

Bais, the death of Lakwa Dada and the friendship of the Cis-Sutlej rulers. These happenings relieved Perron of some of his serious preoccupations and made him free to divert his main attention to the Cis-Sutlej territory and to the Punjab beyond the Sutlej. The Resident with Sindhia wrote on July 4, 1802 thus: "Should he (Perron) retain his present command two years longer, I have no doubt that he will, during this period, subdue the Punjab entirely or oblige the principal men of that country to become tributary to Maharaja Daulatrao Sindhia in like manner as the Rajput princes now are".

Perron wanted to utilize the friendship of the Cis-Sutlej rulers in furthering his ambitious designs on the Punjab beyond the Sutlej where Ranjit Singh was establishing his authority. The instrument of the General for the purpose was Raja Bhag Singh who was maternal uncle to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The ruler of Jhind accompanied by vakils on the part of Perron and Saheb Singh, went to Ranjit Singh with presents. The object of the visit was to induce the ruler of Lahore to enter into political connection with Daulatrao Sindhia and to come down to the Sutlej where Major Louis awaited him for reception and Gen. Perron for conference. These negotiations (April to June 1802) came to naught. Ranjit Singh though reciprocating their friendly feelings resisted every mode of persuasion for a meeting with Perron on the Sutlej. Further in the autumn of 1802 a violent quarrel broke out between Perron and Bourquien, "in consequence of which the latter was put under close arrest on the very day when he was to have set off for Hansi, accompanied by Lal Singh of Kaithal in order to take the command of the troops destined to act against the Sikhs".[22]

Bourquien was temporarily under a cloud. There were other generals more capable and faithful than he. It was not the arrest of Bourquien that stood in the way of the Punjab enterprise. The situation underwent a change on account of the Treaty of Bassein (Dec. 31, 1802). It was followed by troubles which, brewing for some time, broke out in a war during the course of which Gen. Perron and Major Louis Bourquien disappeared from the stage of history.

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[22] Collins to Governor-General, Fatehgarh October 10, 1802.

Mayurbhanj During Nawab Alivardi Khan's Expedition to Orissa in 1741 and 1742.

[By Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.]

In January, 1741, Nawab Alivardi Khan marched from Murshidabad with a large army against Rustam Jang, the Nawab Nazim of Orissa who " threw up an intrenchment from the mountains of Neelgury[1] to the river, and there waited the arrival of Alyvardy Khan unsuspicious of the treachery of Mekhless Khan.

" Alyvardy Khan arrived at Midnapore by rapid marches ; and, after engaging in his interest the Zemindars of that quarter, proceeded to Jelasore, where he encamped. At Rajghaut on the opposite side of the river Sebunrekha, the Moorbunge rajah had garrisoned another tannah, and thrown up an entrenchment. All Alyvardy Khan's attempts to gain him were ineffectual ; but at last Alyvardy Khan ordered his artillery cannonade the place, when the rajah and his men deserted the post, and retreated into the jungles. He then marched forward, unmolested, to Ramchunderpoor, between four and five cose from Moorshed Kuly Khan's entrenchment.[2] "

In the battle of Phulwarighat (March 1741) near Balasore, Rustam Jang was defeated and soon after Alivardi Khan occupied Cuttack and appointed his nephew Saulat Jang as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal most probably before the monsoon. Saulat Jang was unfit for governing the newly acquired Province of Orissa and in the month of August, 1741, he with his family was placed under confinement by Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Rustam Jang and having thus restored his authority in Orissa he re-conquered Midnapore and Hijli. Upon this Alivardi Khan decided to march into Orissa to vindicate his power and prestige and after a short skirmish Mirza Baqar left Cuttack for Deccan early in December 1941. After staying at Cuttack for about three months Alivardi Khan appointed Shaikh Masum as the Governor of Orissa and returned to Bengal after finishing administrative arrangements in Orissa.

" When Alivardy Khan arrived at Balasore, he resolved to punish the Moorbunje rajah, for having joined Mirza Bauker. The rajah resided at Hirhirpoore[3], and was then celebrating his nuptials, not thinking it possible that Alyvardy Khan would attempt to molest him, surrounded by jungles and mountains. Alyvardy Khan advanced, with fire and sword, putting great numbers to death, making prisoners of women and children, burning the towns and villages, and carrying off the cattle. The rajah and his family took refuge in the mountains.[4]"

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[1] Maulavi Abdus Salam, the translator of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* puts 'Tilgadi' in place Gladwin's 'Neelgury' (Nilgiri). His reading 'river Jon' seems to be a mistake for the river Sona, a tributary of the Burabalang. N. N. Vasu in his the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. 13, has attempted to identify 'Tilgadhi' with 'a rocky region called 'Tilgadia' in Mayurbhanj which is not very helpful.

[2] Gladwin's *A Narrative of the Government of Bengal* Calcutta 1906, Bangabasi reprint from the edition of 1788, p. 100.

[3] Hariharpur, the former capital of Mayurbhanj.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 106.

Gulam Husain Salim, the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, narrates the account of the Mayurbhanj affairs in detail and adds the name of the reigning Prince of Mayurbhanj. He writes that " On the banks of the river Sabaurikha (Subarnarekha), at the ferry of Rajghat, Rajah Jagardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj, had established a garrison of his Chawars[5] and Khandaits and had erected entrenchments.[6] "

He again writes as follows :—

" Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirza Baqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahabat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival of the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rajah. The latter was at Hariharpur which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the deneness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Chawars and Khandaits, made himself insolent and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, not cared for the army of Ali Vardi Khan. Ali Vardi Khan's army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rajah's dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandaits and Chawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rajah seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects, followers and dependents, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Vardi Khan then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits.

" * * * On receiving the news of approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahabat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhanj Rajah, and withdrew towards Bengal.

" As yet Ali Vardi Khan had passed through the forests of Morbhanj when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of *Chaklah* of Bardwan.[7] "

Sayar-ul-Mutakherin furnishes us with an account of the affairs of Mayurbhanj which materially differs from the above quotations which is narrated there as one of the cause of discontents of the Afghan troops and officers headed by Mustafa Khan against the actions of the Nawab Alivardi Khan. At the instigation of Mustafa Khan Alivardi Khan resolved to fight with the Marhatas[8], but in the actual field some of the Afghan Commanders lagged behind and at this the Nawab " concluded that they must be dissatisfied with him.[9] " On coming to the last " subject of discontent " the author of *Sayar-ul-Mutakherin* writes as follows :—

" But as if all these subjects of discontents had not sufficiently operated on their minds, the Viceroy had added another of late, which gave general offence, and in particular sunk deep in Mustapha-qhan's mind. It was this : As the army in its late expedition to Oressa was passing through the possessions

[5]Dr. K. K. Dutta takes Chawars to be the mixed Kshetris by caste. In Mayurbhanj the term Chuada is applied to all aboriginal people who formerly served as Paiks in large numbers and there are also many Paiks who hold hereditary land grants for their service. Khandaits are not mixed Kshetris. They are a warrior caste in Orissa from which ancient Oriya Paiks were generally recruited.

[6] *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (English translation p. 327.)

[7] *Ibid*, p. 337-38.

[8] *Seir Mutaqherin* Calcutta reprint 1902, Vol. I. p. 378.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

of the Radja of Mohur-bendj, it had been exceedingly harassed by that Prince, who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjecture. He had even been guilty, they say, of some excesses. A conduct so characterised could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side, resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Radja sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustapha-qhan, who interceded vigorously for him. But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after an order was given to Mir-adjaafer to dispatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience ; for the Radja finding his application to the General had produced nothing but further token of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom ; and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mir-djaafer qhan, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly, and hacked to pieces ; whilst all his attendants were sought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret to the general, who conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Mahrattas had discontented not only the General himself, but every one of the Afghan Commanders, who as well as their soldiers, looked out for a favourable moment for quitting the service, nor did they make any secret of their intensions.[10] "

It is rather strange that the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* who took sufficient care to record the names of the Ruler puts two names in two places of his narrative.

" Rajat Jagardhar Bhanj Zamindar of Morbhanj " was prominent during the first expedition in 1741 and ' Jagat Isar ' Rajah of Morbhanj * * seeing the superiority of Ali Vardi Khan's army, with his effects, followers and dependents fled to the top of a hill, "at the time of his return during the second expedition in 1742." But the author however remains silent about the assassination of Ruler of Mayurbhanj as recorded in *Seyer-ul-Mutakherin*.

Messrs. N. N. Vasu and R. D. Banerjee and Dr. K. K. Dutta have tried to identify these personalities mentioned in *Riyaz-us-Salatin* but none of them have been fully successful. Mr. Vasu writes :— " It would be altogether different if we take Jagardhar and Jateswar to be the names of one and the same person, and consider them to have been erroneously used to represent separate personalities.

* * * Be that as it may, it is true that after the assassination of Chakradhar Bhanja, Mayurbhanj was greatly troubled by the ravages of the Muhmmedam army.[11] Mr. Banerji took ' Jagat Isar ' of the Persian text to be ' Jagadisvar [12] ' and wrote the following :—

" The name of this Chief is omitted in the gebeologies accepted by the Mayurbhanj State. In the Persian Original it is once written Jagardhar and again Jagadisvara. The king may be the same as Chakradhara Bhanja who was the successor of Raghunatha Bhanja and the predecessor of Damodar

[10] *Ibid*, p. 381.
[11] *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. 18.
[12] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 78 and 82.

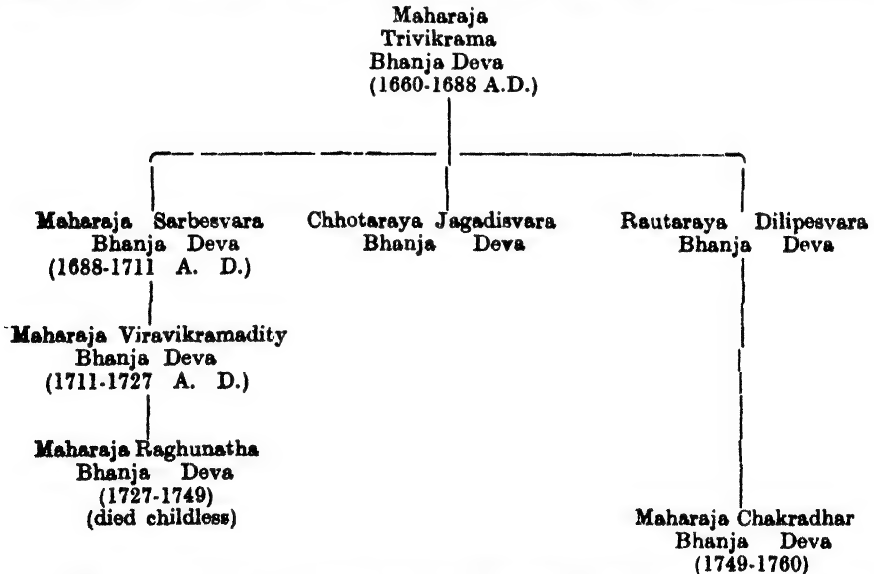
Bhanja, since Chakradhar written in Persian can easily be misread Jagardhar.[13] "

Dr. K. K. Dutta has also adopted the rendering of 'Jagadisvara Bhanja'[14] quoting authority of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* and Yusuf, but Riyas-us-Salatin contains 'Jagat Isar' and I have not verified the text of Yusuf.

The Sanskrit rendering of 'Jagat Isar' of the Persian text would be either Jagadisvara or Jagatesvara and so also 'Jagardhar' according to Mr. Banerjee's suggestion, would be Chakradhar or Chakradhara. Maulavi Abdus Salam has suggested the identification of 'Chapra' with 'jobra'[15] and similarly 'Jagardhar' would be Chakradhar. Thus we find that the names of Chakradhara, Jagatesvara or Jagadisvara are expected to be found in the genealogical table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj in 1741 and 1742 A.D.

Now let us see how the Oriya records from Mayurbhanj help us in correctly identifying the persons found from the Persian sources.

According to *Vansanucharita* of Mayurbhanj House the following genealogical table furnishes us with the names of the rulers from 1660 to 1760 A.D.



In *Vansanucharita* it is recorded that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva succeeded his father while he was a baby of 6 months old on the 18th of Vaisakha in 1134 Amli Sal. He married the daughter of Maharaja of Sambalpur and on his way back the Mahrattas appeared in Orissa. But no reference to the war with Alivardi Khan is found in Vansanucharita. It is found in Gladwin's 'Narrative' and in Riyaz-us-Salatin that the merry-making was going on at Hariharpur, the capital of the State, when Alivardi Khan arrived there and it may be supposed that Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja was married in Phalgun (February and March) of 1742 A.D. when he was only 15 years old and he died at the age of 23 on the 1st day of Vichha (November and December) in 1157 Amli or 1749 A.D. As he was minor almost throughout his short career, it seems that the administration of the State was conducted

[13] *Ibid*, p. 78. Footnote 4.
[14] *Alivardi and his times*, p. 54.
[15] *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 334, note 1.

by his grand-uncle Jagatesvar Bhanja and uncle Chakradhar Bhanja who sides with Rustam Jang and Mirza Baqar supporting the cause of righteousness. It may be supposed that the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* took them to be rulers of Mayurbhanj and described as such in his work.

There are 9 Sanads granted by Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja now preserved in the Museum at Baripada and they furnish us with Amli year 1137 (Anka 5), 1144 (Anka 13), 1146 (Anka 15), 1148, 1150 (Anka 21), 1151 (Anka 22) and Anka 25.

Out of these the Khiching Sanad of the Amli year 1151 and Anka year 22, is important as it discloses the fact that the landed property of Jagatesvara Bhanja was granted to the Thakurni of Khiching who is the patron deity of the ruling House of Mayurbhanj. So it may be concluded that Jagatesvara Bhanja Deva was assassinated by Alivardi Khan.

The seal of the Sanad of which a photograph is enclosed herewith bears a peacock facing to the left with an inscription in Devanagiri—" Srimat Viravikramaditya Suta Sri Raghunatha nripa " The signature 'Radhakrishna' in Devanagiri is also met with in the Sanad.

Text of the Sanad.

L. 1. Śri Jagannátha Śarana Śri Khichingesvarí charaṇe śaraṇa
L. 2. Śrimat Śri Raghunátha Bhanja Deva Mahárájánkara
L. 3. Dasupurapidhara Saradára Adhikárí Mahápátra Páncha-
L. 4. náekaku maidha lekha / 22 anka sana 1151 sala Dhanu di24
L. 5. nara /E nimante agyáṅ deluṅ/Adipura vije Śri Śri Śri Thákuráinka
L. 6. devotraku Śri Jagatesvara Bhanja gosáiṁvává
L. 7. anka chhádi delá Sukuruli gám khanjá kari diá yái-
L. 8. thilá/Ethaku e dine ehánka jágri tale e gáṁ khanjá
L. 9. kari diá jiváre e pratibadalaku savika sadávra-
L. 10. ta khanja Kerekera gaṁ sae dasa ta 110 anka e de-
L. 11. votraku khanja kari diá galá./E gáṁ áesimánta
L. 12. gachha-máchha upuripaepanchaka vávasaváva khandakha-
L. 13. ndiyana bháibhaga muáli ogera khanja galá/E
L. 14. hirupe e gaṁra seváku áe karàu thivá/ehi
L. 15. ágyán e gámpradhána parajáku/E Parichhá Govardhana
L. 16. Bhanja vávumka thåre ruju hoi e
L. 17. kara panchá sujhá-vujhá kariva/E pramána/E pramána.

English Translation.

(This is a sanad of) Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva who seeks protection from Jagannath and the feet of Khichingesvari, the Goddess of Khiching.

It is written to the Sardar, Adhikari, Mahapatra, Panchanayaka of the pir of Dasupur (Daspur), dated the 24th Dhanu (early January) of 1151 *Sal* (1744 A.D.), and the 22 anka year of the Prince. The order is issued to this

effect that the village Sukruli belonging to my grand-uncle Sri Jagatesvara Bhanja, was dedicated to the Thakurani present at Adipur, Khiching. This day the village is granted to her Jagiri (service tenure) and in return to this Rs. 110 of the village of Kerkera, formerly allotted for the purpose of Sadavrata (gift) is dedicated to her including the rights of the limits rents derived from the forest and fishery, other irregular cesses, rights of division, and brothers' share etc. In this way the rents and cesses will be realised for the purposes of the worship of Thakurani. This order is issued to the Pradhan (head man) and the tenants of the village to settle all these rents (kara) cesses (Pancha) with Govardhana Bhanja Babu, the Parichha (manager). This order is to be treated as authoritative.

(Notes on Revenue terms)

The terms Saradara, Adhikari, Mahapatra, Pancha-nayak, Ghadai and Gadamalika occur in the Sanads of Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja and Maharaja Jadunatha Bhanja. I am unable at present, to account for the proper use of these terms, but I suggest the following :—

Saradara.—It is a designation of the revenue officer in the division of a Pir. He collects the revenue from the Pradhans of the villages and deposits it in the State Treasury.

Adhikari.—This designation is given to a person having religious control over the people of the Pir.

Mahapatra.—This designation is given to a person having military powers in the Pir. He was the head of Paiks enjoying lands for their service.

Ghadai.—Possibly keeper of stores.

Gadamalika.—The person enjoying this designation was entrusted to the protection of the fort of the Pir.

In his ' Patna University Readership lecture 1931 ' entitled " Bihar and Orissa during the fall of the Mughal Empire " Sir J. N. Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., has discussed the historical value of works written by Persian authorities at pp. 6 to 12. According to his estimate *Sayal-ul-Mutakherin* " is the most important and detailed history of these eastern provinces. " He further writes " *Tarikh-i-Bangala* by Salimullah, written by order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764, and translation incompletely and incorrectly by Francis Gladwin under title of A *Narrative of the Transaction in Bengal* (*1788*) and *Riyaz-us-Salatin* has so independent value as it is a mere compilation. * * * Moreover *Riyaz* has incorporated the earlier accounts of Salimullah with only a few changes. The English version of Sayar and Salimullah are very unreliable ".

I have not been able to verify the quotations made in this paper with the original and so I had to depend on the English translation. Dr. K. K. Dutta also in his *Alivardi and his times* refer to another aunthor named Yusuf whom I have not consulted. It has been narrated by Ghulam Husain and Salimullah that Mayurbhanj country was " thoroughly plundered and sacked " after the flight of the ruler to the hills by the army of Alivardi Khan, but the author of *Riyaz* narrates at page 337 that Alivardi Khan subjugated the tract of Morbhanj and in the next page it is narrated by him that on receiving the news of the approach of Mahratta free-booters, Mahabat Jang (Alivardi) abandoned the pursuit of the Mayurbhanj Raja and went towards Bengal.

From this it is not safe to arrive at the conclusion that Alivardi Khan subdued the territory of Mayurbhanj and reduced it to submission as has been suggested by Dr. K. K. Dutta in his book at page 54. The evidence of ' submission ' on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj is found only in the account of *Riyaz* which is not entirely trustworthy. Alivardi Khan's expeditions to Orissā and subsequent Marhatta inroads in Bengal gave the rulers of Mayurbhanj an opportunity of occupying an unique position on the northern frontiers of Orissa which they maintained upto the British conques of Orissa in 1803.

Mirat-al-Haqaiq.[1]

[By Captain Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Sinh, D. Litt., LL.B.]

The Jaipur Akhbarats for the reigns of the successors of Aurangzib have only very recently been made available to us, and now they naturally take the first place among the primary sources for the history of the period. However, before that event the main sources of our information and study of these decades were the official or private histories, a few personal memoirs and some collections of private or official letters. But even the number of the Jaipur Akhbarats for each year begins to be less and less from the fifth year of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, and the Jaipur collection abruptly ends with the deposition of that monarch, there being just a few Akhbarats in the Jaipur State archives for the fifth, ninth and the fifteenth years of Muhammad Shah's reign.

In my search for the primary sources for the history of the momentous years that followed the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, I came across the description of a Persian Ms. in the Bodleian Library, which is spoken of as "a very large and valuable collection of historical deeds, documents and statistical registers of the revenues and expenses of the Indian Empire, especially for the years 1719-1727, in a strict chronological order". I got the entire Ms. microfilmed, and now these micro-films have been printed off as well. A full and thorough examination of the Ms. makes it clear that this work is of first rate importance, and should easily take its place among the primary sources for the history of the period it covers.

Other contents of the Ms.—The manuscript containing this important historical work runs into 489 folios. Some leaves are missing at the end. The writing is very large and distinct nastaliq, and the Ms. has been copied by more than one hand. In the centre column is written the main historical work "*Mirāt-al-Haqāiq*", which is the subject of this paper, while in the margins all around there is copied quite a different work. Two different works cover between them the margin of the entire Ms. The first is a collection of miscellanies, which runs from ff. 1 to 406*a*, the important details of which are given by Sachau and Ethe under No. 1239 of the Catalogue (Vol. I, pp. 753-756). The second one is an incomplete copy of "*Latāif-al-Tawāif*", which runs from fol. 406*b* to the end. The details of this incomplete work are given under No. 457 of the Catalogue (Vol. I, P./430). Both of these works, copied in the margin, have no historical value, and hence do not require any further attention in the course of this paper.

"*Mirāt-al-Haqāiq*" *and its contents.*—"*Mirāt-al-Haqāiq*" which is the subject of this paper, was compiled by Aitmād Ali Khan. After he had completed the work, he asked one Hāfiz Muhammad Husain, who was leading a life of obscurity to write a preface to this work saying, "you write a *dibāchā* to this book so that your name will be associated with it and will thus become known to others". Thus in 1725-26 (1138 A. H.) Hāfiz Muhammad Husain wrote the *dibāchā* and entitled it "*Safāi-Aina*".

[1]Bodleian Library, Oxford, Persian Ms. Fraser No. 124. Sachau and Ethe's Catalogue, Vol. I, No. 257, p. 136.

The main work by Aitmād Ali Khan is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part, which runs from f. 49*a* to f. 128*a*, comprises a short history of India running from Babar down to the year 1718, and other miscellaneous information. The account of the Emperors is very scrappy and is very often limited to the dates of their accession and of their death. With the reign of Aurangzib the account begins to be a bit more detailed. Hāfiz Muhammad Khan writes in his *dibāchā*, " From the time of Aurangzib to that of Muhammad Shah in all eight Emperors ascended the throne of Delhi. Aitmād Ali Khan was an eye-witness of many happenings, while many others were reported to him ; the details of all of these were collected by him, and have been compiled in the form of a book ".

After carrying down the history to the year 1718, the author goes on to put down information and details of a good many things of historical, geographical and of biographical interest. He gives short sketches of his own career and those of some other nobles then in Gujrat. To make his work complete in itself, Aitmād Ali Khan has given the names of the subahs of Hindustan, details of the Imperial mansabs, list of the kings of Delhi, the distances between the various cities and towns of India, and many other matters of a similar nature. Apparently much of this has been taken by him from the previous histories like *Ain-i-Akbari*. But he has gone into the minutest details in all matters relating to Gujrat.

The second part of " *Mirāt-al-Haqāiq* " consists of the " *Roznāmchah* " which begins from f. 129*a* and goes on to the end of the Ms. It gives a daily register and statements. Usually there are daily entries, but in places the happenings of more than a day are grouped together. The entries are generally brief and do not run into more than two or three lines save in cases of important happenings. The events at the court of Delhi are reported regularly ; and the happenings in the distant provinces as reported at the court also find an occasional mention in the *Roznāmchah*. It is worth a note that in this *Roznāmchah* also the events and happenings in Gujrat are reported in full and many events of lesser importance have also been noted down. As such it is sure to be of great value in supplementing and correcting the history of Gujrat during these years as given in " *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* ".

The first entry in the *Roznāmchah* is of 18 Safar, 1130 A. H. (10 Jan. 1718). The author has not cared to give his reasons for beginning his *Roznāmchah* from this particular date. It goes down to 27 Jamadi-ul-awwal 1139 A. H. (9 Jan. 1727), when it ends abruptly as the last few pages are missing. Along with the date the author has given the year of the reign of the Emperor on the throne (*julusi Saneh*), but he has not been particular in correctly noting the beginning of a new *julusi Saneh* during the reign of Muhammad Shah. He has, however, given the Hijri year also along with the *julusi San* and hence there can be no doubt about the correct date of the entry made there-under. In places the dates given in the *Roznāmchah* differ slightly from the accepted ones. Dates of a few events as given in *dibāchā* also differ from those given in the *Roznāmchah*.

To give the readers an idea of the exact nature of the contents and the type of entries that are made in the *Roznamchah*, a full translation of the entries for Shawwal 1-12, *Saneh julusi* 7, 1137 A. H. (June 2-13, 1725), has been given as Appendix B to this paper.

Life-sketch of Aitmād Ali Khan.—Aitmād Ali Khan, the author of the work, was in the words of Hāfiz Muhammad Husain Khan, " for long in the

services of Emperor Alamgir Ghāzi, and one of the trusted and select officers of the Empire. He was very fond of writing the '*wāqiāts*'." When writing his short history of India given in the first part of "*Mirāt-al-Haqāiq*", the author has thrown a good deal of light on his own career, and on the basis of the details given there, his life-sketch can thus be reconstructed.

The author's father Aitmād Khan, also known as Mullā Tāhir, was once the Diwan of Ahmedabad.[1] In June-July, 1689, he was made the diwan and faujdar of the Surat port *vice* Salābat Khan. He enjoyed a mansab of 2-hazari *zāt*. He continued to hold his post in Surat till his death on Wednesday, March 4, 1696. He was noted for his honesty and Khafi Khan has mentioned an incident to illustrate the same. (M. A. 331 ; K. K. II, 380, 423.)

The author's original name was Muhammad Mohasin. In the 37th year of Aurangzib's reign he was appointed a clerk at the port of Cambay in place of Mir Muhammad Sādiq. Early in 1696, his father fell seriously ill at Surat, and when the fact was reported to the Emperor, the author was ordered to leave some one as his deputy (*nāib*) at Cambay, and himself to go down to Surat to act as deputy (*nāib*) to his father there. But his father did not recover from this illness, and on his death the author was appointed the Diwan of Ahmedabad (April, 1696). A year later he was transferred from there to Islāmpuri, the imperial base in the Deccan, was taken into the Imperial service, and was ordered to act as Diwan of Baharamand Khan's forces, and Bakhshi and *wāqiā-nawis* (news-writer) to Ruhullah Khan the Mir-Sāmān, Muhammad Amin Khan the Sadr, and Tarbiyat Khan the Mir Ātish.

In the 41st year of his reign, the Emperor granted the author the title of his father, *viz.*, Aitmād Khan, promoted him and ordered him to join duty with Prince Bedār Bakht, where he was to act as Prince's first Bakhshi, *wāqiā-nigār*, *siwānih-nigār*, darogha of artillery and darogha of muster, specially cavalry. After the fall of Panhala in May 1701, Aitmād Khan was appointed Bakhshi of the army which was sent under Bakhshi-ul-mulk Fatahullah Khan Bahadur to capture the forts of Nandgir and Chandan-Wandan. On his return from this expedition he was appointed Bakhshi of the forces of Prince Azam, who had recently been appointed Governor of Gujrat. But it appears that before long he was recalled to the Emperor's side. He was once deputed to receive and escort even the Bakhshi-ul-mulk to the Emperor's presence.

In the 47th year of Aurangzib's reign Aitmād Khan suffered a temporary reverse, and he was disgraced for reasons not recorded. He was then in Burhanpur, whence he was ordered to proceed to Cambay and take up the duties of the *mutsaddi* there in the place of Muhammad Qāsim. After one full year, however, the Emperor was pleased to admit that Aitmād Khan was innocent and once again restored him to favour. He was granted a promotion of 100 *zāt* and 100 horse over and above what he had originally enjoyed before his disgrace. From Cambay he was ordered to join his duties with Prince Azam, who was still in Gujrat, but before he could join, he received orders appointing him Diwan of the forces of Firuz Jang. He was granted a further promotion of 100 *zāt* and 40 horses. In the 49th year of Aurang-zib's reign, he was transferred to the army of Prince Bedar Bakht, where he

[1] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, Baroda ed. of text, i. 311 says "Muhammad Tahir, afterwards entitled Amānat Khan and later Itimād Khan, was made diwan of Gujrat ; his son Muhammad Muhasan Khan succeeded him. (Also see pp. 315, 333, etc.).

was appointed the first Bakhshī and *wāqiā-nawis* of the Prince. He joined the Prince in Ujjain (*c.* Sep. 1705).

With the accession of Bahadur Shah there began a period of rise and prosperity for Aitmād Khan. In the second year of his reign Aitmād Khan received various favours and grants from the Princes. Through Prince Jahan Shah he got further promotion, and now enjoyed a mansab of 1-hazari *zāt* and 800 horse. He was granted the faujdari of Baroda and Sānkherā. He also received 8 lakhs *dām* as reward. Through Prince Jahandar Shah he was granted the parganahs of Nadiād as jagir which yielded a land-revenue of Rs. 2,20,000. He was also appointed to the office of *chirā-bāf-Khānā* (scarf-weaving factory) under Prince Jahandar Shah. Ghaziuddin Firuz Jang entrusted him with the control of pargana Sāoli, which yielded an income of 2,10,000 *Mahmudi* coins. The management of parganah Bahādurpur was also entrusted to his care. It is not surprising that after this Atimād Khan appears to have assumed the title of 'Aitmād Ali Khan ', as he is now onwards referred to by that title.

Aitmād Ali Khan now yielded some influence with other officials of the province, and in the year 1122 A. H. (1709 A. D.) he successfully intervened and got released one Shah Khalil Darvish who had been arrested in Gujrat for having abused the Emperor and Ghaziuddin Firuz Jang, who was then the Governor of Gujrat. Finally, when Jahandar Shah ascended the throne he created him Mohasin Khan, and gave him the Bakhshigiri of the Surat port. No further details of his life are given in the first part of this work. A close study of the *Roznāmchah* would alone enable us to complete this life-sketch.

Conclusion.—So far as known no other copy of this work " *Mirāt-al-Haqāiq* " exists and this fact increases the importance of the Ms. all the more. A complete list of the main contents of the work has been given as Appendix A to this paper. So far as the *Roznāmchah* is concerned, it is not possible to give any more details than indicating the number of folios covered by each reign of Hijri year.

APPENDIX A.

Contents of " Mirāt-al-Haqāiq ".

1. *Dibāchā* entitled " Safāi-Aina " by Hafiz Muhammad Hussain	1a-48a.
(*a*) Alamgir	5b.
(*b*) Azam Shah	6b.
(*c*) Bahadur Shah	8a.
(*d*) Jahandar Shah	11a.
(*e*) Farrukhsiyar	13b.
(*f*) Rafi-ud-darajat	21a.
(*g*) Rafi-ud-daulah	22a.
(*h*) Muhammad Shah	23a.
2. History of India upto 1131 A. H. by Aitmad Ali Khan	49a-128a.
(*a*) Amir Timur and his five successors	49a.
(*b*) Babur	49a.
(*c*) Humayun	49b.
(*d*) Akbar	50a.

APPENDIX B.

Roznamchah for Shawwal 1—12, Saneh Julusi 7, 1137 A.H. (ff. 431b-342b). 341b).

Wednesday, Shawwal 1, Saneh Julusi, 1137 A.H. (June 2, 1725).

The Emperor went to Idgah in *pālki* by the Lahori gate and returned by the Ajmer gate riding an elephant. The big nobles and mansabdars congratulated the Emperor and after salutations submitted their presents.

Thursday, Shawwal 2, Saneh Julusi, 1137 A.H. (June 3, 1725).

The Emperor adjourned the public Durbar held in the Diwan. The petition of the Nizam-ul-mulk was submitted along with the *nisār*.

The petition of Jāfar Khan Nāsiri, the subahdar of Bengal, was submitted with the *nisār*.

Mukat Rāi, son of Jagjivandas Motmid-Khāni, was brought under arrest by Hāmid Khan from the port of Cambay.

Friday, Shawwal 3, Saneh Julusi, 1137 A.H. (June 4 1725).

The Emperor started for the hunt and gave away the animals killed there to the Amirs.

Nawab Hāmid Khan Bahadur is appointing Salābat Khan Ruhela as his deputy (*nāib*) and is delegating to him all the power regarding the subah ; it would be harmful for the ryot. Rakhel Das, the diwan of Jawānmard Khan is appointed the peshkar of Salābat Khan Ruhela ; he too will commit the excesses.

Saturday, Shawwal 4, Saneh Julusi 7, 1137 A.H. (June 5, 1725).

The Emperor held the public durbar in the Diwan. The elephants and horses were reviewed by him according to the usual practice.

Who-so-ever visits this city (?) enjoys the hospitality of Khan Wālāshān Samumul-makān Beglār Khan and Khan Wālāshān Teg Beg Khan, and the visitor is treated well by them hence all are pleased with them. Khan Wālāshān Teg Beg Khan gave the author (Aitmād Khan) a feast in his own garden and treated him like a brother. May the Almighty give him long life !

Sunday, Shawwal 5, Saneh Julusi 7, 1137 A.H. (June 6, 1725).

The Emperor visited the Bāgh-Hayāt Bakhsh.

Saiyyad Sādullah Khan received a farman saying " Khānahjād Khan has been Emperor's own man and he is entrusted with the duties of officer of the port of Surat and granted the faujdari of Baroda. Till he (Khānahjād Khan) reached there Sohrāb Khan be appointed his *nāib*. According to the wishes of the Emperor, Sohrāb Khan be asked that no excesses should be committed on the ryot." Saiyyad Sādullah Khan received the letter from Nawab Mubāriz-ul-mulk Sarbuland Khan, then at Delhi.

(f. 342a).

Monday, Shawwal 6, Saneh Julusi 7, 1137 A.H. (June 7, 1725).

The Emperor adjourned the public Durbar.

Nawab Hāmid Khan had appointed Zindā Ali Khan to the faujdari of Surat, and son of the late Uderām Khatri had given security for Zindā Ali before the Nawab. There was delay in collection and hence the surety was arrested ; when the later was harassed a good deal, he collected three thousand rupees and said, " Release me so that the remaining dues may also be collected." On this term he was released. But when he reached his home he took poison and died. The officers of the Nawab sent a guard to the house of the deceased with orders that the dead body be not permitted to be burnt till the remaining dues were not paid off. Per force the son of the deceased had to present himself (before the officers) ; immediately he was taken in custody and orders were issued that the dead body be burnt.

TUESDAY, SHAWWAL 7, SANEH JULUSI 7, 1137 A.H. (JUNE 8, 1725).

The Emperor had his bath on his recovery from an attack of syphilis. The big nobles and the mansabdars presented *peshkash* and the *nisār.*

WEDNESDAY, SHAWWAL 8, SANEH JULUSI 7, 1137 A.H. (JUNE 9, 1725).

The Emperor adjourned the public durbar. Nawab Nizam-ul-mulk's letter was received by Saiyyad Sādullah Khan.

Āqā Sādiq wrote from Morchāl Burz Rustam—— " The *ghanim* (Marathas) have gone away and have reached Gopi *talāu* in the same faujdari."

THURSDAY, SHAWWAL 9, SANEH JULUSI 7, 1137 A.H. (JUNE 10, 1725).

The Emperor held the public durbar. Fakhruddin Ali Khan was sent out of Surā. (?). He stayed at Rāner for one month and 26 days and when he committed atrocities there, he was driven out from that place too. The Khan went away towards Bharoch.

FRIDAY, SHAWWAL 10, SANEH JULUSI, 1137 A.H. (JUNE 11, 1725).

The Emperor started for the prayers (*namāz*). Nawab Nizam-ul-mulk appointed Saiyyad Beg Khan to the *faujdāri* and *amini* of Jamusār and Makbulābād known as Amu.. Hence Rājā Rām, the agent of the Khan, came down from Ahmedabad to Surat.

SATURDAY, SHAWWAL 11, SANEH JULUSI 7, 1137 A.H. (JUNE 12, 1725).

The Emperor held the public durbar in the Diwan-i-Ām. According to the usual routine the elephants and the horses were reviewed by him.

(f. 342b).

Nawab Hāmid Khan Bahadur, the uncle of Nizam-ul-mulk, said to Safdar Khan Bāqi, " When I went to fight against Rustam Ali Khan, I had left my precious stones and other goods with you. Where are all those things now ? Kishor Dās, your diwan, is also absent ; I have got to settle the state accounts with him." Safdar Khan replied, " Where-ever the precious stones and other goods be, and wherever Kishor Dās might have gone, they will be brought before you." The Nawab then gave Safdar Khan the betel-leaf (*pān*)) and said, " Eat it ". No sooner Safdar Khan ate it his condition became bad. He took leave of the Nawab and as soon as he reached his house he died.

SUNDAY, SHAWWAL 12, SANEH JULUSI 7, 1137 A.H. (13 JUNE, 1725).

The Emperor adjourned the public durbar. Mukat Rām Khatri had been appointed the faujdar of Baroda by Hāmid Khan. He had a quarrel with the son of Kanthā [Kadam?] regarding some money dues. About 150 men from both sides were killed. Mukat Rām got hold of an elephant and 5 guns. The son of Kanthā [Kadam?] went away towards Godhrā ; and now he claims the elephant etc., from Mukat Rām. Let it be seen what happens now.

The Rebellion of the Madura Renters (1755-64).

(By Mr. K. R. Venkata Rama Aiyyar, B.A., L.T.)

Only second in importance to the campaigns of the 18th century, that secured for the English supremacy in South India, and broke up the power of the French, the Marathas and Hyder and Tipu of Mysore, were those that the Madras Government had to conduct against the refractory governors and poligars, who taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority at Trichinopoly and the military preoccupations of the Nawwāb of the Carnatic created in the far-south of the country a condition of affairs bordering on anarchy. Books on the modern period of Indian history, including the Cambridge History of India, make but a passing reference to these insurrections, and for a fuller account one has to delve into the pages of Orme's *History of Indostan*, Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, Nelson's *Madura Country*, or Hill's *Yusufkhan—the Rebel Commandant*, none of which, however, gives a comprehensive picture set against the proper political back-ground. This is particularly true of the rebellion of the Madura Renters. We miss in these accounts a proper appreciation of the part played by the Toṇḍaimān Rulers of Pudukkōṭṭai whose participation in the military campaigns of the Company's armies and those of the Nawwāb was as spontaneous and whole-hearted as it was efficient. The following is a brief narrative based on the Madras records, the Persian record known as *Tūzak-i-Wálájáhi* and the Pudukkōṭṭai Palace records.

The First Expedition under Heron.

By 1754 Muhammad 'Ali, the Nawwāb of the Carnatic had been placed in secure possession of Trichinopoly. His next task was to subdue the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly which lately had been in the hands of 'Alam Khān, an adherent of Chanda Sāheb, and after his death was under his partisans headed by Muhi-u'd-Din Miān.[1] The Nawwāb applied to the English for help, the Madras Government despatched in February 1755 Colonel Heron to subdue the refractory poligars, as well as " to collect the rents due to the Nawwāb, and to discharge part of Muhammad 'Ali's heavy debt to the company."[2] They also expected that the realisation of tribute would enable the Nawwāb to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the French wars of 1751-54. The Nawwāb sent his elder brother Maḥfūz Khān who had expressed a desire to occupy Madura and Tinnevelly " in accordance with the practice observed during the days of his father."[3] Heron's army included 1,000 sepoys, and Maḥfūz brought into the field a thousand horse. A force sent by the Toṇḍaimān of Pudukkōṭṭai joined Heron at Manapárai, helped him in subduing Lakki Nāyak, the Poligar of Kumaravāḍi, who obstructed the passage of troops, and marched with the Company's and the Nawwāb's soldiers to Madura.[4] Heron went beyond the terms of his commission and made an

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[1] Orme spells the word *Moodemiah.* Caldwell has suggested the correct spelling.

[2] *Vestiges of Old Madras,* Vol. II.

[3] *Tūzak-i-Wálájáhi.*

[4] *Tondáimán Vijayamu* and Pudukkōttai Palace Records : *Tondaimán letters* (George Pigot to the Tondaimán, dated 1169 A. H.)

alliance with the Sētupati of Ramnad which was much resented by the Toṇḍaimān and the Rāja of Tanjore, who were not then on friendly terms with the Sētupati. Governor Pigot who was anxious not to give offence to his allies refused to ratify the alliance. The Nawwāb issued a *sanad*[5] appointing Maḥfūz Khān, Renter of Madura and Tinnevelly. The Madras Government were not satisfied with the way Heron prosecuted his task, charged him with breach of orders and misappropriation of funds, and recalled him.[6] Misfortune dogged Heron's steps on his way back to Madras. He was attacked by the Kaḷḷars in the densely wooded pass of Nattam, between Madura and Trichinopoly ; he lost all his baggage, and most of his stores, and the detachment would have suffered more severely had it not been for the skill and energy of Captain Joseph Smith commanding the rear guard.[7]

Maḥfūz at Madura : His insurrection.

Maḥfūz Khān's administration proved a failure. The Poligars did not pay their tributes. Those of Pānjālamkuṛicci and Eṭṭayāpuram, who had given hostages to Heron for the regular payment of tribute, were perhaps the only exception. The adherents of 'Alam Khān organized a confederacy against the Renter. Disturbances broke out in Tinnevelly. The Governor despatched a force under Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān who had distinguished himself as a commandant of the sepoy army in the service of the Company. Yūsuf Khān marched through Pudukkōṭṭai with the two-fold object of taking with him a Kaḷḷar force[8] from that State for which the Governor had applied to the Toṇḍaimān (March 1756), and handing over to the Toṇḍaimān's custody the hostages given by the Poligars of Eṭṭayāpuram and Pānjālamkuricci. On reaching Tinnevelly, Yūsuf succeeded in reducing many of the Poligars to temporary submission. Shortly after, Mahfūz Khān left Tinnevelly with the professed intention of returning to Arcot, but on arriving at Madura his troops got out of control, tore down the Company's Colours, turned the three companies of English Sepoys, which composed the garrison, out of the Fort, and finally proclaimed Maḥfūz Khān governor of the two provinces.[9] There is strong reason to believe that these proceedings had the " concurrence of Maḥfūz Khān ". The English acted promptly, got from the Nawwāb an assignment of the right to collect rent from these provinces for a period of three years, and appointed a certain Tetārappa Mudali Renter of Madura superseding Maḥfūz Khān. In January 1757 Captain Caillaud, one of the ablest of the Company's officers, marched to Madura to help the Mudali to take possession of the province, and he was joined at Annavāśal in the Pudukkōṭṭai State by " 1,000 of the Toṇḍaimān's horse and 100 of his Kaḷḷars."[10] Caillaud was not able to render much help to Tetārappa and Yūsuf Khān. His two attempts to storm the fort of Madura failed, but he succeeded in entering the town by concluding a secret negotiation with the Jama'dārs of Maḥfūz Khān promising to discharge the arrears of pay due to the garrison amounting in all to Rs. 1,70,000.

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[5] *Tūzak-i-Walājāhi*

[6] *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, Heron was later tried by court-martial and cashiered.

[7] *History of the Madras Army.* Vol. I.

[8] Governor Pigot's letter to the Tondaimān, dated 11th March 1756.

[9] *History of the Madras Army.* Vol. I.

[10] Orme : *History of Indostan.* Vol. II.

News of the outbreak of the great Seven Years War in Europe reached India early in 1757. Trichinopoly was in danger of an imminent attack by the French who were also operating in the Tanjore country. Madras itself was threatened. The Council at Madras recalled Caillaud and Yūsuf Khān, and put them in charge of important operations elsewhere. The Toṇḍaimān had to send his forces to Trichinopoly and Tanjore and later to the Chingleput District. Madura and Tinnevelly lapsed again into a state of anarchy, and the Government of Madras even thought of abandoning the two provinces to their fate. Maḥfūz Khān, in league with the Poligar Puli Tēvar and other powerful Zamīndārs, acted in open defiance of the Nawwāb's authority, strengthened the fort of Madura, sought the help of Hyder 'Ali Khān, who had then established an outpost at Dindigul, and also sent an emissary to Nizām 'Ali Khān to enlist his support. Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Ali, who was advancing towards Pondicherry, grew anxious at this turn of events. "A wire may suffice to block a fountain," he is reported to have observed, "but when it gushes forth, even a beam cannot; it is possible that the confusion may take root, and its suppression may become impossible". Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān offered to march to Madura and set things right there,[11]—an offer which the Nawwāb joyfully accepted. Prince 'Umdatu'l-Umarā, the heir to the throne of the Carnatic, collected a grand army composed of the forces of the Nawwāb, and those of the Toṇḍaimān and other Zamīndārs and sent it under the command of Yūsuf. Reaching Madura, Yūsuf "dug through the wall and subjugated the fort without bloodshed."[12] Jama'dār Raḥimān Khān of the Pudukkōṭṭai army distinguished himself in this operation.[13] Maḥfūz Khān, who heard of the fall of Madura, abandoned Palamcottah and Tinnevelly, and took shelter with Puli Tēvar in Nelkaṭṭumsēval, a safe retreat surrounded by jungle. Many of the insurgent Poligars including those of Vaḍagarai and Eṭṭayāpuram offered submission to Yūsuf Khān. Puli Tēvar alone held out to the last. The Toṇḍaimān soldiery cut down the forest and cleared a way through it. Yūsuf Khān succeeded in capturing Puli Tēvar and put him to death. Maḥfūz Khān was brought to Palamcottah and interned in the fort.[14] The Madras Governor realised that it would be impossible for Yūsuf Khān to restore peace in the south so long as Maḥfūz Khān remained there. Captain Clive wrote to the Toṇḍaimān to persuade Maḥfūz Khān to leave the Tinnevelly country and to take up his residence at Madura or at Pudukkōṭṭai pending the Nawwāb's final decision. The Toṇḍaimān carried out this delicate mission with considerable tact, and Maḥfūz Khān arrived at Pudukkōṭṭai. The Nawwāb generously pardoned Maḥfūz, and received him back at Trichinopoly with all marks of affection and honour.[15]

Yūsuf Khan turns rebel.

After the departure of Maḥfūz Khān, Yūsuf Khān succeeded in restoring order in the south. The Madras Government had high expectations that he would prove a capable administrator. The Madras council recommended

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[11] *Tūzak-i-Wálájáhi* Vol. II.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] See letter of Captain Clive to the Tondaimán, dated 1173 A.H., acknowledging the Tondaimán's services as follows:—"You (Tondaimán) make no distinction between your country and ours, and have treated us in the same invariable manner from the beginning. What need have I to write more about the assistance which has lately been afforded to us."

[14] *Tūzak-i-Wálájáhi*. Vol. II.

[15] *Ibid.*

to the Nawwāb "not to delay any longer to settle with Usoff Cawn for nine lacks of rupees which he represented to be the utmost he is able to allow for the rent of the Madura and Tinnevelly countrys" (1761). The Nawwāb thereupon appointed Yūsuf as his *ná'ib* to administer Madura and Tinnevelly. The consciousness of great military talents seems to have turned Yūsuf's head. He had before him the example of Hyder who rose from the rank of sepoy to the rulership of Mysore. He omitted to make payments of his rents to the Nawwāb. In July 1762 Captain Preston, commanding at Trichinopoly, brought to the notice of Government "that some of Mahomed Yusuf's emissaries had been detected in attempting to bribe the sepoys of the garrison (at Trichinopoly) to desert; that he had already about 6,000 sepoys and 300 horse all well-armed, and that he had purchased many thousand firelocks from the Dutch and Danes . . . ."[16] Yūsuf also raised additional troops in Tanjore, Ramnad and Śivaganga; and, in February 1763, hoisted the French Colours in his camp and in several forts in his possession, and finally strengthened the fort of Madura and closed the road to Trichinopoly.

The Nawwāb and the Company realised that the Khān's defection was assuming a dangerous character. The Nawwāb gathered his forces, divided them into two parts and sent one part to clear the road that had been blocked, while the other marched through Pudukkōṭṭai, where it was strengthened by the Toṇḍaimān soldiery under the command of Śardārs Sadāśiva Rāya and Aṇṇāvaiyar. Major Preston commanded the whole expedition. Yūsuf, who did not expect that he would have to fight such a vast army, tried to negotiate with Madras, but to no avail.[17] He realised the impossibility of opposing the English army in the open field, and withdrew into the fort of Madura repulsing the first attack of the English. Major Campbell, "knowing that almost the whole force in the Presidency was with him, did not consider it prudent to run the risk of another assault, and converted the siege into a blockade",[18] which lasted until October 1764. Major Preston [19] wrote urgently to the Toṇḍaimān urging him to go to Madura in person so that he might have the benefit of his counsel. The siege would have dragged on, but Yūsuf was treacherously betrayed by a certain Marchand, a French trooper in his service, and was hanged on 15th October, as a rebel, by order of the Nawwāb. The Toṇḍaimān's forces remained at Madura for one more year helping Major Campbell to round up Yūsuf Khān's men and bring them to submission.

The seriousness of these two rebellions will be apparent if we consider the political condition of South India at the time. The Nawwāb's authority at his capital, Trichinopoly, had to be maintained by the strength of British bayonets; the French and the Mysore army were frequently threatening to march on the city; the Rāja of Tanjore was but a lukewarm ally; the second phase of the great struggle which the French undertook to wrest power from the English had begun, and Hyder 'Ali Khān was becoming formidable in Mysore. When Madras was threatened by the French, the English Government recalled Caillaud and Yūsuf from Madura, and the Council even thought of leaving the south to its fate. They thought with apparent justification that "the branches ought to be sacrificed to save the root at which the French

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[16] *History of the Madras Army.* Vol. I.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Major Preston, the officer commanding, was killed in action at Madura, and Charles Campbell, the senior officer, took command.

were striking". If this counsel had prevailed, the hands of the poligars would have been strengthened and they would have leagued together; the pacification of the country would not have been easy; and it would not have been possible for the Marquess of Wellesly to annex the Carnatic as peacefully as he did in 1801.

The extent of military help that the Toṇḍaimān afforded the Nawwāb and the English, great as it was—alike in the number of men he put into the field and in the success of the strategic moves he helped to plan and carry out—was not the only contribution he made to the cause of his allies. His diplomacy was equally helpful. His aim was to prevent Ramnad and Sivaganga from actively participating in the affairs of Madura. When Heron negotiated an alliance with Ramnad in 1755 the Toṇḍaimān appealed to the Madras Government not to ratify it. He brought the Ruler of Śivagaṅga under his influence by lending him about two lakhs of *Chakrams.*[10] Captain Clive wrote to the Toṇḍaimān in 1761 as follows " . . . . as you are a friend to Maroovan (Sētupati of Ramnad) and Naloocottayan (Ruler of Sivagaṅga), you would desire them to afford every necessary assistance to the Tassildar who has been left at Tinnevelly by Mahomed Esoofkhan Behauder . . . ." What the astute Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān feared came to pass. Taking advantage of his friendship with Ramnad and Sivagaṅga Yūsuf Khān enlisted Maṛava soldiers for his army. In 1762 the Madras Government wrote to the Sētupati not to permit Yūsuf Khān to enlist men in his territory and to seize all Frenchmen and other soldiers and stores that might pass through his country to join the rebel. Partly by negotiation and partly by show of force, the Toṇḍaimān succeeded in enforcing the terms of the Governor's letter, with the result that the Sētupati not only withheld open help from the Khān, but the roads through his territory and through Śivagaṅga were kept safe for the passage of troops. The Madura campaigns afford a signal example of the loyalty of the Toṇḍaimāns who throughout their history identified the interests and security of their allies, the English, with their own.

Chief Authorities.

1. Lt.-Col. H. D. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras.* (The Indian Records Series) Volumes II and III (1913).

2. Col. Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*: Vol. I (1882).

3. Burhān Ibn Hasan: *Tūzak-i-Wālājahī.* Translated from the Persian by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar. (Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic—Madras University Islamic series—No. 4: 1939).

4. Pudukkōṭṭai Palace Records—including Letters (Persian and English) that passed between the Toṇḍaimāns and the Governors and other Officers of the East India Company—(*To be edited and published*).

Other Authorities referred to—

1. Orme: *History of Indostan.*

2. S. C. Hill: *Yusuf Khan—the Rebel Commandant.*

3. *Tondaiman Vijayamu*—A Telegu poem on the Origin and History of the Toṇḍaimān line of Rulers.

[10] Letter from the Toṇḍaimān, dated November 1759. A *chakram* was approximately 2½ rupees.

The Cannanore Incident, 1783-84.

[By Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).]

The Cannanore incident formed but an unimportant episode in the second Mysore War. The war was drawing to its close and peace pourparlers had already set in when Brigadier Norman Macleod took the fortress of Cannanore by assault, captured Junumma Bi, Valiya Tangal, head of the ruling family, and dictated to her a treaty which was subsequently disavowed by the Government of Bombay. It did not materially affect the peace negotiations, nor did it in any way create a diversion for the enemy but it incidentally raised a few questions which were not altogether without political or constitutional significance.

It is not proposed to go into the origin of the Cannanore family. It is immaterial for our purposes whether the founder of the house was a Nayar convert or a Mappilla or Moplah of Indo-Arabic descent. Suffice it to say that the "Ali Rajas" or the sea kings of Cannanore were originally in the service of the Kolattiri Raja. They gradually improved their position and ultimately asserted their independence but had to revise their ambitious policy when Haidar rose to power. The suzerainty of the feeble Kolattiri prince could be renounced with impunity but the growing power of Haidar could neither be defied nor ignored and the ruling Ali Raja deemed it prudent to accept the office of the High Admiral while his brother became "Intendant of the marine, of the ports and of the maritime commerce of Hyder Ali's dominions." It is needless to add that the Ali Raja of the day was not on the best of terms with his English neighbours of Tellicherry. The subordinate alliance into which he entered with Haidar proved of mutual advantage to the contracting parties. Haidar stood in need of a strong fighting fleet and the armed vessels of the Cannanore Chief provided a convenient nucleus for the projected navy. Assured of the support of Haidar the new High Admiral sought fresh fields of adventure across the sea and conquered and annexed the Malldives despite the disapproval of the Tellicherry factors. In 1776 Janumma Bi, better known as the Ali Raja Bibi or the Queen of Cannanore, succeeded to the fortunes of the family. She was not the first or the last lady to rule Cannanore. It would be surprising indeed if the rights of a woman to succeed to her ancestral state could be altogether denied on the strength of the Islamic laws in a country where the matriarchal order still held its own. That the Bibi should closely identify herself with the Mysorean cause like her immediate predecessor need not cause any surprise. Common faith furnished a bond which community of interest served to strengthen and the Bibi became a firm adherent of the Tiger of Seringapatam. The rest of the story may best be related in the words of General MacLeod.

MacLeod had waged the war without any reference to his immediate and ultimate superiors and had concluded a definitive treaty without their previous sanction. It was therefore necessary to explain under what provocations he was impelled to commit an aggression calculated to prejudice the peace talks then in progress. In a letter addressed to Lord Macartney on the 6th January, 1784, he gave the following account of the capture of Cannanore and its queen.

"For the beginning of November last, the storm which destroyed the *superb* proved fatal to three hundred men who were coming from the northward to join me at Tellicherry, two hundred of them were driven on shore near Mangalore, and notwithstanding the Cessation of arms, immediately made prisoners by Tippoo, I demanded, but in vain their restitution.

One hundred of these men were wrecked at this place, where the Queen immediately put them in irons, I demanded them, and was refused, I repeated my demands several times, and was answered by defiances, although the great interests of the Hon'ble Company might suspend their exertion against the principal foe, I saw no reason why she should submit to injuries and affronts from every little Tyrant on the Coast, I therefore prepared to march to this place, but not commence hostilities, if I could obtain restitution of my soldiers otherwise, tho' fired at from many forts and parties, we did not return it, till we arrived before the principal fortress, I then once more sent a flag of Truce, which had no more effect than the former, on which I breach'd the fort and stormed it, still there was no submission I was forced to attack their lines, which we were soon in a condition to master.

At last my object was attained, we found in the prisons, my hundred men, fettered, stripped and nearly starved.

The Queen now sued for mercy, which was given to her and her subjects in the most ample manner. I mention for the honour of the troops, that the inhabitants have not brought a single complaint, of a man being hurt, or a woman insulted.[1]"

An earlier account of the incident had of course been transmitted to Bombay. MacLeod naturally felt proud of his achievement. The campaign was brief, the casualty small and the result, according to his way of thinking extremely satisfactory. The campaign lasted only six days from the 9th to the 14th December 1783, but the actual fighting appeared to have taken place on the 13th and the 14th alone with a total casualty of 279 men and officers, 70 of whom were killed, 201 wounded and 8 missing.

We need not reproduce here the text of the Kaul or agreement into which MacLeod had, without any valid authority, entered with the captive Bibi, as it has been printed in extenso by Logan.[2] The General was anxious to retain Cannanore for ever and pressed the advantages of his proposal on the President and Council of Bombay in a letter, dated the 29th December 1783.[3]

"There can be no doubt that the reduction of Cannanore is highly conducive to the interest of the Hon'ble Company, it has long been inconvenient to Tellicherry, it is one of the first fortresses in India and a fine pepper Settlement. If it is kept, the Queen will pay three Lacks per annum and the Company will have the purchase of the pepper, if it is given up, I have taken care to make it an easy conquest again, by the demolition of their Lines."

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[1]Secret Consultation, 13 May 1784, No. D.

[2]W. Logan, 'A collection of Treaties, Engagements, and other papers of importance relating to British affairs in Malabar' page 81.

[3]Secret Consultation, 13 May. 1784, No. B.

To Lord Macartney and the Madras Council he wrote: "This is the strongest fort I have seen in India excepting our own Capitals, it is much more valuable to us than Mangalore, because no enemy can stop between it and the Sea, I have agreed with the Queen that she shall pay an annual tribute to the Company, and give them the first offer annually of their pepper, now I must further acquaint you, my Lord and Gentlemen, that Tippoo claim this place as one of his dependencies[4]." MacLeod laid particular stress on the prospects of the pepper trade as business at Tellicherry was dull and the future of the factory was hanging in the balance.

The General expected that his conquest would be permanently retained despite Tipu's claims, for he was under the impression that the Mysore prince was on the brink of ruin and could not continue the fight on equal terms for any length of time without a grave risk to his power. He informed Warren Hastings:

"Tippoo is now in that situation, which would make a continuance of the War utter ruin to him. His finances are exhausted, his army is discontented, his Chief and men dissatisfied, his subjects rebellious. We never were so strong in Troops, nor so disengaged from Enemies the Marattas press him, a single Defeat would melt his army like a Snow Ball."[5] -

Although MacLeod was fully aware that "the affairs of the Company call loudly for Peace" he was definitely of opinion that the agents of the Madras Government were not likely to secure the most advantageous terms, and did not hesitate to communicate his views to the Governor-General.

The political activities of General MacLeod could not but be a source of anxiety and embarrassments to the Government of Bombay and they hastened to tell him as politely and as plainly as possible that in entering into a treaty with the Ali Raja Bibi the General had not only exceeded the bounds of his authority but outstepped the limits of his discretion as well. We read in a letter, dated the 12th January 1784.

"While we thus with great pleasure do justice to the army and at the same time embrace this opportunity of certifying the Higher opinion of the abilities of their gallant Commander in Chief, we cannot help being concerned at the precipitancy of your Political measures in attempting to make any Treaty whatever with your Captive Queen without having first had a reference to us for our consent and instructions. It is with astonishment we observe from your Orders to Colonel Gordon of the 23rd Ultimo that you look upon this agreement to be full and complete; and with equal surprise on a perusal of the copy of the Cowll transmitted with your late Dispatches, we find, no reservation for our Ratification or that of the Supreme Council, although it grants a protection which in the sense it bears in a public Treaty with an inferior Country Power even this Government have not authority to finally promise or contract for without the approbation of the Governor General and Council.

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[4] **Secret Consultation, 13 May, 1784, No. 1.**

[5] **Secret Consultation, 9th March 1784.**

Although it is very probable when we shall have time and leisure to come to some certain determination regarding this new Conquest, that our own ideas respecting the restoration of the Bibby may perhaps coincide with your sentiments. We think it necessary, and have unanimously resolved to disavow and annul the compact or agreement entered into with the Bibby of Cannonnore by you, without any authority in the first instance, to make either War or Peace in behalf of the Hon'ble Company. We shall in due time give to the Commissioners appointed to treat, with Tippo Saib, our full instructions respecting the future disposal of the person of the Bibby, her Forts and her Country; in the meantime we approve of the Orders left by you with Colonel Gordon expressed in the 3rd Paragraph as to her safety and the preservation of her Dominions.

It is with pain we find ourselves under an unavoidable necessity of thus disavowing any act of moment of our Commander in Chief on the Coast and more especially any act of General MacLeod's of whose zeal and abilities we have had such unequivocal testimonies and not withstanding we are firmly and invariably resolved not to admit any General of our Armies to act as you have done on this occasion more particularly when there does not appear to us to have been even the smallest political necessity for such a Precipitancy of measures, to convince you of our sincere wish to show you every mark of attention within the limits of our Duty. We have determined not to make their disavowal publick until after your now expected arrival on this Island and we have heard what you may have further to urge to us on this subject."[6]

Anxious as the Government of Bombay was not to discredit MacLeod in the public eye the open disavowal was not long in coming as we learn from a letter addressed six days later to Alexander Callander and Edward Ravenscroft.

"Since we begun these Instructions, we have received Dispatches from General MacLeod of the 28th and 29th Ultimo and to our astonishment find, that he has taken upon him to make a Treaty or agreement with the Bibby of Cannanore in behalf of the Hon'ble Company. On full consideration, we have on the 12th instant in Committee disavowed and annulled this compact, copy of the Cowll is enclosed for your notice. If Tippoo Saib had not claimed the Bibby as his Ally, or if he would still give her up, we make no doubt that she would renew the Treaty made with the General, and perhaps enter into still more advantagious terms for the Company to be again restored to her Dominions. However as we suppose from the tenor of his late letter that the Nabob will obstinately maintain his claim respecting Cannanore and as we are determined not to retard the great work of Peace on account of this new Conquest from the keeping of which we can see no real advantage can accrue to the Hon'ble Company we empower you to agree to restore the Bibby of Cannanore to her Country and Forts in the State and condition in which they may be then found on the same Day that you issue the order for the Surrender of Mangalore".[7]

[6]Secret Consultation, 9th March 1784, No. 9.

[7]Secret Consultation, 13th May, 1784, No. E.

The surmise of the Bombay Government proved correct. Tipu not only claimed the Bibi of Cannanore but many other princes of the Malabar coast as his subjects and she was specifically included in the first Article of the treaty of Mangalore while the fourth Article laid down the conditions under which Cannanore was to be restored to the queen.

"As soon as all the prisoners are released and delivered, the fort and district of Cannanore shall be evacuated and restored to Ali Rajah Biby, the Queen of that country, in the presence of any one person without troops, whom the Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahadoor may appoint for that purpose: and at the same time that the orders are given for the evacuation and delivery of the forts of Cannanore and Dindigul, the said Nawab shall give written orders for the evacuation and delivery of Amboorgur and Satgur to the English; and in the meantime none of the troops of the said Nawab shall be left in any part of the Carnatic except in the two forts above mentioned".[8]

MacLeod held that the capture of Cannanore did not constitute a breach of the armistice as Tipu had already renewed hostilities by attacking Sadashivgad. At any rate Colonel Fullarton had given the Mysore ruler greater provocation. But he certainly ignored the specific terms laid down by the fourth article of the treaty of Mangalore when he evacuated Cannanore and embarked his troops early in April without formally delivering the fort to an accredited agent of Tipu who naturally complained of bad faith. The General on this occasion had the full support of the Bombay Government who had to "break up their army" and withdraw them from Malabar for lack of funds. They further asserted that Tipu could not have any reason to complain as "In our President's congratulatory Letter to Tippoo Saib on the Peace, wherein our firm intentions of preserving it inviolate are explicity declared, our pointed instructions to our chief and Factors at Tillicherry not on any pretence to intermeddle between the Nabob and the Malabar Princes so expressly included in the Treaty as his allies, or to afford them or their Families public protection within the company's limits, and above all in removing the Army from the Coast, the Nabob must have the most convincing proofs of the sincerity of the intentions of this Government, and that we were resolved not to give him the shadow of a plea for any infraction of the treaty on his part, while we kept up to the spirit of it on ours"[9] To the Governor-General they vindicated themselves as well as their general in the following manner:—

"In a letter from Mr. Secretary Huddleston of the 16th Ulto we are given to understand that the evacuation of Cannanore without a Person being present deputed from the Nabob may be deemed by him a Violation of the Treaty and that the surrendering that Country may be weakening the Securities the Company were possessed of to compel a due execution on the part of the Nabob.

In reply we have acquainted the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George that the same unavoidable necessity, which compelled the breaking up of the army under General MacLeod forced us to evacuate Cannanore without the army being kept in force that Country

[8] Aitchison, Vol. IX. p. 230 (5th Edition).

[9] Secret Consultation, 27th July 1784, No. 21.

could not have been maintained, the first being impossible to us, in our circumstances, the last was equally beyond our force necessity the most urgent had obliged us to relinquish it even at the hazard of weakening in some small degree the securities for the due performance of the Treaty.

We have also urged that in our opinion this the strongest of all pleas must even vindicate our Conduct in this particular whatever may be the consequences resulting thereupon. We trust the Nabob himself will not complain of our having done too much notwithstanding a Person from him was not present which could have only been intended to have convinced him that his ally the Bibi was completely restored to Independence and of this the Nabob has had the fullest proof, in the withdrawing of our Troops from her Forts and Country.

Tippoo Sultan seems himself to be hitherto fully satisfied as far as we can judge from his answer to our President's congratulatory Letter dated since the evacuation of Cannanore."[10]

But the Sultan certainly did not take such a favourable view of the hasty evacuation of Cannanore. As Tipu wrote to the Chief of Tellicherry the Cannanore fort had been made "empty as a Jungul,, and then your troops went away. By this it is certain that the heart is not clean. What more is to write!"

It was really a change of heart that was urgently called for. But for mutual suspicion and distrust the Cannanore incident might not have taken place at all after the armistice had been actually concluded. Tipu was reluctant to let the English provision Mangalore by sea and the English were anxious to retain that place until all their countrymen had been released by the Sultan. General MacLeod would not have demolished any part of the Cannanore fort if he had not apprehended future hostilities with Mysore. But one point strikes us above everything else as we grope through contemporary records. Bombay was by 1783 completely reconciled to the subordinate position assigned to her by the Regulating Act. During the first Maratha war the Bombay authorities had more than once challenged, in deed if not in words, the newly constituted Supreme Government's right to interfere with their foreign policy and had treated all such intervention with ill concealed dislike, but in 1784 the Governor and Council told General MacLeod that they were not competent to commit the Company to peace or war and that power rested with the Governor-General and the Supreme Council. Whether MacLeod was justified in fighting the Bibi, whether the Bibi was right in detaining the shipwrecked soldiers, whether she was a Mysore subject in law and fact, are questions of purely academic interest to-day to which a simple and straight answer is not easy to find. Whatever may be the rights and the wrongs of the case it is characteristic of the times and it is on that account alone if not for any other reason that the Cannanore incident demands our notice and deserves a careful examination.

[10] Secret Consultation, 27th July 1784. No. 19.

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COMMENTS ON PAPERS.

The following are a few remarks received:—

1. (Paper No. 1) Jesuit Letters and accounts.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar referred to the unpublished letters and notes of Jesuit Fathers preserved at St. Mary's at Kurseong and listed in *J. B. & O. R. S.* recently, many of which deal with interesting aspects of Indo-Tibetan contact during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It seems probable that in the early days of Rammohun Ray there was frequent intercourse between different parts of Bengal (including Calcutta) and Tibet, through Buddhist as well as Christian monks or missionaries. Buddhist monks and monasteries were still there in Bengal at the close of the 18th century A.D., and it was after all not at all a strange thing that Rammohun should have gone to Tibet.

2. (Paper No. 5) Introduction of Tea-Plantation in India.

(a) Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya remarked that the paper was likely to produce an impression that tea was a recent introduction in India. He was sure that the author himself would agree that it would not be a correct inference to draw. As a matter of fact, there was very little doubt from historical evidence that tea had been cultivated for at least several hundred years in Upper Burma and the Shan States. In fact, there was evidence that tea was indigenous to India and there is at least one historical authority for the statement that tea was introduced from India into Japan by an Indian prince. The indigenous use of tea in India was more as a vegetable than as a beverage. The Assamese and Burmese used pickled tea-leaves to add relish to their diet The first reference to tea drinking in India was contained in the "Travels" of a European traveller who writing in 1662 talks of tea being used as a common beverage when people met together socially. The author was certainly right in attributing to Lord Bentinck the first serious attempt to take up tea as a plant for systematic cultivation in India.

(b) Dr. M. A. Chaghtai remarked that Ali Mardan Khan had come to India in 1638 A.D. from Qandhar at the court of Shah Jahn and he used to entertain friends at a Coffee party. Particularly Aurangzeb has mentioned one incident about Coffee in one of his letters addressed to his son, in which he says 'My dear son, it is said that on the day of Chauki, Ali Mardan Khan Abu Saeed and Kilich Khan used to first offer the soldiers Coffee; then at the time of breakfast they used to serve them breakfast; at the time of dinner and at the time of departure perfumes and pans' (*Vide Letters of Aurangzeb* by J. H. Billimoria, LV, p. 57).

And also Mandalslo has specially mentioned in the course of his travels of the use of 'tea' during the same year 1638 which he took twice or thrice a day as an important contributory factor in the recovery of his health.

(c) Dr. S. C. Sarkar said that it is a mistake to regard Tea as first produced or introduced as an article of consumption or trade by the E. I. Company in early 19th century, just as it is equally wrong to regard the production and manufactures of Jute in the same way.—Jute industry and manufacture being traceable right up to the Vedic Age. The subject of Tea requires more of research study, but on the spur of the moment a few references might be indicated to show the antiquity of Tea in India.

Thus it is known that Tea was used in pre-British Muslim aristocratic circles, and such references might be collected. The speaker's maternal grandfather, born in 1837, told him that in his early boyhood, C. 1845, his elders (who were big Zemindars in Bikrampur, East Bengal) on festive occasions delighted the children of the family by allowing them to have a cup of tea (green tea, from porcelain or China ware), and that the family tea-set had come down from a previous generation. Going back to much earlier times, every student of Sino-Japanese ancient culture knows that an Indian Buddhist Missionary from Bengal, Bodhidharma, who flourished in the Gupta period, introduced the Tea-drinking Ceremonial in the Chinese Buddhist monasteries whence it spread to the Japanese monasteries, and that Canton monastery was the first to be initiated in tea-drinking after the Indian manner. Even to this day, the orthodox Primers teaching the Tea ceremonial in China are stated to be re-statements of the original ritual prescribed by Bodhidharma in the same words. Some scholars date Bodhidharma in C. 527 A.D., but he may be much earlier. Wilhelm in his History of Chinese Civilization states that according to the standard Chinese histories tea first came to be known (as distinct from being adopted in the monasteries as a ritual) in the period 317-420, A D.—The 'Periplus' (1st cent. A.D.) has it that a wild, short-bodied, broad-headed, flat-nosed tribe descended annually from the hills to the north of Gangetic ports down to the plains together with their women carrying in mat baskets a variety of plucked leaves, which people used in preparing a favourite decoction,—evidently Tea In short, modern writers on Economic History of India do India a good deal of injustice by sweeping generalisations and statements about Indian produces, manufactures and trade, which are not historically warranted. It is of course known to the botanists that the natural habitat of Tea is the Assam Hills, not China, and introduction of Tea through N. E. routes is quite easy.

(d) Dr. S. N. Sen observed that he was not familiar with the Chinese or Tibetan records on the subject but the English records on which the author relies are to be found in the Imperial Record Department also. According to these records indigenous tea plants were discovered by Bruce in Assam and one of the conditions on which Raja Purandar Singh offered Garo Hill to the Government was that they should undertake to train his subjects in cultivation and preparation of tea Tea plants and seeds were later obtained from China for nurseries in India and investigations were carried on by Dr. Griffith and Dr Wallich in Assam and Burma. It is therefore possible that when Bruce discovered tea plants in Assam all knowledge about its cultivation and use had been lost in the locality, otherwise the condition associated with Raja Purandar Singh's offer becomes inexplicable and meaningless.

3. (Paper No. 10) Had the Mayor's Courts (established in India by the Royal Charter of 24th Sept. 1726) any criminal Jurisdiction?

(a) Professor M. L. Roychaudhury remarked that the learned professor propounded that the Mayor's Courts, as the clauses of the Charter pointed out, had no criminal jurisdiction. Though the Charter did not extend its jurisdiction to Criminal cases, yet the Mayor's Court actually assumed

Criminal jurisdiction beyond the terms of the Charter. A list of such cases which were decided by Mayor's Courts may be found in the Records Office of New Delhi after 1772 A.D.

(b) Dr. S. C. Sarkar said. "Whatever may be the conclusion from the 1726 document, Mayoral Courts were there in India before 1726 from the latter part of 17th century, and instances of exercise by them of some kind of criminal jurisdiction are also not rare. The actual practice for about 7 decades should also be scrutinised.

4. (Paper No. 20) The Kanungo in the North Western Provinces (1801-1833).

(a) Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya pointed out an interesting fact that while the author complained of the salary of Rs. 25 paid to the Kanungo in 1803-1811 as very low, the salary of a corresponding official in the Madras Presidency till about twenty years ago was Rs. 35 to 40 Compared with the purchasing power of the rupee in the early years of the nineteenth century this salary was perhaps less than half of what was paid by the Government of the North Western Provinces 120 years earlier.

(b) Dr. S. C. Sarkar pointed out that the institution of Kanungo corresponded to the Ancient Indian revenue and village office of the 'Gopa' as detailed in Kautilya; the office had naturally gradually declined, but the Government of Sher Shah had a strongly indigenous national character, and the Kanungo's post was revived then. During later Mughal period, owing to the growth of revenue farming and of 'Zamindars', the office became less important, and with the E. I. C. carrying the new factors of later Mughal period to their logical end and introducing other revenue systems, the rationale of the Kanungo institution disappeared, and so its maintenance became a burden on Government revenues The main, reason for the decay of the Kanungoes is not the unwillingness of the early British Government to pay them adequately, but they declined because the Old Indian village polity was destroyed and a new revenue system wherein the individual ryot and the village as a community had no part came into existence —A full study of Kanungoes (16th to 19th cent.) would be a most welcome addition to our historical knowledge.

(c) Dr K K. Datta pointed out that official corruption was one of the grave problems in the early days of the East India Company's Administration in India, and that British statesmen like Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and others, had to adopt various measures for its solution, which was not, however, successfully accomplished. Low salary of the officers, entrusted with responsible duties, was one of the causes of this corruption which told heavily on the interests of the people and badly affected the system of administration. He referred to the letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated the 14th August, 1787, describing the corrupt practices of the Collectors. "I am sorry to say", wrote Lord Cornwallis, "that I have every reason to believe that at present almost all the Collectors are, under the name of some relation or friend, and by their influence as Collectors and Judges of Adalat become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest".

(d) Principal K. P. Mitra answered a query to the effect that the office of the Kanungo in the 18th and (early) 19th centuries was more important and onerous (*cf.* Ramsbotham's *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*) than that of the officer of the same name today.

5. (Paper No. 22) Was Band a Sikh Guru?

Dr. S. C. Sarkar remarked that Banda is not regarded as a Guru by any scholar in history, though one or two Matriculation texts or notes may have said so. 'Banda' means pupil or follower or 'chela', 'sisya'-'Sikh', following a 'Guru' or 'Murshid'; Murshid-Banda or Guru-Banda are religious terms always in juxtaposition. Since there was no 'Guru' after the 10th, how could a leading Sikh call himself except by the title of Banda or 'the' disciple of the Gurus?

Dr. S. N. Sen observed that the historical value of the document cannot be properly assessed until its date is ascertained.

6. (Paper No. 24) Some Tibetan References to Muslim Advance into Bihar and Bengal and the state of Budhism thereafter.

(a) Dr. R. C. Majumdar said that Dr. S. C. Sarkar attempted to prove that the Tibetan chronicle Pag-Sam-Jon-Zung supplied some historical information regarding the History of Bengal towards the latter part of the Hindu period. The chronicle was written in the 17th Century A.D. and it is not known whether the author had any reliable material to go upon; but so far as can be judged from the contents of the book, it cannot be regarded as of much historical value, for, even on such important matters as the genealogy of the Pala Kings, he has made hopeless confusion, and almost every historical matter contained in the book which can be checked by positive evidence is proved to be false. In view of this, it is difficult to accept the statements contained in the book as true unless they are corroborated by other evidence. Of course we must not altogether ignore these statements, but we must not, on the other hand, regard them as of much historical value at the present moment.

(b) Principal K. P. Mitra made the following remarks:—

Dr. Sarkar bases his conclusions on the *Bhadrakalpadruma* (Dpag. bsm. ljon. bzan) of Sum. pa. mkhan. po ye. ses. dpal. hbyor. and seems to have entire confidence in the "historically reliable character of the information" found in the book.

In the translation occurs the following passage—"The cause thereof was this that since the beginning (or the first) of the Senas even in Magadha, Tirthikas, Mlecchas and Tajiks became increased to more; in particular, during the time of King Lavan-Sena, several Bhiksus becoming messengers caused the king of the Turuskas named "Moon"............ to bring their armies to Magadh............".

In his note No. 8 Dr. Sarkar identifies Lavan-Sena (of the text) with Laksmana-Sena, and thinks, that 'Lavan' is a misprint of 'Lakhan' in Tibetan. He then says that Lava (the first Sena King of 4 Sena Kings of some Tibetan lists) "is obviously the same" as "Lavan in the present text".

His assumption of misprint of *Lavan* (in Jnana-Sri) for *Lakhan* is considerably weakened by the fact (1) that Lavasena is the first name in the list of Taranath (*vide* V. Smith's *E. H. I.* quoting Schiefner pp. 252-7). Did Taranath also make the mistake? (2) How can he derive Lau-Sen from Lakhan as he already derives it from Lavan (— Lavasena)?

He conjectures that Lava is the original of the 'Lau-Sen' of vernacular traditions. Further, Lavan-Sena (—Lakhan) was the minister of the last Pala king whom he supplanted, and usurped the throne.

All this (including note no. 48 about Pala kings) runs counter to our present-day knowledge about the Pala and Sena kings based upon epigraphical and other evidence.

Mention of Lau-Sen is made in the Dharma-mangala literature in Bengali (*e.g.*, of Mayurabhatta, Ghanarama Chakravarti, Manik Ram Ganguli and others). Dr. Sukumar Sen doubts the historicity of Lausen and considers the "exploits of Lausen" as mere mediaeval folktale. No suspicion has hitherto been entertained that *Lau-Sen* was by any chance Lavan-Sena *alias* Lakhan-Sena.

In his note no. 4 Dr. Sarkar says that "this is the first and the only historical cause of the destruction of the monasteric Universities of Magadha .....".

What struck me first was that the Buddhist monks should have brought destruction upon themselves and their monasteries by serving as messengers of king Lakhan-Sena, and though morally depraved (as evident from such literature as the *Tathagata guhya-samaja*) should have been impervious to the primary instinct of self-preservation (note no. 9). This point needs careful examination.

In note 29 Dr. Sarkar thinks that Ca.ga.la.ra.ja must be either Raja Ganes'a or his son Jayamalla whose Islamic name was Jalal. He has treated Ganesa and Jayamalla both to apparently violent philological distortions to conform to ca.ga.la.

Information about the imprisonment and death of Lha.bla.ma.ye.ses. hod is to be found in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* by A. H. Francke.

There are in Tibetan Lo.rhyus ('annals', 'history') Gtam.rhyud ('traditional history'), choshbyun (origin, or history of Buddhism, *e.g.* of Bu.ston, translated by Obermiller). Deb.ther. Deb.ther snon.pa (records, documents; ancient documents), Rgyal. rabs. (royal pedgrees, a history of the kings of Tibet, *cf.* Dr. E. Schlaginweits edition). which, when treated in a rational, and unemotional manner, will doubtless yield valuable results. Great caution should, however, be exercised and no statement should be accepted unless it be subjected to strict scientific scrutiny. Traditions mentioned even by Taranath are not always strictly 'history', (some of his statements being made pell-mell) and I do not know that Jhana-Sri has a better reputation.

(c) Dr. S. C. Sarkar said that all the pronunciations and interpretations of Tibetan words which the critic gave were altogether incorrect, and it was no use arguing about Tibetan texts without knowing the medieval Tibetan language philologically and correctly. He continued that since writing the paper it had come to his notice that Brhaspati Misra, Rayamukta, a famous Sanskrit jurist and scholar, flourished at the court of Jalaluddin in the earlier part of the 15th century, in the years before 1432, and that in his *Smrti-ratnahara*, Rayamukuta states that Jalaluddin was the son of King 'Gaja-danta', who is obviously the same as Raja-Ganesa; this is ample corrobation of the proposed identification of 'Cagala' or 'Cagla' with Chag.lha.=divine elephant=Ganesa, as well as of the dates, and of the Hindu patronage of Jalaluddin.

Replying to Dr. R. C. Majumdar's remark that Dpag.bsam.ljon.bsan. is an unreliable source, even more unreliable than Tarnatha, Dr. Sarkar pointed out that it is difficult to beat the flimsy woof woven by interpreters of instructions and epigraphic records, who read into them meanings and histories that differ from interpreter to interpreter and create imaginary histories. The reconstruction (so called) of Gupta or Pala histories are instances to the point. What epigraphic records do is merely to supply a few scattered pieces of a jig-saw puzzle,—and other scattered bits may legitimately be culled from even Tibetan sources, which however are known to the entire scholarly world as by no means less valuable, than any other sources in any other Asiatic language. Thus the scholar may very easily find that his interpretation of Gupta coinage and inscriptions gains materially if these are read along with the Tibetan sources like Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsan. or Manju-sri-mula-Kalpa; it will for instance enable him to hold that the so called Gupta dynasty is really a Licchavi or Simha Dynasty whose kings used the Simha name and legend. So also, the history of the Chandras and the Palas become clearer if both these types of sources are studied together,—and nothing can be gained by decrying a new source of information because it is likely to upset or modify interpretations clung to by a passing generation of scholars, who love their own views a little too much.

As regards the reasons for regarding the Dpag.bsam ljon bsan, as a *reliable* historical source, and a *more* reliable source than Taranatha, on the basis of a few quotations from which Dr. Mazumdar had himself written an article sometime ago on the History of Bengal, Dr. Sarkar read out *in extenso* and explained the reasons as given in *J. B. & O. R. S* December, 1940, in his article entitled 'A Tibetan Account of Bengal'. The proper historical attitude towards fresh sources, in his opinion, is to study them in detail carefully without pre-judging, and it is simply not enough to say that a source is worthless without direct and detailed study of it, and by having recourse to *argumentum ad hominem* and previous tradition of historical interpreters.

He also invited full reference to the articles based on Dpag. bsam. which he has contributed to *J. B. & O. R. S.*, *Indian Culture* (1940) and Oriental Conference (1941), which will show the very interesting and provoking nature of the historical and geographical information in that Tibetan encyclopedia, which though compiled in 1721-47 has certainly utilised very ancient and early medieval original sources.

7. (Paper No. 30) Letter of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla relating to the partition of the Karnatak.

(a) Dr. S. C. Sarkar in the absence of the writer, explained that the general importance of the sources utilised for this paper (Abdul Ali Tabrizi's Golconda Letters); not only do these letters throw new light on Mir Jumla's career and Karnatak history, but they also enable us to estimate properly the political relations between the Mughal and Persian Empires and the South Indian Muslim States, and their religious policies; *e.g.* it would appear from these letters that the Southern States were used by Persia as against the Mughal Empire, just as they looked up to Persia as their natural protector against Mughal aggression, and that the Mughals wanted to crush the Southern States not so much because they were Shia-ite as because they were patronised and used politically by Persia.

Persia always remembered her suzerain claim over the Mughal 'padshahi' or viceregalty and the relations begun with Ismail Safavi and Babar ended only with Nadir Shah and his successors (1738-99). The writer of the present paper (a pupil and colleague of the speaker) was gradually bringing out a number of papers on these subjects of Mir Jumla, Karnatic-Golconda and Indo-Persian relations, which ultimately might alter several historical estimates now current for this period.

(b) Professor C. S. Srinivasachari pointed out that the paper has thrown clearer light than before on the details of the conquest of the eastern, or lower Carnatak than was available. Mir Jumla's part in this period was well brought out from the letters of Tabrezi and the rift over the possession of Gingee between Bijapur and Golconda is made clearer as well as the part played by the short-sighted Tirumala Nayak of Maudra. Perhaps one point that may be suggested for consideration is the stress on the disagreement among the generals of Bijapur. The most important feature of the paper was the bringing out of the contract between Mustafa and Mir Jumla and the lack of understanding among the Hindu powers who were so ignorant of their true aims that they allowed themselves to be made the objects of dissensions and mutual divisions by the enemies.

(c) Dr. K. K. Datta discussed the nature and historical value of the *Tabrezi* correspondence, a transcript of which obtained by Sir J. N. Sarkar from the British Museum has been utilized by the writer of this paper. This collection of letters contains abundance of new materials relating to the mid-seventeenth century history of India. Some of these letters throw sufficiently new light on the relations between Persia and the Deccan Sultanates. The writer of the paper was congratulated for having brought to light some significant facts concerning Mir Jumla, and the partition of the Karnatak between Bijapur and Golkonda.

(d) Professor M. L. Raychaudhury said that Dr. S. C. Sarkar who opened the discussion drew attention to the pretensions of the Safavi Sultans of Persia on the Timurid Sultans of India. According to him these pretensions were really religious. But the pretensions of Persia on India during the Mughal period was more political than religious—rather mixed. It is difficult to say where the one ended and the other began. The quarrels between the Shia Sultan of Persia and the Sunni Sultans of India were more complicated due to the sharp difference between Shias and Sunnis. At different times the conflict expressed itself through different channels. Mr. J. N. Sarkar's paper contained reference to a letter of Qutab Shah to Shah Abbas II of Persia for help on the occasion of Mir Jumla's rebellion. In this connection reference may be made to a collection of papers in Turki published by Naim from Constantinople in 1732 which deals with the correspondence between the Othmanlis and Timurids during the 17th and 18th centuries. Regarding the religious pretension, he referred to the Leicester University Lecture of Professor Buckler in 1924 published in *J. R. A. S.* London p. 591-604.

(e) Dr. A. Halim pointed out that the learned lecturer referred at the outset to the intrigue of the Persian Court with the Deccani Sultanates to the detriment of the Mogul Empire and discussed some of the underlying causes. Dr. Halim raised the question as to "whether the Persian rulers laid a claim over the Moghul heritage in India by virtue of the fact that Humayun conquered India with the help of the Persian army."

8. (Paper No. 32) Capture and Surrender of Gheria by the English.

Dr. S. N. Sen said that the capture of Gheria should not be treated as an isolated incident. The English had been at war with the Angrias since the second decade of the eighteenth century and the capture of Gheria marked the conclusion of that protracted struggle. Meanwhile their mercantile shipping had sustained tremendous losses and the East India Company was resolved to destroy the fighting fleet of the Angria's at any cost. The Peshwa on the other hand was anxious to reduce Tulaji because the Angrias were not prepared to acknowledge his suzerainty. There was no unity of interest between the two allies and the Angria's fleet under the Peshwa's control might also prove a source of annoyance to the English. They could not therefore permit the Peshwa to negotiate for peace with the Angria behind their back and in view of the obvious conflict of interest the charge of perfidy or bad faith cannot be maintained.

9. (Paper No. 43) Historical importance of the Abbe-Duboies-Allexander Read. (Correspondence published in the Baramahal records).

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya pointed out that the policy of Read which was the policy of the East India Company hardly amounted to religious impartiality. What Dubois complained of was violent seizure of his churches. To refuse magisterial protection in those circumstances was not an act of impartiality but a denial of justice. Read's act however reflected the policy of the Company in those days which was very much against missionary propaganda and any attempt at proselytisation.

10. (Paper No. 48) An unpublished Dutch Record in Malayalam of 1633 A. D.

Mr. V. K. R. Menon, who could not attend the session sent the following remarks: The summary goes on to state that the document is dated 14th July, 1663 A.D. It is pointed out that this is an oft quoted and much published record in at least three languages. The Malayalam version is contained in Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's "Cochin History" Vol. II, page 83, published in 1914 A.D. Malayalam and English versions are to be found in a confidential publication* of the Cochin Government. The Dutch version can of course be found in the "Batavian Diary" of the year 1663 A.D. The treaty is also referred to in detail in a contemporary Malayalam ballad called "Patapattu" (Published) and also in Sirdar Panikkar's "Malabar and the Dutch" page 19

(b) The author supplied the following information:—

The document under reference is one of the Historical Records preserved in the archives of the Government of Travancore. Its text is in the Malayalam language. The script of the document is Malayalam and it is written on Cadjan, which is broken in two places. Its size is 25½" x 1¼". Rao Sahib S. Parameswara Iyer, the greatest living authority in Malayalam and for some time the State Records Officer has written to say that the version, as recorded in the document had not yet been published. This document formed part of the exhibits sent from Travancore for the Baroda Session of the Commission.

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* Confidential publications are not available to the public at large.

11. (Paper 54) Mayurbhanj during Nawab Alivardi Khan's Expedition to Orissa in 1741-42.

Dr. K. K. Datta pointed out that after the publication of his work on *Alivardi and His Times*, he tried to identify the ruler of Mayurbhanj during Alivardi's expeditions into Orissa in an article published in the Journal of the *U. P. Historical Society*. Mr. Acharya has incidentally discussed the importance and historical value of some contemporary Persian works like the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, the *Riyaz-us-salatin* and the *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, but he writes that he has not consulted Yusuf Ali's work mentioned by Dr. K. K. Datta in his book. Dr. Datta in duscussing the nature and historical importance of Yusuf Ali's manuscript said that it contains a very valuable and detailed contemporary description of the history of Bengal during the mid-eighteenth century, particularly of the regime of Alivardi. The author Yusuf Ali, son of Ghulam Ali, an intimate friend of Alivardi, was an eye-witness of the political events happening in Bengal since the time of Sarfaraz Khan, and his book contains many new facts and dates which are not found in any other contemporary work. In fact, this work seems to have been the chief authority of Ghulam Husain, author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, for his account of the Maratha invasions of Bengal.

12. (Paper No. 56) The rebellion of the Madura Renters (1755- -64).

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari remarked that Yusuf Khan who is the central figure of the whole rebellion was the ablest of the Indian soldiers who had fought in the Carnatic wars. His activities have been fully sketched by Orme and greatly appreciated by Malcolm and that he was a hero quite as famous in contemporary events as Stringer Lawrence or Clive was noted by such acute observers like Peixoto, Rous, Fullarton and others. Yusuf Khan greatly distinguished himself in the siege of Madras by Lally; he then rose to be the military governor of Madura and Tinnevelly; his tenure of the governorship or rentership of the south country was not acceptable to Nawab Wallajah. It was unfortunate that he should have become suspect in the eyes of the English and a party to the elaborate combination of forces hostile to the English dominance in the country then planned by Maudave, a French adventurer, in combination with others. Marchand, another French adventurer in the game, has given in his Historical Precis a clear account of Yusuf Khan's administrative and military system. It is suggested here that the Khan's services in keeping the Poligars under control would, if allowed to continue, have established order in the Madura and Tinnevelly countries four decades before the poligar wars.

PART III.

Proceedings of the research and publication committee.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting.

Proceedings of the Historical Exhibition.

APPENDICES A—G.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee held at Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.

Eighteenth Session, Mysore, 22nd January 1942.

I. A five-year programme of work for the Research and Publication Committee so far as the Imperial Record Department is concerned.—

The Local Records Sub-Committee in their fifth meeting held on the 1st December 1941 passed the following resolution:—

RESOLUTION.—The scheme be approved and placed before the Research and Publication Committee for detailed consideration.

The items are as follows:—

A "Research and Publication Committee" has been created as an adjunct to the reconstituted Indian Historical Records Commission [*vide* para. 5(1) of the Resolution dated the 16th September 1941]. In para. 10 of the same Resolution the Government of India have asked for a five-year programme of work from the Committee. As regards the work of publication of the records in the Imperial Record Department a tentative programme for the first five years has been drawn up and will be submitted to the Research and Publication Committee for their approval. Printing of items I and II of the programme will be done through the Government of India Press and the printing of item III will be arranged through the Universities and other private agencies (*vide* Tentative Statement on page 2.

(a) *Printing in extenso of the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1749-1800.*

These volumes are now decaying and after a few years will be irretrievably lost On the other hand as soon as they are published they will form first class original source books of the history of the British connection with India during the eighteenth century. These Letters are classified under the Home, Foreign, Army, Legislative and Separate Revenue Departments. It is proposed to publish records of this series dating from 1749 to 1800 in the first instance and there can be no objection to the printing of these volumes which are a century and a half old and have passed into the domains of history. From the earliest period (*i.e.*, from 1749) to 1800 there are altogether 178 volumes—104 volumes of Letters to Court and 74 volumes of Letters from Court. The detailed programme for their publication will be drawn up by the Research and Publication Committee.

(b) *Publications of the Indian Records Series*

It is proposed to confine the printing work under this series to the records mentioned in the programme. They are likely to cover five volumes and it can hardly be expected that it will be possible to undertake any further publication during the first quinquennium.

(c) *Printing of (i) Oriental Correspondence with Calendars in English, and (ii) Selections from Records.*

The Printing of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Bengali documents through the agency of the Calcutta University is already in progress. The Bharata Itihasha Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, has undertaken the publication of the Marathi records. Dr I. H. Qureshi,

Reader in History of the Delhi University has already undertaken a preliminary survey of the Persian Akhbars in this Department. The work under this head will be distributed to the nominees of the Universities and learned societies on the personnel of the Research and Publication Committee and a detailed working programme will be framed by them.

In connection with the working of the programme it will be necessary for the expert members of the Research and Publication Committee to meet occasionally at New Delhi and it is estimated that a sum of Rs. 2,461 will be required annually to meet their travelling expenses. The printing work as indicated above will, of course, be done either by the Government of India Press or by Universities and other private agencies. As the publication programme of this Department is already heavy, it will be necessary for the success of the proposed scheme, to engage a small additional staff on a temporary basis for five years.

The additional expenditure which is likely to be incurred is detailed below:—

	Rs.
(a) 4 typists at Rs. 45	180 p.m.
(b) 1 Proof Reader at Rs. 75.	75 p.m.
(c) 1 Copy Holder at Rs. 45	45 p.m.
	300 p.m.
Annual total cost	3,600

In the budget estimate of this Department for 1942-43 provision has already been made for Rs. 2,461 for the travelling expenses of the members of the Research and Publication Committee and of Rs. 3,600 for meeting the salaries of four typists, 1 Proof Reader and 1 Copy Holder.

TENTATIVE FIVE-YEAR PROGRAMME OF THE RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

No.	Particulars of Publications	Remarks.
I	Printing *in extenso* of the General Letters from 1749-1800— Volumes. To Court . 104 From Court . . . 74 178	
II	*Indian Records Series—*	
	(a) Minutes of the Governor General * .	* Examination is not complete but this will comprise approximately 3 volumes.
	(b) Browne Correspondence ** . . .	** 1 volume.
	(c) Thevenot's & Carreri's Travels (Indian Portion)†.	† 1 volume.
III	*Through Universities and other private agencies—*	
	(1) Calendar of Correspondence in oriental languages preserved in the Imperial Record Department. (2) Selections from records (plan to be decided in the 1st meeting of the Committee).	Materials not yet examined.

The nominees of the Provincial Governments and Indian States are expected to submit their proposals regarding the publication of Provincial and State records as envisaged in para. 5 of the Resolution dated the 16th September 1941 relating to the formation and functions of the Research and Publication Committee.

The Secretary announced that the work of the adjourned public meeting would be resumed at 2 P.M in the afternoon if the business of the Research and Publication Committee were finished at its morning session.

The Chairman then called upon the Secretary to explain the five-year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.

Secretary: As you will find in the printed agenda the programme placed before you has been divided into three sections. In the first place it is proposed to publish *in extenso* the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors, (1749—1800) which form 178 manuscript volumes and which in print is estimated to form 15 volumes. For this item the Imperial Record Department will have to depend entirely upon the co-operation of the members of this Committee. Secondly we have the Indian Records Series item 1 (b) which will have to be revived and which has, in a sense, been revived. The first volume is already in the press and I expected to be able to place it before you but the publication has been unexpectedly delayed on account of the present abnormal conditions in spite of our best efforts. It consists of about 200 Bengali letters which throw a flood of light on the history of the North-Eastern Frontier of India. The Calcutta University has undertaken to publish this volume. The second volume will be published by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona and will consist of Marathi documents in the custody of the Imperial Record Department. The letters have been transcribed and the manuscript is being prepared for the press. In this series will also be included the Minutes of the Governors-General. We propose to confine ourselves to Sir John Shore's minutes for the present and it is estimated that they will form three volumes in print. The papers collected by Col. Browne who was Resident at Shah Alam II's Court have already been transcribed. I hope to be able to take up the work of editing and annotating Browne papers at an early date. Of Section II. Thevenot's and Carreri's Travels cannot be properly regarded as records but our practice in the past does not debar us from including in the Indian Records Series such travellers' accounts as are likely to prove useful to students of Indian History. If the suggestion meets with your approval the Indian portion of Thevenot and Carreri's travels will be included in this series, and the Imperial Record Department will be prepared to edit and publish the volume. As for Section III, the Imperial Record Department is already engaged in Calendaring the Persian records in its custody. Seven volumes have already been published; the eighth will be sent to the press by June 1942. We have a mass of news letters in oriental languages but the great bulk of it is in Persian. Dr. I. H. Qureshi of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, has very kindly examined some of these news letters and agreed to edit and annotate them in case you approve of this programme. The programme is ambitious enough and the Imperial Record Department can undertake to deal with the 5 volumes under Section II alone. It is needless to add that the success of the scheme will depend entirely on the extent of the co-operation received from the Provincial and States Governments, the Universities and the learned societies.

Mr. D. N. Banerjee extended his support to the proposal and suggested that along with the letters in the custody of the Imperial Record Department those in the custody of the Bengal Government should also be published in this series.

Chairman: How many volumes of this correspondence are in the Bengal Record Office?

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartti: I cannot give you the exact figure but the number is very large.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: These letters cannot be properly studied without reference to the consultation volumes. The provincial records should therefore be published by the Provincial Governments.

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartti: I beg to observe that in Bengal printing *in extenso* of the letters to and from the Court has been suspended for some time past and it is not likely to be taken up during the present emergency, but if the work of publication is undertaken by the Imperial Record Department, the Government of Bengal may be inclined to lend these volumes if no financial obligation is imposed.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: I think for the present as practical men we should confine ourselves to the Imperial Record Department. The Madras Government have their own scheme, the Bengal Government must formulate theirs. The Bombay Government will have to be moved separately. Under these circumstances we should confine ourselves to the Imperial Record Department.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I understand that the Government of Madras have a publication programme of their own. Can not we urge upon the Governments of Bengal and Bombay the necessity of publishing their records on the same lines as those of the Imperial Record Department? If they are assured of the free co-operation of competent scholars there is every likelihood of their accepting the suggestion. The Government of India should communicate to the two Provincial Governments this Commission's requests to publish their records as early as possible and to prepare a five years' publication programme.

Chairman: This is indeed a very useful suggestion.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: We should confine ourselves only to the 5-year programme. The Imperial Record Department has undertaken something very useful and we should help it to achieve that object. If we bring in other matters and ask the Imperial Record Department to include in its scheme the Provincial Records also their work may be unduly hampered. Our purpose will be served if we approve the programme of the Imperial Record Department and ask the local Governments to undertake similar publications.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I propose that a copy of the five years' plan with adequate notes be forwarded to the Provincial Governments and Indian States with the request that the Provincial Governments and Indian States should publish the records of the earlier period in their possession as far as practicable with a view to fall in line with the Imperial Record Department.

Dr. Baliga: wanted to explain what has been already done in Madras.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I am prepared to exclude Madras from the scope of this resolution.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: In my opinion the publication programme is splendid. But from what has fallen from the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal the publication of their judicial and revenue records will be indefinitely postponed unless the Government of India offer to bear a part of the expenses.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: It is too early to think of that question now When we meet next year we shall know what response the Bengal Government make. In the meantime we should try our best to draw their attention to this matter.

Resolution I.—It was unanimously resolved that the five years' publication programme of the Imperial Record Department be approved.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I should like to have an explanation from the Secretary with regard to section III. It is said that this work will be mainly done through the Universities. What facilities will be given to the Universities? Would the records be sent to the Universities or are the research scholars expected to go to New Delhi?

Secretary: Sir, we cannot send the records outside the Record Room. But all possible facilities will be provided to those who will come to Delhi and work there We will make arrangements for transcribing the records

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: We may recommend to the Universities and learned institutions that necessary leave and other facilities should be granted to such of their employees as may be required to work at Delhi in connection with this scheme. University and college teachers willing to co-operate may find themselves unable to offer their services on account of the existing leave rules and paucity of funds. I think it will be a great advantage to them if this fact is brought to the notice of the Provincial Governments, the Universities and the learned institutions and if we explain to them that the success of the programme depends on their co-operation and request them to grant all possible facilities, pecuniary and otherwise in the form of leave and stipends to suitable scholars to enable them to go to Delhi and to work and study there. I think they will not be unresponsive. We should explain our needs to them as well as the importance of the proposed scheme and a communication of a similar nature should also be sent to the colleges and learned societies

Dr. H. N. Sinha: I second the resolution

Prof. J. C. Talukdar: One point is not clear Who will make these selections? What will be the procedure? I think you will have to leave it to a certain extent to the discretion of the Imperial Record Department.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: It is here in item III (2) 'Selections from records (Plan to be decided in the 1st meeting of the Committee)'. I think the plan will have to be decided now.

Secretary: If you have any plan with you we can discuss that.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: I have already informed you that Madras has got its own programme.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: What other suggestions from the States and Provincial Governments have been received?

Chairman: I understand we have received no proposals from other Governments.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: With regard to Indian States we should request them to arrange for the publication of the records in their possession. I think we can also have another resolution for the Indian States

Chairman: I think that will more properly come under the next item.

The following resolutions were then passed:—

Resolution II.—Resolved that the Government of India be requested to send a communication to the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned societies that scholars in their employment should be allowed all facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave to enable them to participate in the publication scheme of the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution III (a) Resolved that a copy of this programme be forwarded to the Provincial Governments and Indian States with a request that they should also arrange for the publication of records in their custody on similar lines as far as practicable The Commission is aware that the Government of Madras have their own publication scheme.

(b) Resolved that a copy of this resolution may be forwarded to the Governments of Free French and Portuguese India also.

II. Regional Survey of records.—

Explanatory note.—A systematic plan of regional survey with a view to rescuing valuable manuscript records in private custody and to provide for their preservation from natural causes of decay and deterioration as envisaged in the Government of India Resolution dated the 16th September 1941 will have to be worked out during the present session. Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members are expected to formulate a scheme and to implement it in co-operation with public institutions and private agencies in their respective provinces as early as possible. The following tentative proposal is therefore placed before the Research and Publication Committee for its consideration. A small committee for each Province and Indian State or group of States consisting of their nominees on the Commission as well as such influencial local persons as may be considered suitable for the purpose, should be set up. The Provincial Committees may in their turn appoint district or sub-divisional committees to facilitate their work. Such Committees may have to enlist honorary services of research scholars and local enthusiasts. They will have to cast their nets far and wide and explore each area as thoroughly as possible. While the Commission cannot lay down any rigid rule and enunciate any uniform principle which must vary in different localities the annual meeting will afford a suitable venue for exchanging notes and recording progress.

Chairman: Some machinery should be set up for conducting the regional survey.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: Has any proposal been received?

Dr. R. C. Majumdar pointed out that the members of the Commission are, under the new constitution, expected to bring hitherto unknown records to light, but they cannot possibly do this work efficiently unless they are assured of the support of the local Government and vested with some amount of authority and status. They may like to examine old manuscripts in private custody but the owner may refuse them access. If legislation is not possible at this stage the Government of India should at least write formally to the local Governments to recognise the members of the Commission as experts authorised to carry on the proposed regional survey. They should not only have ready access to all public records but the Provincial Governments should exert all their influence to further the efforts of the members of the Commission in bringing unknown records to light.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: Who is to set up these small committees and who is to decide about the personnel? The present members of the Commission should be the original members of these committees. But the question is whether the Provincial Governments will set up the committees or whether the Record Commission will appoint them. Unless this is decided we cannot think of the powers with which the members of such committees are to be vested. If the Provincial Governments are authorised to organise the survey they will invest the members with necessary powers. I know that the old landed families of the United Provinces possess innumerable historical records but they are unwilling to part with the documents on any consideration. We will have to proceed very cautiously in this matter.

Chairman: This is the first meeting of the reconstituted Commission and it is for you to devise ways and means.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: In my opinion the members already nominated by the Provincial Governments, States, Universities and learned societies should be regarded as original members of the Regional Sub-Committees and the Provincial Governments may be asked by the Commission or the Imperial Record Department to set up proper sub-committees.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar thought that the formal appointment of the regional sub-committees might take some time. Meanwhile the present members of the Commission should be authorised to carry on the survey in their respective areas and the Provincial Governments should be requested to grant them necessary facilities.

Chairman: We may through the Government of India call the attention of the Provincial Governments, and the Indian States to the necessity of organising a regional survey and explain to them the constitution and the function of the proposed committees.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: So far as the district records in Madras are concerned they have already been rescued because we have transferred them to the Record Office.

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao: I think it is very necessary in this connection that the initiative should come from the Government of India. That will mean considerable help and moral support in the States. As

in matters concerning the ancient monuments the Provincial Governments are advised by the Archæological Department of the Government of India, the guidance in respect of the manuscript records should come from the Imperial Record Department. A circular letter on this subject from the Government of India will go a long way to help the cause we have in view

Prof. D. V. Potdar: Dr. Baliga only refers to the district records. There are private records in the Madras Presidency which demand our attention.

Dr. N. K. Sinha: I support Dr. Majumdar. The rights and the responsibilities of the members of this Commission should be clearly defined They are the nominees of the Governments, Universities and learned institutions and it is in the fitness of things that they should form the nuclei of these Committees

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari: A small piece of information Sir There has been functioning for sometime a Hindu Religious Board under the jurisdiction of the Madras Government. We may suggest that the Hindu Religious Board should help the Commission in the regional survey It will be of great help.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: We may come with definite schemes and plans next year. Meanwhile we will gain some experience and we shall have then some concrete plans before us. It is no use having hurried plans

Chairman: I will undertake to send a letter to the Provincial and States Governments

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartti: Regional Survey includes rescuing records in private custody, but there is no law on the subject. There is an Act for the destruction of records Under the circumstances records in private custody cannot be taken charge of by the Government Record Offices Who will take charge of the private records?

Dr. B. S. Baliga: We should leave the passing of legislation to the discretion of the Provincial Governments

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I think that legislation will be necessary. The Calcutta High Court destroy their records after simply consulting the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal. The suggestion is very useful but the Sub-Committees will have to consider whether new legislation will be needed or modification of some existing rules will serve our purpose. The question may be taken up later on.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: If any legislation has to be undertaken on these general lines it should proceed from the Government of India, just as in the case of Archæological Department. Legislation must be centralised.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya: The less the legislation the better the work would be.

Chairman: Is there any other point? This is a new committee, a full discussion will be very useful.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: Sir, we may pass a resolution on these lines.

Chairman: Yes. To-morrow again we are meeting for considering the recommendations of the Research and Publication Committee.

Father H. Heras wanted to know clearly the character and date of the records in which the Commission was particularly interested. In the constitution the Universities have been specifically asked to nominate specialists in the British period of Indian History. Inscriptions are also records. Are the provincial sub-committees to devote their attention exclusively to manuscript records and to those relating to British period alone?

Secretary admitted that History cannot be divided into water-tight compartments It may be necessary to refer to the Mauryan times to understand properly some of the existing revenue regulations. A careful study of the Moghul farmans is imperatively needed for the proper appreciation of the early revenue system under the East India Company. But the main concern of the Commission is the British period and most of the documents now preserved in the provincial and Central record rooms relate directly to that period. The term is not to be interpreted in a narrow technical sense. It is not intended to exclude from our purview the history of the Maratha Empire, or the Sikh State under Ranjit Singh and Mysore under Hyder and Tipu. I am sorry I cannot give you a more precise definition but it is certainly not our intention to confine our attention to English and Vernacular records alone We are greatly interested in the French, Dutch and Portuguese archives wherever they may be located and Father Heras knows very well how keenly interested we are in the unpublished Jesuit letters he is bringing to light.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: The resolution may be communicated to the Governments of Goa and Pondicherry.

Father H. Heras: Though the explanation offered by the Secretary is useful, I have still some doubts. What about coins? They form an important source of history. I believe the Historical Records Commission deals with manuscript paper sources of Indian History.

Mr. D. P. Karmarkar: The Commission considers that it is mainly concerned with the records pertaining to the British period of Indian History. I think it is quite proper that this Commission should limit its attention to a particular period of Indian History and to particular kinds of documents and there should be a reasonable limit to its activities. Records of the last 300 years should in my opinion suffice.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: Our primary object here is to bring together such records as bear directly upon the British period of Indian History. Obviously we rely upon other sources also. Our period is after the 17th century. I think we must have before us a definite object as to what records are relevant to the subject. So long as we have a definite objective in view, we will be on safe grounds.

Mr. D. N. Banerjee: Our efforts should be confined to the British Period of Indian History. We must concentrate our efforts on a definite object. There are other learned bodies to deal with ancient and mediaeval history.

Secretary: Sir, I am afraid we are unnecessarily worrying ourselves about hypothetical difficulties. We must have confidence in the discretion

of our members. If in the course of the regional survey anybody comes across a valuable coin or copper plate inscription he will not wantonly leave it to its fate but send it to the proper authorities for examination and preservation.

Chairman: I think you agree to the resolution.

The following resolution was then passed unanimously:—

Resolution IV.—Resolved that the Government of India request the Provincial Governments and the Indian States.

(a) to set up local committees in consultation with the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission in their areas to conduct regional surveys with a view to bringing to light records in private custody and providing for their preservation and publication;

(b) The Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission in their areas should be the foundation members of such committees in their respective localities ordinarily residing within their jurisdiction. and

(c) pending the appointment of the suggested committees the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission should be accorded necessary facilities by the local authorities for carrying on the regional surveys.

III. Vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari moved a hearty vote of thanks to the chair and eulogised the ability and tact with which the Chairman had conducted the first meeting of the Research and Publication Committee The Resolution was seconded by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof J C Talukdar and passed with acclamation.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.

Eighteenth Session, Mysore, 23rd January 1942.

1. Vote of Condolence on the death of Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Chairman: Mr. Ottewill was the Superintendent of Records in the India Office and was an interested member of this Commission.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously, all members standing in silence:—

Resolution I.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Mr. W T. Ottewill and authorises the Secretary to convey to his relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

2. Recommendations of the Research and Publication Committee.

At the direction of the Chairman the Secretary read out the resolutions of the Research and Publication Committee. After some discussions, some of the resolutions were amended as noted below :—

Resolution II.—This Commission recommends that the five-year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department be approved.

Resolution III.—This commission requests the Government of India to send a communication to the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned societies that scholars in their employment should be allowed all facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave (where necessary) to enable them to participate in the publication scheme of the Imperial Record Department

Resolution IV.—(a) This Commission recommends that a copy of this programme be forwarded to the Provincial Governments and Indian States with a request that they should also arrange for the publication of the records in their custody on similar lines as far as practicable. The Commission is aware that the Government of Madras have their own publication scheme.

(b) The Commission further recommends that a copy of the resolution may be forwarded to the Governments of Free French and Portuguese India also.

Resolution V.—This Commission recommends that the Government of India request the Provincial Governments and the Indian States

(a) to set up local committees in consultation with the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission in their areas to conduct regional surveys with a view to bringing to light records in private custody and providing for their preservation and publication;

(b) to include the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission in their areas as the original members of such Committees in their respective areas;

(c) to accord all facilities to the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission for carrying on the

regional surveys pending the appointment of the Committees recommended.

Resolution VI.—The commission conveys a unanimous vote of thanks to the Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee.

3. Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their seventeenth session held at Baroda in December 1940. (Please see Conspectus pages 29-32).

The Secretary read out the resolutions passed at the seventeenth session and the action taken on them. The following discussions took place:—

Conspectus, Resolution II.

Secretary: The Government of the Central Provinces say that their records have been adequately indexed, but from the few specimens of the index that we have received (laid on the table) it does not appear that it will meet the needs of the research students.

Dr. H. N. Sinha observed that the index in question was prepared long ago. He had no opportunity of discussing this question with the proper authorities but he believed that any communication on the subject from the Commission will receive due consideration from the Government of the Central Provinces

Dr. N. K. Sinha pointed out that the indexing programme of the Government of Bengal was proceeding very slowly and no progress could be expected unless a paid staff was appointed for the purpose.

Chairman: We should like to hear the representative of the Bengal Government

Mr. B. B. Chakrabartti: The preparation of a consolidated index was started with the help of honorary research scholars recommended by the Calcutta University. Some of the scholars have not taken up the work and those who took the work are not attending to their duties regularly. The regular staff with its present numerical strength cannot attend to this work. It would be necessary to provide funds and a communication from the Commission may serve as an additional stimulus.

Chairman: It is then agreed that we should write to the Government of Bengal on the subject.

Mr. K. P. Mitra: The Government of Bihar have referred to the Handbook prepared by me. It deals in a general way with important documents but this resolution refers to indexing.

Dr. K. K. Datta: The Bihar Government have no organised record room. Their records lie scattered all over the province. It has not therefore been possible to index them. But the Government are not indifferent to the need of preparing an index and publishing a selection from their records. They have already asked for an estimate of the probable cost with a view to providing for it in the next year's budget and they are in correspondence with a number of scholars in the province interested in this project.

Chairman: We may request the Bihar Government to expedite the work.

Dr. A. G. Pawar: We may also make a similar request to Bombay. They say that the work is under consideration. It can continue to be under consideration for years and years together.

Prof. D. V. Potdar pointed that Orissa also was without an organised record room.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolution was passed without division:—

Resolution VII.—This Commission recommends that

(a) the Governments of Bombay and Bengal be requested to expedite the work of indexing their records on the lines of the Index to the Land Revenue Records issued by the Imperial Record Department;

(b) while appreciating the preliminary steps already taken, the Bihar Government be requested to expedite the projected indexing and publication work; and

(c) as the existing indexes to the records of the C. P. Government are inadequate for research purposes that Government be requested to re-index their old documents under the supervision of experts, if possible.

Conspectus, Resolution II (a).

Secretary: I am glad to inform the Commission that since this Conspectus was printed the Government of India have decided, subject to the necessary approval of the legislature, to make more than 90 per cent. of the indexing staff permanent. This I believe forms an adequate guarantee of the continuity of the indexing work in the Imperial Record Department.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: No reply has been received from Jaipur and other important States.

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao: I suggest Sir, that a communication may also be made to the Indian States by the Secretary.

Dr. A. G. Pawar: I understand that the Kolhapur State sent a reply. A note prepared by me was sent through the usual channel. I do not know how it did not reach its destination. The Kolhapur State have endeavoured to organise a Record Department and have already prepared a publication scheme.

Chairman: We should try to get more information from other States.

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao: Each individual State may be addressed politely.

Chairman: Through the ordinary channel it is very difficult to get a reply within a year. We should pursue the matter.

The following resolution was then passed:—

Resolution VIII.—In view of the fact that most of the Indian States have not sent any reply to its query and the information furnished by some States is so meagre that it is not possible to form any idea of the research facilities afforded to *bonafide* students,, resolved that the Commission again requests the Indian States to furnish the necessary information at an early date.

Conspectus, Resolution III.

Secretary read out the communication received from the Bihar Government regarding the publication of a catalogue of their records.

Conspectus, Resolution IV.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: In this resolution we find that only Indian States have been asked to organise records offices. There are no record offices in many provinces. Should we not address our request to the Provincial Governments also?

Secretary: We are repeating our request to them every year

Dr. S. C. Sarkar: It is not very difficult or expensive to organise a record office Most of the Provincial Governments have the necessary buildings and staff. What is needed is the technical knowledge. So far as the Bihar Government is concerned they have got plenty of records Many of them are of great historical value but many of them are destroyed without reference to any body Three years ago at Patna certain records were destroyed deliberately because the officers concerned were not aware of their historical importance No new building will be needed, additional staff may not be necessary, the Government can provide for the expert guidance by getting one or two of their present employees trained at Delhi.

After some more discussions, the following resolution was passed. –

Resolution IX.—This Commission reiterates its request to the Provincial Governments and Indian States that Central Records Offices should be established at an early date by such Provinces and States as are not already provided with one

Conspectus, Resolution V.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar considered the reply unsatisfactory and suggested that the members of the Commission ordinarily residing in Bengal should be consulted before any old record was destroved by the High Court and the University of Calcutta should be given the option of keeping such condemned records. It should be noted that the Asiatic Society was not the only learned institution interested in records.

Secretary: In 1939 when the Commission met at Calcutta the members visited the High Court Record Room and they found the conditions prevailing there very unsatisfactory. The High Court is more interested in records of recent origin to which reference has to be made for the day to day administration of justice and old records of purely historical interest are sadly neglected. In fact it was recently proposed to destroy them altogether and the proposal might have been accepted but for the timely intervention of Mr. Justice Edgeley and Sir B. N. Rau.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar: Can't these old records be sold as waste paper to the Calcutta University?

The following resolution was then passed unanimously:—

Resolution X.—This Commission requests the High Court of Calcutta to consult such members of the Commission as ordinarily reside in Bengal before it decides to destroy any of its old records and the Commission

further suggests that the Calcutta University may be given an opportunity of preserving such records as may be finally condemned for destruction.

Consepectus, Resolution VI

Secretary: It will come under Dr. Spear's resolution.

Chairman: You all agree that we should discuss it with Dr Spear's resolution?

The suggestion was accepted

Conspectus, Resolution VII.

There was no discussion on this item.

Conspectus, Item 2.

Secretary: The resolution was not acceptable to the Government of India and I have nothing more to add.

Conspectus, Item 4.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: In connection with this item I have got to point out, Sir, that I sent another note to the Secretary for circulation. But the Secretary wrote to me that in these days of paper scarcity it was not necessary to circulate it further. I desire that it may be included in the porceedings.

Secretary: It was decided at Baroda that Dr Baliga's note with my observations should be circulated along with a note from Prof. Sitarama Aiyar and no fresh matters should be introduced. The instruction of the Commission has been strictly carried out and I confined myself to Dr. Baliga's objections alone. After the notes had been circulated Dr. Baliga sent a fresh note which he wanted me to circulate. I pointed out that I had an answer to every one of the fresh points raised by him and if his note was circulated I would have to send along with it my replies as well. This was bound to lead to an interminable controversy and the procedure was inconvenient in view of the present scarcity of paper. Dr. Baliga however would have an opportunity of fully explaining his objections when the question came before the Commission. If he now wants a full-dressed debate I am prepared for it.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that the Commission need not discuss the comparative merits of different methods of preservation which was after all a highly technical subject. The Keeper of the Records of Madras might freely pursue the methods he liked best in his own record room and similar liberty might be conceded to the Keeper of the Imperial Records.

Mr. D. N. Banerjee: Sir, I second the proposal.

The suggestion was accepted.

Conspectus, Item 10.

There was no discussion on this item.

4. Publication of a Journal from the Imperial Record Department.—

Explanatory note.—The Indian Historical Records Commission has been in existence for 20 years. But its activities have not yet received the attention they deserve, nor has this country been able to reap the fullest benefit from the rich experience of this expert body with regard to the preservation and administration of the archives. Manuscript records in private custody are either left entirely uncared for, or, they are

treated in an antiquated and unscientific manner for lack of the necessary information and knowledge. The reconstituted Commission will need a suitable medium for popularising the up-to-date methods of preservation prevailing in western countries and to bring the results of scientific researches in India to the notice of the interested public. A quarterly or half-yearly Journal may serve as a suitable organ of expert opinion but it cannot be expected to prove a success unless the full co-operation of all the experts in this country is secured. The Imperial Record Department has now a small laboratory where some of the most important problems of preservation are being investigated but it is needless to add that the result of these investigations should be compared with the valuable observations made in the provincial and States record offices. The research students will also be able to make valuable suggestions about indexing, cataloguing and calendaring in the light of their actual experiences in provincial and Imperial Record Rooms. It should be added that the financial implications of the proposal should also be taken into consideration.

After a lengthy discussion it was decided that the Secretary should circulate a note about the aims and objects and general features of the proposed Journal for eliciting the opinion of the members of the Commission. If the comments received revealed a substantial agreement steps would be taken to implement the scheme. The Chairman offered to move the Government of India to appoint a small Committee at Delhi to go into the question if agreement was found wanting

Resolution XI.—This Commission recommends that a journal dealing mainly with the science of preservation and administration of Archives be published from the Imperial Record Department.

5. Resolution by Dr. T. G. P. Spear—and conspectus, Resolution VI.

Immediate action on the Inspection note of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the maintenance of the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona, be taken.

Explanatory note.—As is well known in the historical world the records in the Alienation Office are of great value and it is therefore alarming to read that "some of the records are in a shocking condition", also the papers are removed by local scholars to their houses. I trust that this question may receive the early and urgent attention of the Commission.

Secretary's note.—In view of the urgency of the matter it was decided to circulate among the members the inspection note in question and from the replies received a consolidated note was drawn up and transmitted to the Bombay Government for necessary action. A copy of it was laid on the table.

In the absence of Dr. Spear Prof. Potdar moved the resolution that stood in his name. He observed that while he fully supported the principle underlying it he preferred the wording of a resolution he offered to move at Baroda.

Mr. R. P. Patwardhan welcomed the resolution of Prof. Potdar, but wanted to remove a misapprehension likely to be caused by Dr. Spear's resolution. Private scholars were not as a rule allowed to remove documents from the Alienation Office. Only in one solitary instance was a scholar permitted to take home one bundle of records. He assured the Commission that the Bombay Government wished to take the necessary action.

Secretary said that the misapprehension to which Principal Patwardhan referred arose from a statement of his. When he visited the Alienation Office he found that a bundle of Persian records had been removed from the record room by a local Professor and he felt it his duty to draw the attention of the Bombay Government to this incident. A reference to his report would show that he nowhere stated that this was the normal practice. But he hoped that Prof. Patwardhan would agree with him that even isolated instances like this should be discountenanced

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari: Is there any proposal to weed out the records?

Secretary: There has been a suggestion like that made by Sir Jadunath Sarkar which however has not been supported.

Prof. D. V. Potdar: I don't think we can support that

The following resolution was passed unanimously:—

Resolution XII.—(a) This Commission endorses in general the report of Dr. S. N. Sen, the Keeper of Imperial Records on the maintenance of the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona (Peshwa Daftar) and urges upon the Government of Bombay to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations and suggestions contained in his note

(b) The Commission appreciates the Bombay Government's action in inviting the Keeper of the Imperial Records to advise them about the Peshwa Daftar and the action of the Government of India in lending the services of the Keeper of the Imperial Records

6. Proposals by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—

(a) *Exploration and listing of Persian news-letters in the Imperial Record Department*

Explanatory note The Exploration and Listing with dates of the Persian news-letters (*akhbars*) which were sent to the Governor General in Council by the British Residents at the Maratha, Rajput, Delhi, Lahore and Lucknow Courts and Camps down to 1830 in the custody of the Imperial Record Department be made

Secretary's note.—Please see agenda of the Research and Publication Committee item No. I (c).

(b) *Listing of documents in the possession of historical families*

Explanatory note.—The rough listing of historical records in the possession of old historical families in Upper India and the Deccan through such corresponding members as possess local influence, with instructions to report at each successive public session of the Commission.

Secretary's note.—Please see in this connection Item II of the Agenda of the Research and Publication Committee.

(c) *Publication of an annual or half-yearly report of work in the Imperial Record Department.*

Explanatory note.—The issue of an annual or six-monthly brochure (less formal and tardy than the official annual report) giving the public an idea of the progress of exploration, classification, cataloguing and publication of the records of the Government of India,—with a list of the recent publications of historical records by all the Provincial Governments. A list of the research scholars actually at work among the Imperial Records, with their special subjects, during the period covered by the brochure, may be usefully added.

Secretary's note.—The annual report issued by the Imperial Record Department showing the work done during a year is exhaustive and contains fully such information as may be utilised with advantage by the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned associations to whom these are supplied annually. The extra requirements are expected to be met by the issue of a journal as contemplated in item 4 of the agenda.

As regards the proposed inclusion of a list of records publications in the Report it may be stated that in accordance with Resolution III of the Baroda session of the Commission it has been decided to add a list of the Imperial Record Department publications in a new volume as an appendix. The replies of the Provincial Governments on the above resolution have been incorporated in the conspectus.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: We need not consider these resolutions now The consideration of this item may be postponed until the publication scheme is finally accepted Item (e) may be rejected.

Chairman: Items (a) and (b) will also come under the five years' programme.

7. Proposal by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.

Publication of a Handbook to the Mackenzie manuscripts in the custody of the Government of Madras.

Explanatory note.—While noting with satisfaction the report on the Mackenzie Manuscripts which Professor Nilakanta Sastri presents in the research reports from the Corresponding Members on page 13 of the Commission's Proceedings for 1940 in regard to the work done on the Mackenzie Manuscripts it seems highly desirable that, without any interference with regard to his programme of work, the publication of the handbook referred to in Section I be expedited and issued at the earliest possible time so as to fulfil the main purpose intended by the original resolution on the subject

Secretary's note.—In their 14th session the Indian Historical Records Commission passed a resolution (No 10) recommending to the Government of Madras the desirability of issuing publications from Mackenzie Manuscripts and Dutch records in their custody. A note on them by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri will be found on pages 208-211. Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings Volume XIV. Another report on them will be found on pages 13-14, part III (Research Report), Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings Volume XVII.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar gave a detailed history of these manuscripts and the work done in the past. It was finally decided that the work of translating and cataloguing the manuscripts should be entrusted to the Madras University. What he now asked for was a handlist to enable research students to know what materials these manuscripts could be expected to yield with regard to the subject of their investigation. A handlist was long over due.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: I want to point out that these manuscripts are not in the custody of Madras Record Office. They are in the custody of the Oriental Manuscripts Library. The Professor of History in the University is corresponding directly with the Government.

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao observed that though Taylor's Catalogue was defective, Wilson's Catalogue was so far as it went satisfactory.

The manuscripts related to a diversity of subjects and were in widely different languages. Some of these manuscripts are in England. If something superior to Wilson's Catalogue were aimed at, all the manuscripts would have to be brought together and a committee of experts would have to be appointed.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: What does the learned mover really want?

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: The University of Madras has undertaken to bring out a catalogue. I would ask the University to expedite it.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I second that. I don't think there is any use of discussion

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao: I think it is not fair. I was suggesting that the manuscripts should be brought together first of all. We must have a definite scheme as to what the Hand-Book should contain. As to the contents I am of opinion that Wilson cannot be superseded. But if we want to do more than that then there must be a small committee.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: The India Office has published a list so far as the English manuscript records are concerned.

The following resolution was then passed:—

Resolution XIII.—This Commission recommends that the Madras University should bring out a Hand-list of the Mackenzie Manuscripts as early as possible

8. Resolution by Dr. R. K. Mookerji.—

The Commission repeats its request to the Government of the United Provinces that they be pleased to establish a centralised Records Office at a suitable place in the United Provinces on the lines of similar Records Offices in other Provinces.

Explanatory note.—The records maintained in the archives of the Board of Revenue, Allahabad are indispensable to scholars interested in the history of the North-Western Provinces, now called the United Provinces They are valuable not only for their large number, but also because they are available *at one place*. So far, no systematic attempt has been made to utilise these records, which have not been examined from a historical view point. Of the attempts made in the past to secure their preservation and to catalogue them, the most valuable was that of Douglas Dewar; and the student of History will ever be indebted to him for his most helpful guide, 'A hand book of Premutiny Records in the North-Western Provinces'. The Government has also published several volumes containing important letters, the most important of which is Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum. Its importance may be gathered by the following quotation from "The Land systems of British India" by B. H. Baden Powell, Volume II. "This remarkable state paper, it is hardly too much to say, not only laid the foundation of the modern settlement system which now prevails in Upper India, and the Central Provinces, but is the starting point of our modern knowledge of North India Tenures". But this is by no means enough. Much still remains to be done. Each folio of these volumes, which contain the proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, and the Board of Revenue, includes correspondence between the Collectors, the Boards, and the Governor-General-in-Council, Resolutions and Circulars of the Government, minutes of officers and extracts from the letters of the Honourable Court of Directors. Thus, their importance does not need any detailed emphasis. Besides these

records, there are several folios of indices. The printed indices to these records are not of much use historically. They facilitate the task of a research student considerably. Otherwise, he would have found himself bewildered amidst the enormous material that waits to be tackled. Hence, there are two most important problems to be faced by the U. P. Government. First, to adopt the best means for the preservation of these records, including the indices; secondly, to facilitate the work of a history scholar The Indian Historical Records Commission passed resolutions in its previous sessions for the establishment of a Records Office in the United Provinces—the only Province where such an office does not exist. That would have been, indeed, the best way to preserve, bring together, and catalogue the records available not only at the Board of Revenue, but also the huge mass of material that is lying at other places in a more or less neglected state But if this scheme is not considered feasible at this time, then the following measures may be adopted:—

(1) An expert from the Imperial Record Department may be sent to the Board to rescue many of the tattered pages. He may also instruct the persons concerned in the use of such methods as were advocated by the Indian Historical Records Commission in its last session held at Baroda One feels so distracted in seeing many of the lacunae being pasted up by ordinary thick paper. This must have been done years back But the loss is obvious. Such Volumes need mending, especially the indices; and they must not be treated in the ordinary way

(2) At least two qualified scholars may be appointed to edit the indices. The facilities which these indices afford cannot be emphasised too much. Then, such other series may also be taken in hand which can be easily and early edited. In this manner a beginning may be made

Secretary's note—A somewhat similar resolution was passed by the Commission in 1922. The question was also discussed at Baroda in 1940 (*vide* I. H. R. C. Proceedings volume XVII, part III page 3)

In view of the exhaustive information given by Dr. Mookerjee no discussion was thought necessary and the following resolution was passed:—

Resolution XIV.—This Commission with reference to its previous recommendations strongly urges upon the U. P. Government the necessity of creating a central record office in the United Provinces at an early date.

9. Resolutions by Mr. S. M. Jaffar.—

I. Resolved that this Commission should approach the Government of India with the request that (1) they should urge upon the N.-W. F. P. Government the necessity of organising their record office and throwing it open to bona fide research scholars, and that (2) they should, when approached by the N.-W. F. P. Government, give them suitable financial help so that the recommendation at (1) may be given effect to at once.

Explanatory note.—(1) In the absence of facilities for historical research in the N.-W. F. Province the need for an organised record office, accessible to research scholars, is keenly felt there. There is a huge mass of historical records in the custody of the Provincial Government in addition to that transferred to the custody of the Imperial Record Department. These records will form the most needed nucleus of the proposed record office. Once they are properly arranged and preserved, concentration

of records from other sources—District Record Rooms etc.—can be undertaken. The Provincial Government have been approached in this connection and they have replied that they can do nothing without the concurrence of the Government of India, because their records contain papers relating to Afghanistan and the Central Government.

(2) As the resources of the N.-W. F. Province are very limited, it is possible that the recommendation at (1) may not be given effect to on financial grounds. It is, therefore, suggested that the Government of India, when approached, should also give some suitable financial help to the N.-W. F. Province Government, just as they did in the case of the Punjab.

Secretary's note—It may be stated here that the information regarding the transfer of a huge mass of records from the custody of the N.-W. F. Province to that of the Imperial Record Department was placed before the Baroda session of the Commission [*vide* Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings Volume XVII, part III, page 15 item 17(i)]. These records are being sorted, classified and formed into bundles. A report on them will be found in the Proceedings of the Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 1st December 1941

II. Resolved that copies of the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission should be sent to all the degree colleges affiliated to recognise Indian Universities free of cost if possible, or at their actual cost price.

Explanatory note—Besides embodying the laborious researches of distinguished historians of India and much newly discovered matter, the proceedings of the Commission contain much useful material They should, therefore receive the widest possible publicity The cause of Indian historical research will receive a fresh stimulus if copies of the Proceedings are distributed among the degree colleges of Indian Universities where they can be studied and made use of by professors and students alike If it is not found possible to distribute the copies free, they may be supplied at their actual cost price

Secretary's note.—About 390 copies of the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings are distributed free of cost to the various Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities, learned Institutions and to all members of the Commission In view of the present scarcity of paper further addition to the distribution list does not seem to be feasible.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: If the Government of the N.-W. F. P. gets help from the Government of India other provinces might also ask for it

Chairman: We may agee to Part I of the proposed resolution and leave out Part II.

The following resolution was then passed:—

Resolution XV.—This Commission recommends that a record office be established in the N.-W. F. P.

10. Resolution by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri.—

That all the Universities in India be placed on the free distribution lists of the Central, Provincial and State Governments, regarding such of their publications and printed records as are and would be for sale.

Explanatory note.—All the universities are not on the free lists of all the Governments. A few universities get some publications regularly,

a few irregularly, and the others none at all in spite of request. Under the new constitution of the Commission the Universities have an important part to play and it is only fair that they should be encouraged to do so by every means that lies within the power and influence of the Commission. It may be added that individual scholars are already in the enjoyment of this privilege

Secretary's note.—So far as records publications of the Government of India are concerned it may be stated that all of them are supplied free of cost to all the Indian Universities.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: In the absence of the mover I would formally move this resolution I think it will not be difficult for the governments to accept this recommendation.

Dr. B. S. Baliga: Sir, I may point out that some Universities and learned societies are already on the free distribution list of the Madras Record Office Since the Government have reduced the prices from Rs 25 to Rs. 2 so that the universities and learned societies may have these publications at a nominal price, I do not think the Government will agree to this Resolution

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: Madras is not the only province contemplated by the Resolution. If the Madras Government can supply free copies of their publications to some of the Indian Universities it is difficult to understand why they cannot place the remaining twelve on their free distribution list?

Dr. B. S. Baliga: The Madras Government reduced the price of their publication with the object of encouraging historical research and the number of such publications is so large that it would be really embarrassing for the Government to give them free.

Chairman: This is a subject in which I am personally interested It is a question of principle and I differ entirely from the attitude of the representative of the Madras Government. The University is the training ground for the future citizen and the future citizen is entitled to know everything worth knowing about the state to which he belongs. Therefore every facility should be provided to the Universities to further this object and all the annual reports of the governments should be supplied free of cost to the Universities. It does not matter what their publication price is.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolution was passed:—

Resolution XVI.—This Commission recommends that all the Universities in India be placed on the free distribution list of the Central, Provincial and State Governments regarding such of their publications as are and would be for sale.

11. Resolution by Professor C. V. Joshi.—

This Commission recommends to the Government of India the establishment in Delhi or in any other suitable place a repair room for records equipped with the latest devices for dealing with old documents which should be open for use to provincial governments, Indian States, and the public.

Explanatory note.—Lamination and vacuum fumigation of old records and other methods that may be introduced in the near future are likely to be too costly to be borne by provincial or State record departments. It will be economic to have a central place where records could be dealt with in a scientific manner and whose use could be open to smaller records

rooms on payment of a suitable fee. The work should be taken up as soon as world conditions improve.

Secretary's note.—The proposal for providing the Imperial Record Department with the machineries mentioned above is still under the consideration of the Government of India.

Prof. C. V. Joshi: I think there will not be any difference of opinion about this resolution. I recommend the establishment of something like a workshop or a repair room at Delhi or at any other suitable place for records equipped with the latest devices for dealing with old documents which would be open for use to Provincial Governments, Indian States, and the Public.

Chairman: On behalf of the Government of India I may say that we are making endeavours to get the necessary machinery for repairing and preserving records. As soon as we get them I can assure you that every help will be given to the other record offices. On behalf of the Government of India we can accept this suggestion.

The following resolution was then passed:—

Resolution XVII.—This Commission recommends to the Government of India the establishment in Delhi or any other suitable place a repair room for records equipped with the latest devices for dealing with old documents and to make it available for such use and help as may be required by the Provincial Governments, Indian States and Public.

12. Resolutions by Mons. A. Lehuraux.—

1. *For the convenience of research workers remote from the source of supply, while the indexing of pre-mutiny records at Delhi be proceeded with on the lines adopted at the Baroda Session, that an exception be made in favour of outstanding historical records (e.g., Letters of Clive, or Dupleix or Wellesley etc.) and that these be calendared in the manner followed in Madras.*

Explanatory note.—Through the inconceivable short-sightedness of the Government of India, a research student in Calcutta is obliged to travel to Delhi to consult the archives of Fort William in Bengal—vital to and dealing with the history of his own province and his own capital city under the British rule. This is said without disparagement to Dr. Sen and his able staff whose readiness to assist the inquirer is well-known. It reminds one that a century ago (before the passage of the Public Libraries Act) a Parliamentary Select Committee reported to the House of Commons the case of a scholar who was compelled to remove from London to Gottingen, a town of 10,900 inhabitants in Hanover, to complete his research. Delhi is our Gottingen. As we in Bengal cannot go to Delhi the Records must come to us. Indexing to be effective should be analytical. The system of calendaring which has the high approval of the Master of the Rolls, that Dodwell in the past and Dr. Baliga in the present have adopted in Madras, is still the best method in vogue in modern archives. French India, which I have the honour to represent has adopted it. Mr. E. Gaudart the veteran Archivist, Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur has docketed 6867 documents published in 8 volumes under the title "Catalogue of the Ancient Archives of Pondicherry". In addition he has analysed 2124 Notarial Deeds of Pondicherry, that furnish a picture of the civic life of the Colony, and a volume of 245 selected documents exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition of Paris in 1931. A specimen volume is on view

before this Commission. All this represents a labour of love of well-nigh ten years, by one man who in course of that time became blind of both eyes. Yet, despite this major handicap, this devoted worker was able to analyse 252 files of Criminal cases published under the title: "Criminality in the French factories of India in the 18th century". The disinterested labours of Monsieur Gaudart, President of "La Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française" stirred the emulation of another Member of the same Society, Maitre Gnanou Diagou the head of the Bar at Pondicherry who has analysed 6,101 Judgments of the Superior Council of Pondicherry in 8 volumes. Such edifying labours truly make historical archives serviceable and accessible. I recommend these French Archives as well as the rich Library of Pondicherry comprising some 30,000 volumes to all serious students What Madras and Pondicherry have done is surely not beyond the competence of Delhi

Secretary's note.—The proposal will be completely covered by the five years' programme of the Imperial Record Department as described in the agenda of the Research and Publication Committee subject to the recommendation and approval by the Commission and the Government of India respectively. The exhaustive indexes now in the course of preparation are expected to be of greater help to research workers than calendars.

II. That this Commission be good enough to move the Archæological Department, Southern Circle Mylapure, Madras with a view to their undertaking an investigation of the site between the half-ruined Mantapam and the adjacent tank (known locally as Komarappa Kulam) situated in Purtanandal Village north of Velimedoupet (taluq of Tindivanam S. Arcot), a little below milestone No. 35 on the Tindivanam-Windiwash Road, in order to determine whether it is the site of the city of Dupleix-Fatheabad, in the centre of which the French Governor Dupleix intended to raise a Gopuram, commemorating his victory, and beneath which he buried commemorative medals, photos of which, obtained from the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, are in the mover's possession If the original medals are unearthed it will prove the identity of an interesting historical site

Explanatory note—In May 1939, Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil and the mover of the above resolution, in an archæological tour in S Arcot, visited the Velimedoupet Old Choultry which they believed to be near the site of the murder of the Nizam Nasir Jung on the night of 17 Mohurram 1164 A.H. 5/16 December 1750 A.D Communication of their theory was duly given to the Archæological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, who in their reply D. O. 19-1852, dated the 18th October 1939 signified their intention to visit the site and report. Subsequently Professor Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University, moved the Collector of S. Arcot on the subject and the Collector (Mr. V. N. Kudva, I.C.S.) was good enough to recommend the exploration of the site to the Archæological Department. But nothing has been done

The first proposal was not discussed at all.

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari: There is a difference of opinion about the site in question and it will not be wise on our part to move in the matter until the controversy is satisfactorily settled.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I think we should forward this resolution to the Archæological Department.

Resolution XVIII: Resolved that no action be taken.

13. Resolution by Mr. S. C. Goswami.—

That this Commission recommends that the Assam Government may arrange for the study of records of that Government with a view that important historical papers may be studied and published.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: We may pass a resolution but not in this form. We may simply recommend to the Government of Assam that they should organise a record office and provide necessary facilities for research work there.

The following resolution was passed: -

Resolution XIX.—This Commission recommends to the Government of Assam that they should establish a Records Office and provide necessary facilities for research work there to such *bona fide* students as may seek them

14. Any other subject which may be brought before the meeting.

(i) **Chairman:** Under this item Father Heras wants to move a resolution.

Father H. Heras: I formally move that the Indian Historical Records Commission should request the Portuguese Government in India to continue the publication of their Archives which has been recently discontinued. The decision has been attributed to some errors in Marathi personal and place names in the volumes already published. This in my view does not constitute sufficient justification for discontinuing an otherwise valuable series.

Prof. D. V. Potdar seconded the resolution.

Resolution XX.—This Commission recommends to the Portuguese Government in India the revival and continuance of the Archive Portuguese Oriental which has been discontinued.

(ii) **Prof. D. V. Potdar:** I move that the Government of Bombay be requested to set up two Local Records Committees, one for the Secretariat Records at Bombay and the other for the Alienation Office or Peshwa Daftar at Poona, for purposes of consultation and advice regarding all questions concerning the preservation, utilisation by scholars, publication and such other matters. The archives at Poona are really very important and the Bombay Government have done something for them in spite of the war. But it appears to me that there is no definite programme before the Bombay Government and there is no regular machinery at their disposal. If a Local Records Committee on the same lines as that of Delhi is formed it will be very useful. For instance, there is the question of weeding suggested by Sir Jadunath. If his recommendation had been accepted valuable records would have been lost for ever.

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao: I second it, Sir.

Mr. R. P. Patwardhan: Sir, I do not know why only the Bombay Government has been singled out. I think this recommendation should

be addressed to all provinces As far as the Bombay Government are concerned I think they have been taking the advice of experts. Every Provincial Government and Indian State should have a committee. Therefore this resolution should apply to all

Prof. D. V. Potdar stated that bound volumes have been torn with a view to microfilming records and nothing has been done for repairing them. He felt that irreparable loss will ensure if things went on like this but in view of the opposition of Principal Patwardhan he withdrew his motion for the present.

It was decided to drop the proposal

(iii) **Prof. D. V. Potdar:** May, I, Sir, move another resolution asking the Government of Mysore to take early steps to restore the tomb of Sahaji Maharaj at Hodikere as recommended by the Director of Archæological Survey, Mysore State?

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao suggested that no resolution need be moved as the preservation and restoration of the monument in question is already engaging the attention of the Mysore Government.

Prof. D. V. Potdar withdrew his resolution

(iv) **Resolution by Mr. R. V. Poduval.**

Mr. R. V. Poduval: Sir, many of the British Residencies possess valuable records. From what we have seen in the Exhibition here it appears that the British Residency at Bangalore has got a very good collection of historical records. The British Residency at Travancore has also got similar collections of pre-mutiny records. I therefore move, that the Commission recommend to the Government of India that steps may be taken for a proper examination of records in the British Residencies of the pre-mutiny period and such of them as are not of a confidential character may be thrown open for research purpose and documents of historical importance may be published.

Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously :—

Resolution XXI: This Commission recommends to the Government of India that early steps be taken for a proper examination of the records of the pre-mutiny period in the custody of the British Residencies and those which are not of confidential character be published and thrown open to the *bona fide* research scholars.

(v) **Unidentified Portrait.**—The Secretary placed before the Commission a photograph of an unidentified portrait in the possession of the Imperial Record Department.

15. Dates and places of the 1943 and 1944 meetings.

Chairman: I ask the Secretary to make announcements as to the date and place of the next meeting.

Secretary: The University of Dacca has invited the Commission to hold its next session, i.e., 1942 session at Dacca. Dates have not yet been settled. We have not yet received any invitation for the 1943 and 1944 meetings.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: May I ask the Secretary to suggest some places where we have not met.

Secretary: We have met at Lahore, Patna, Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras Bombay, Poona, Nagpur, Baroda, Rangoon, Gwalior, Simla and Delhi.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: I suggest that the 1943 session may be held in a Rajput State in view of the reputed wealth of Rajputana in historical records.

It was decided to hold the 20th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission if possible in an Indian State, preferably a Rajput State

16. Vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar: On behalf of the members o the Commission I would like, Sir, to move a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Secretary and the Local Secretary for the able manner in which they have conducted the session. We have finished the work in a very satisfactory manner While we missed our President the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker as ill-health has not permitted him to be in our midst we must say that Mr Sargent has worthily occupied his place. We congratulate him for the courtesy and the ability with which he has managed this meeting. We also convey our thanks to the Local Secretary and other workers of Mysore who have not only extended their hospitality to us but have also helped to make the session a success

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari: I second this resolution.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji: I will just make an addition. But for the hard labour put in by the Local Secretary I believe the Commission would not be able to achieve the success it did The Chairman has managed with conspicuous ability a meeting which is apt to run out of control at times. We should also thank Dr Sen, for his indefatigable labour which contributed so much to our success. To the Mysore Government who have extended their hospitality to us, to the Boy-Scouts and other workers we pay a cordial tribute of thanks

The Chairman offered his thanks to the members of the Commission for their kindness and courtesy and associated himself in their appreciation of the labours of the Local Secretary and the Secretary.

Dr. M. H. Krishna: On behalf of the University and the Government of Mysore I convey our most grateful thanks to you all for having come to Mysore

17. Papers and publications on the following subjects were laid on the table.

(i) Reports of the Local Records Sub-Committee held during 1941.

(ii) Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of Baroda.

(iii) Amendments to the rules regulating access of the public to the records under the Chief Commissioner of Coorg.

(iv) Rules regulating access to the old records of the Government of the United Provinces.

(v) A list of certain historical photographs and publications available in the possession of Mrs. M. E. Davey, Negapatam (South India) for sale.

(vi) Annual Reports of--

(*a*) Imperial Record Department, 1940,

(*b*) Madras Record Office, 1940,

(*c*) Bengal Record Office, 1940.

(vii) Imperial Record Department publications—

(*a*) List of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

(*b*) Index to the Land Revenue Records, 1838—59.

(viii) Books and periodicals presented to the Commission during 1941.

1. Historical Selections from Baroda State Records, volume VI.
2. Haidar Ali, by Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D
3. An Account of Assam, edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D.
4. A brief History of Chauhans of Ajmer and Identity of Prithviraj Chauhan's maternal grandfather by Mr. Panchanan Raya.
5. Verelst's Rule in India by Dr. N. L. Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

(ix) Research reports received from the following Corresponding Members:—

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E
2. Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.
3. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.
4. Dr. B. A. Saletore M.A, Ph.D (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen.).
5. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.
6. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.
7. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.
8. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
9. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D.
10. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A.
11. Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Lond.), M.R.A.S.
12. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.
13. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D.
14. Dr K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.
15. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B.
16. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
17. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A.
18. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.).
19. Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.
20. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A.
21. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., M.R.A.S.
22. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe.
23. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya.
24. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S.
25. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux.
26. Cavaliero P. Pissurlencar.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at the seventeenth meeting and on some passed at previous sessions.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution I.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua, Ven. W. K. Firminger, Sir E. Denison Ross and Dr. Balkrishna and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.	The resolution of condolence was forwarded to the bereaved families.		
Resolution II.—In view of the fact that the Madras Government have printed their record up to 1753 and have the calendaring of records from 1753-65 well in hand, besides having made still further progress, with the calendaring of the Revenue Records, this Commission recommends that work at Madras should continue on the present lines. With regard to the other provinces and the Government of India, as calendaring is more costly and takes longer time than indexing and indexing will serve the immediate needs of research students, this Commission recommends to the other provincial Governments and to the Government of India to arrange for the preparation of indexes of their pre-mutiny records on the lines of the Index to the Land Revenue Records, 1830-37 recently issued by the Imperial Record Department which the Commission considers to be very helpful	Forwarded to all the Provincial Governments.	(1) The Government of Bengal have decided to prepare a consolidated index of the 18th century records department by department. Preparation of index of the Revenue Department has been taken up with the help of honorary scholars from the Calcutta University (2) The Punjab Government have already press-listed and indexed all their pre-mutiny records. (3) Sind Government have undertaken the preparation of indexes of their records. (4) Bombay Government have undertaken the preparation of handlist of records in the Secretariat Record Office up-to the year 1827. After the completion of this work the question of indexing of records for the period 1828-57 will be considered. (5) N.-W. F. P. was separated from the Punjab and the Historical records are with the latter Government. They have, however, noted the resolutions for future guidance. (6) Assam Government are arranging and classifying their pre-1874 records. The old records of that Government are not complete many of them being destroyed by fire and earthquake in the last century. (7) There is no organised record office in Orissa. (8) The Government of the C. P. and Berar consider that their records have been adequately indexed and these indexes have been printed. There are certain unindexed records which will be indexed in due course. (9) The Bihar Government have undertaken the preparation of an estimate of work of indexing and calendaring their records. The publications noted in the remarks column contain important information but the Provincial Government propose to verify these in respect of the Land Revenue Index issued by the Imperial Record Department.	A copy of the letter from the Government of C. P. & Berar, No. 2049/191/ACDS, dated 9th October 1941 together with Secretary's comments on it is laid on the table. 1. Selections from the correspondence of the Revenue Chief of Bihar from 1781 to 1786 by Mr. Justice (now Sir Francis) James and published in the year 1919. 2. A Hand Book of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Records from 1771 to 1859 by Principal K. P. Mitra, M.A., of the Patna University and published in the year 1933.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution II (a).—The Commission further recommeds that the work on these lines at the Imperial Records may be expedited by the provision of adequate funds for the purpose, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Indian States through the usual official channel, inviting their cooperation by starting the indexing of their historical records on similar lines.	Under the consideration of the Government of India. Forwarded to the Indian States by H. E. the Crown Representative.	(1) The Jind Darbar are taking steps for the indexing of their records. (2) The Khairpur Darbar are making arrangements for indexing of their pre-1894 Persian records. (3) Tehri (Garhwal).—Indexes of old records are available in the State but they do not contain any material of interest to the Historical Record Commission. (4) Sirmur.—All records of historical importance are very carefully preserved in the State and the state District Collector has been asked to collect documents of historical importance and to prepare indexes on the lines suggested. (5) Bilaspur.—The Darbar do not propose to take any action in this regard for the present. (6) Bashahr.—The Darbar are not yet in a position to index the historical records in the State which are mostly in the form of metal "Pattas". Efforts will, however, be made to collect and index these records in the near future. (7) Kalsia.—The system of indexing outlined in the resolutions of the Commission is already being followed in the State to a great extent. In future efforts will be made to arrange the State records strictly in accordance with the procedure laid down.	Kolhapur, Aundh and Sangli Darbars have no remarks to offer.
Resolution III.—The Commission recommends that the Imperial Record Department and the Provincial Record Offices should issue separate catalogues of their records publications and bring them up to date from time to time. These catalogues should be circulated among the Record Offices, Universities and the learned institutions.	In view of the existing economy in paper it has been decided to insert a list of earlier publications in each book to be issued from the Imperial Record Department.	(1) The Government of Madras have decided to print a catalogue and to distribute it free of cost. (2) Necessary action is being taken by the Government of the Punjab. (3) Proposal under consideration of the Government of Sind. (4) No publications have been issued by the Government of Bombay since many years. Adequate publicity will be given whenever any is issued. (5) There is no organised record office in the U. P. and no catalogue of records publications have been issued. (6) A list of Bengal records office publications appear as fly-leaf to a newly issued publication which is distributed. The Government do not consider it necessary to print separate catalogue. (7) There is no organised record room in Orissa and no action therefore can be taken. (8) As there are only two official publications on the pre-mutiny records of the Bihar Government, there is at present no necessity to publish a catalogue.	Please see remarks column on page 29 against item No. 9.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution IV.—Resolved that the Commission brings to the notice of the Indian States the desirability of organising record offices for the preservation of the valueable historical documents in their custody and for collecting originals or copies of such documents of historical value as may be found in the possession of private families within their jurisdiction. They may also be informed that such expert help as they may require for the organisation of their muniment rooms will be available from the Secretary of the Commission.	Forwarded to the Indian States by His Excellency the Crown Representative.	(1) A permanent Record Office has been established in the Hyderabad State long ago and work is being carried out on the lines recommended by the Commission. Various indexes have already been prepared and are under print. (2) Bahawalpur State will take necessarry action. (3) Khairpur and Malerkotla Darbars are making arrangements for collection of documents of historical value. (4) Records lying in the Toshakhana of the Kapurthala State have been catalogued under the advice of an expert. (5) There are no records of historical value in Pataudi, Dujana and Loharu States. (6) The Bikaner Government are making efforts to collect old records and organise a record room in due course.	
Resolution V.—Resolved that this Commission requests the Calcutta High Court not to destroy any of the old records in its custody, but to transfer them to some record office in Bengal or to any University in the Province.	Forwarded by the Government of India.	The practice that obtains in the High Court, Calcutta in connection with the destruction of old records is that when these records are ripe for destruction, an invitation is sent to the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, to send an expert to examine them to see if they contain any documents of historic or antiquarian interest.	Attention of the members of the Commission is invited to the reply from the Government of Bengal for re-consideration.
Resolution VI.—Resolved that the consideration of the report be taken up next year.	Opinion of the members were obtained separately and communicated to the Government of Bombay.	......	A copy of the consolidated report is laid on the table.
Resolution VII.—The Commission recommends that its opinion as a body should be taken before the Government of India come to a final decision about its reorganisation.	.. .	....	The Commission has been reconstituted.
Item 2.—Resolution V of the 16th Session.—It was further resolved that a Selection Committee with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary as members be appointed for the scrutiny of the papers received.	Recommendation was not acceptable to the Government of India.	......	The Government of India do not see any justification for departing from the view already taken by them in the matter.
Item 4.—Best method of Preservation of Records.	The notes on the preservation method were circulated to all the provincial governments and Indian States for necessary action.	.....	A copy is laid on the table.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Item 10.—The chairman suggested that a copy of the latest rules of the Imperial Record Department should be forwarded to every provincial government with a request that if action on similar lines is taken it will be greatly helpful to the cause of research.	Forwarded to all the Provincial Governments for necessary action.	(1) & (2) The rules in the Governments of Madras and the Punjab have been revised lately on the lines of the Imperial Record Department Rules. (3) A proposal to modify the rules of the Government of Bombay is under consideration. (4) There is nothing in the rules framed by the Assam Government that requires amendment in the light of the resolution. (5) The rules of the U. P. Government have been revised in the light of the Imperial Record Department Rules. (6) The Government of the C. P. and Berar have already revised their rules in the light of the Imperial Record Department Rules. (7) There is no provincial records office in Bihar and for the present the question of adopting the rules of the Imperial Record Department governing access to documents and censoring fees does not arise	

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

22nd January 1942.

Chairman (Mr. John Sargent): Ladies and gentlemen, we are honoured by the presence of the Dewan of Mysore State who will be kind enough to open the exhibition. I want to express my own obligations to him before I call upon the Secretary of the Commission formally to invite him on behalf of the Commission to open the exhibition.

Secretary: Ladies and gentlemen, from its inception the Indian Historical Records Commission had a Historical Records Exhibition as one of its adjuncts. The Exhibition serves two very useful purposes. It often brings to light many valuable old manuscript records formerly unknown and unnoticed by scholars and at the same time it awakens in the lay public a keen interest in the raw materials of history. Mysore is not only one of the most progressive of the modern States of India but it is wellknown for its wealth of ancient monuments and relics of the past. As the President very aptly remarked yesterday Indian History was more than once made and remade here. Mysore witnessed the prowess of the Hoysalas, shared the glories of Vijayanagar, nursed the Maratha power in its infancy, then turned back at its full tide the Southward course of Maratha expansion, challenged the might of the rising British power in India and finally settled down under her enlightened rulers to pursue a policy of peace and prosperity. This chequered history has been amply illustrated in the exhibits brought together by my friend and colleague Dr. Krishna and his associates They did not interpret the term "record" in the narrow official sense and in their collection will be found not only old manuscripts and crumbling papers but also photographs of the ancient monuments, coins, paintings, arms and armours. Some of the records brought here by the Imperial Record Department also relate to the past history of the State It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the Dewan of Mysore should take a keen interest in this exhibition. But it will be a mistake to think that this exhibition is of local interest only. We have, received exhibits from different corners of India, from Patna, Lucknow, Jodhpur, Baroda, Poona, Indore, Bijapur, not to mention your own records from the Secretariat and the Residency at Bangalore. I should particularly draw your attention to a small photograph exhibited in the Eastern gallery of a Persian *Farman* sent from Assam because it forms the subject of a controversy. The contention is that it is a *Farman* of the great Aurangzeb but some experts are of opinion that it was really issued by one of his officers and not by him. The exhibition will, it is hoped, offer a sumptuous intellectual repast agreeable to all tastes. I will now request the Dewan Saheb to open the exhibition. Sir, it was very kind of you to have come here this morning to open this Exhibition in spite of your many pre-occupations and onerous duties, and I am sure I am voicing the feelings of my colleagues when I say that we are all very grateful to you. I welcome you here formally on behalf of the Exhibition Committee and my friend and colleagues of Mysore. I now formally request you to be kind enough to open the Exhibition.

Speech of Rajamantrapravina N. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is to me both a pleasure and a privilege to have been asked to declare open this Exhibition of Indian Historical Records which is being held in connection with the eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. I am grateful to the authorities of the Exhibition for affording me an opportunity to gain some idea of the great services which the Indian Historical Records Commission have been rendering for well nigh two decades by their endeavours to conserve and interpret the documents of the country and correlate the facts revealed by them in evolving an objective and authentic modern history of our great land.

Some of the great men of the world had a cynical distrust of history and historians. On the other hand, philosophers were wont to exalt history to a high place among the moral forces of the world and to justify the colouring of events and a certain play of the imagination as inevitable and even beneficial in the writing of history In modern times all this has changed The historian does not aspire to be a novelist or a moralist, much less a crude panegyrist. We are told that to-day the work of producing history is an elaborate process involving an arduous search for historical material, scientific care in the preservation of such material, a critical appraisement of the evidentiary value of the different kinds of historical sources and, lastly, the erection of the edifice of history by the collation and synthesis of facts emerging from this study.

Regard for historical truth combined with a patriotic veneration for the past has led to the recovery and preservation of much historical material in India. It was in a large measure due to the historical sense and foresight of Lord Curzon that systematic measures were adopted for the conservation and exploration of India's antiquities. The contribution made by Indian Archæology to the elucidation of obscure chapters of Indian History is considerable but the discoveries at the ancient sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro will rank as the crowning achievements of Indian Archæologists. In Mysore, too, considerable work has been done for Indian History by our Archæological Department established many years ago. We have our own wealth of ancient monuments which have been carefully preserved. Besides, the twelve volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica are a notable contribution to Indian History.

If the conservation and study of ancient monuments are important from the point of view of India's earlier history, the preservation and study of original documents are important from the standpoint of Modern Indian History. It was, therefore, a measure of no small significance which the Government of India took when they constituted the Indian Historical Records Commission twenty years ago with the object of stimulating historical research by bringing documents within easier reach of the student They also set a praiseworthy example when they connected the Indian Historical Records Commission with the Imperial Record Department an example which has been followed by various other Provincial Governments and States and which has resulted in a number of valuable documents being discovered, collected, protected and made available to the student of history.

Gentlemen, I have been looking through the list of exhibits at this Exhibition and am very interested to see that there are a number of documents of special interest to us in Mysore which have been brought by the

Imperial Record Department. There are, for instance, the original letters written by Tipu Sultan, Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar and Purnaiya There is also a document relating to a certain practice said to have prevailed in the State about a hundred years ago of selling women who offended against the rules of their caste. Besides, there are other documents relating to the construction of a bridge over the Shimsha near Maddur and a dam at Marikanive—a dam which has since been constructed and bears the name of Vani Vilas Sagar. These and other documents show what a flood of light such records could throw on the social conditions of the people at different periods of history and the problems which faced the administrations of those times. They show, moreover, a continuity in the administration of the State; only the problems of one period may be the achievements of another. One of the exhibits is an order of Dewan Purnaiya sanctioning the *sahagamana* of a woman in Talkad. The administrators of the State in modern days may well thank God that they are not called upon to deal with such horrible questions of custom *versus* conscience. But the most interesting of all the exhibits relating to Mysore, which I am keenly looking forward to inspect, is the minute by Lord Minto respecting the mode of treatment to be accorded to the families of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Apart from its interest as a document of historical importance, this minute is noteworthy for the nobility of the sentiments which Lord Minto, on behalf of the British Government, expresses when he says that the families of Tipu Sultan and Hyder Ali are "entitled to all the considerations which belong to illustrious birth and to the tenderness which is due to misfortune, especially in a vanquished enemy".

Nothing is better calculated to popularize the Commission and their work, and to rouse the dormant interest of the lay public in matters pertaining to historical research than an exhibition of this kind. The interpretation of historical records is the specialised task of scholars, but the very preservation of the raw materials of history is often dependent on the intelligent and willing co-operation of the layman. An old letter, an obsolete coin, a tarnished copper plate inscription, a forgotten donatory grant—such are the elements out of which the trained historian frequently builds up the fabric of history. Such materials lie scattered all over the country —in the archives of an out of the way public office, it may be, or in the possession of private individuals unconscious of the value of their possessions—and if the guardians of such documents are either unappreciative of their importance or unwilling to produce them, historical study is bound to suffer. We have in the State a large number and a great variety of other documents relating to modern history in the Records Section of the General and Revenue Secretariat, the Palace Records Office, the records of the various Mutts and other religious institutions, in addition to the documents in the custody of many of the old families in the State. Some of these are being assiduously studied by our Archæological Department. But many sources of historical information still remain to be tapped, and the purpose of this Exhibition would surely be served if the people of Mysore cultivated a real interest in the manuscript records of their State, took proper care of what still survive and made them available to the *bona fide* historian for study.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have now great pleasure in declaring the Exhibition of Historical Records open.

List of exhibits at Appendix G.

APPENDIX A.

Government of India Resolution regarding reconstitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

RESOLUTION

(EDUCATION)

Simla, the 16th September 1941.

No. F. 92-9 40-E.—In their Department of Education Resolution No. 77, dated the 21st March 1919, the Government of India announced their decision to adopt certain measures with a view to making the official records in India more accessible than before to students of history and to removing any existing obstacles to research. One of these measures was the constitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission which was intended to serve as a permanent body of experts whose opinion would carry weight both with the Government and the public. It was laid down that the duties of the Commission would be of a purely consultative character; it would make enquiries and recommendations regarding (i) the treatment of archives for the purposes of historical study in all provinces of India and in such Indian States as might seek their advice, (ii) the scale and plan on which the cataloguing, calendaring and reprinting of each class of documents should be undertaken (iii) sums required for encouraging research and publication in respect of unpublished documents, (iv) the extent to which and the manner in which documents should be open to inspection by the public, and (v) the training of Indian students from the Universities in methods of historical research and the selection of competent editors and assistants for the publication of documents.

2. At present the Commission consists of seven experts and the following four *ex-officio* members:—

(1) The Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands (*Ex-Officio* President.)

(2) The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Ex-officio* Secretary).

(3) The Curator, Madras Record Office

(4) The Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.

Besides these, there is another category of members designated as "Corresponding Members". This new class of membership was created in pursuance of a recommendation made by the Commission at its sixth meeting in 1924 and it now includes over 50 persons. The main function of these members is to conduct research among records and to bring to the notice of the Commission such historical documents in private custody as they may discover. It has also been the usual practice to invite contributors of papers to the public meetings of the Commission and persons taking interest in the Commission's activities to attend the annual sessions as co-opted members.

3. During the two decades which have elapsed since its constitution, the Commission has held seventeen meetings at various important centres in India, including two in Indian States, and has done much to foster an interest in historical records and to stimulate research in Indian history. A great deal, however, yet remains to be done. For example, many provinces are still without any organized Record Offices. Some Provincial Record Offices are not yet in a position to provide research scholars with the handbooks and calendars contemplated by the Commission. No regional surveys have been organized with a view to rescuing valuable manuscript records in private custody from inevitable ravages of insect pests, age and other destructive agents. No scheme has so far been evolved for training university students in scientific methods of historical research. The experience gained up to the present clearly indicates that substantial progress can only be achieved by greater and more active co-operation between the Commission on the one hand and the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned institutions on the other.

4. In order to promote such co-operation, the Government of India are now pleased to sanction, after consultation with Provincial Governments, Indian States, Indian Universities and learned societies interested in the matter, a scheme for the reorganization of the Indian Historical Records Commission on a broader basis. They have decided that the Commission shall in future consist of members of the following three categories:—

(A) *Ordinary Members.*

(i) The Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, *ex-officio* President.

(ii) Not more than five experts appointed by the Government of India on account of their specialised knowledge of the treatment of archives or their contribution to Indo-British History.

(iii) One nominee each of such Provincial Governments and Indian States as may have organized record rooms.

(iv) The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, *ex-officio* Secretary.

The existing *ex-officio* and other Ordinary Members of the Commission shall be regarded as having ceased to be such, with effect from the date of this Resolution, with the exception of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India who continues to be *ex-officio* Secretary under (iv) above. The new *ex-officio* President shall also be regarded as having assumed charge of his duties in that capacity with effect from the same date.

(B) *Corresponding Members.*

The selection of members in this category will be confined to persons directly interested in records, only published work of sufficient merit being accepted as satisfactory evidence of such interest. It is intended that their number should eventually be limited to 40, excluding persons residing in the United Kingdom, but the existing Corresponding Members shall continue to be so until the expiration of the term for which they have already been appointed. Corresponding Members will have the option of attending the public meetings of the Commission and may, by special invitation, participate in the deliberations of the members' meetings. They will, however, be expected to bear their own expenses

(C) *Associate Members.*

All members of the Research and Publication Committee mentioned hereafter will have the status of Associate Members. They will be entitled to attend the members' meetings and will enjoy the rights of the Ordinary Members.

5. The Commission will have the following two adjuncts:—

(1) *A Research and Publication Committee.*

The duties of this Committee will briefly be to further the research activities of the Record Offices of the Central and Provincial Governments and Indian States and to undertake or to promote regional surveys for bringing manuscript records in private custody to public notice as well as to suggest ways and means for their preservation and publication whenever necessary. The composition of this Committee will be as follows:—

(a) The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, *ex-officio* Chairman.

(b) The experts appointed as Ordinary Members of the Commission under paragraph 4 (A) (ii) above.

(c) One nominee each of such Provincial Governments and Indian States as may co-operate with the Commission in the publication of Provincial and State Records.

(d) One nominee each of such learned societies and universities as may co-operate with the Commission in its publication programme and in conducting regional surveys and explorations of archives in India.

(e) The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India as *ex-officio* Secretary.

The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India will also remain the general editor of the Indian Record Series but, whenever necessary, the services of other experts will be utilized to assist in the publication of any particular volume or volumes. The Research and Publication Committee will, especially in the matter of regional surveys, need regional co-operation, whether purely official or official and non-official combined. The Government of India trust that Governments of the Provinces and Indian States will set up regional organisations constituted according to the special needs of the territories under their control, to co-operate with the central organization on which they will be fully represented.

(2) *A Local Records Sub-Committee.*

The main function of this Sub-Committee will be to advise the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on such matters connected with the work of the Imperial Record Department as may be referred to it. It will consist of the following:—

(a) The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, *ex-officio* Chairman.

(b) A nominee of the Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative.

(c) A Corresponding or an Associate Member of the Commission ordinarily residing in Delhi Province selected by the Government of India.

(d) The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, *ex-officio* Secretary.

6. The Government of India desire that the nominees of the Provincial Governments and the Indian States to be appointed as Ordinary Members of the Commission should be their official spokesmen competent to represent their point of view on all questions concerning the Provincial Governments or the Indian States, as the case may be, in their administrative and financial aspects, and that the nominees of these authorities and of learned societies and Universities to be appointed as members of the Research and Publication Committee should be men of academic distinction with a considerable amount of original research work on the British period of Indian history to their credit. This does not exclude the possibility of the same person being selected to represent a Provincial Government or an Indian State, as the case may be, on both the Commission and the Committee, though a Provincial Government or an Indian State will be at liberty to nominate different persons to serve on the two bodies.

7. The Ordinary Members of the Commission and members of the Research and Publication Committee (other than *ex-officio* Ordinary Members of the Commission and *ex-officio* members of the Research and Publication Committee), as also all Corresponding Members of the Commission, will be appointed for a term of five years, but they will be eligible for re-appointment.

8. The travelling allowance of the *ex-officio* President and Secretary of the Commission, the *ex-officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Research and Publication Committee and the experts referred to in paragraphs 4 (A) (ii) and 5 (1) (b) will be a charge on central revenues. The *ex-officio* President and Secretary of the Commission, the *ex-officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Research and Publication Committee and any officials appointed as experts under paragraphs 4 (A) (ii) and 5 (1) (b) will draw travelling allowance as on tour for attending meetings of the Commission or the Committee and the expenditure will be debited to the same head as their pay. Non-officials appointed as experts will draw travelling allowance at first class rates and their daily allowance will ordinarily be Rs. 5 per diem but in special cases, such as those of persons who are employees of non-official bodies like Universities, *e.g.*, Vice-Chancellors, and who are in receipt of a pay exceeding Rs. 1,000 per mensem, the amount of daily allowance will be regulated in accordance with Supplementary Rule 51. The expenditure will be met from the budget grant of the Imperial Record Department. The Provincial Governments, the Indian States, the Universities and learned societies concerned will be required to bear the travelling allowances of their nominees serving as Ordinary Members of the Commission or as members of the Research and Publication Committee.

9. Facilities will be provided at the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, for training a limited number of students in scientific methods of (i) the storage, preservation and repair of records and (ii) historical research. The Provincial Governments, the Indian States, Universities and learned societies will, the Governmennt of India hope, avail themselves of these facilities and send suitable persons for such training either at their own expense or at the expense of the persons concerned. When necessary, they may also apply to the Government of India for the services of the Keeper of the Records of the Governmennt of India to advise them on matters connected with records, but they will have to bear the travelling allowances of the Keeper of the Records and any staff accompanying him, if he has to visit any place for this purpose.

10. The Government of India desire that the re-organization of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the lines now laid down should be completed in time for the next session of the Commission which is to be held at Mysore not later than January 1942 and that the Commission should, as soon as possible, draw up for submission to the Government of India a five-year programme of work together with a statement showing the expenditure likely to be incurred in each of the five years and the manner in which it may be allocated between the various authorities concerned, *e.g.*, the Central and Provincial Governments and Indian States. Neither the Government of India, nor the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned societies are to be regarded as having been, in any way, committed in advance to the acceptance, in whole or in part, of the five-year programme or of any other measures that may be recommended by the Commission or by the Research and Publication Committee. They will also retain full freedom to modify or reject any views that may be expressed from time to time by their respective nominees on the Commission or the Committee. The Government of India, however, feel confident that the recommendations of the Commission and the Committee will undoubtedly carry weight with and receive full consideration from all the parties concerned and that intelligent co-operation and goodwill will result in a general improvement of the existing arrangements for the discovery, preservation, publication and exploitation for research of the valuable records all over the country.

Order.—Ordered that this Resolution be communicated to all Provincial Governments and Local Administrations, the several Departments of the Government of India (including the Financial Adviser, Military Finance, the Central Board of Revenue, the Defence Co-ordination Department and the Deartment of Supply), the Political Department, the Secretary, Governor General (Personal), the Secretary, Governor General (Public), the Secretary, Governor General (Reforms), the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

Ordered also, that this Resolution be published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India.

JOHN SARGENT,

Joint Secretary to the Government of India.

APPENDIX B

Reports of the fourth and fifth meetings of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 22nd March and 1st December 1941.

PRESENT.

Mr. John Sargent, M.A., *Chairman.*

Capt. N. Ramsay, *Member.*

Dr. T. G. P Spear, M.A., Ph.D . *Member.*

Dr. S. N. Sen. M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), *Secretary.*

REPORT.

I. Review of the action taken on the Resolution passed at first, second and third meetings of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held in November 1939 and March and November 1940.

The action taken on the Resolution was approved.

II. Printing of the List of Treaties.

Resolved that the List be printed and copies distributed to universities and learned institutions in India.

III. Transcription of faded documents.

Resolved that the work be continued.

IV. Special grant of purchase of historical reference publications for Imperial Record Department Library.

Resolved that an enquiry be made whether the books on Indian History available in the Imperial Secretariat Library can be transferred to the Imperial Record Department on conditions that the Imperial Record Department will undertake to supply requisitions for them as are being done in respect of the publications already transferred there by the said Library from time to time.

Resolved further that the Government of India be approached for funds when the budget for 1942-43 is prepared

V. A statement of temperature and relative humidity as revealed by hygrographs in the ground floor and the second floor.

Reading from the hygrographs be taken about the relative humidity and temperature in the record rooms for another year.

Signature—

John Sargent, *Chairman.*

N. Ramsay, *Member.*

Percival Spear, *Member.*

S. N. Sen, *Secretary.*

Report of the meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 1st December 1941. (Fifth meeting).

PRESENT.

Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., *Chairman.*

Capt. N. Ramsay, M.B.E., *Member.*

Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D., *Member.*

Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), *Secretary.*

REPORT.

I. A five-year programme of work for the Research and Publication Committee.

Resolution 1:—The scheme be approved and placed before the Research and Publication Committee for detailed consideration.

II. Reduction in the price of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence.

Resolution 2:—The question may be considered after the war.

III. The exploration, listing and publication of the Persian News letters (*Akhbars*) (1778-1839) preserved in the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution 3:—The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be authorised to pay out of the funds placed at his disposal reasonable charges for transcribing documents in oriental languages.

IV. Retention of services of two temporary dusting-bearers up to March 1942.

Resolution 4:—The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be authorised to engage temporary dusting bearers for three months at one time.

V. Equipments for the Preservation Section, (a) Analytical Ultra-Violet lamp, and (b) Paradichlorobenzene Fumigation Chamber.

Resolution 5:—Proposal relating to the equipment for the Preservation Section be commended for favourable consideration of the Government of India.

VI. Review of the action taken on the Resolution passed at the fourth meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 22nd March 1941.

The action taken on the Resolutions was approved.

Signature—

John Sargent, *Chairman.*

T. G. P. Spear, *Member.*

N. Ramsay, *Member.*

S. N. Sen, *Secretary.*

II. *Arrangement of the N.-W. F. P. Records.*—

Sixteen bags of manuscript records of great historical interest have been transferred to the custody of this department by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province. These pertain to the period prior to the constitution of that Province and are expected to throw a flood of light on important topics such as the Russian activities in the Frontier and the Afghan and Tribal Affairs. The records are mostly in English, and English translations of the Persian and Gurmukhi papers are generally available. The papers come under various headings such as Political, Judicial, Revenue, General Military etc. There are no indexes, catalogues, hand-lists and duplicate proceedings volumes for these records. The proceedings do not bear any consultation numbers and sometimes papers of different years on the same subject have been kept together. They are being examined, sorted and re-arranged according to branches and years. After this they will be (1) provided with the identification numbers to facilitate their location, (2) listed, (3) made up into bundles and (4) classified into A, B and C as steps preliminary to their being flattened, repaired and indexed in due course. For information.

APPENDIX C.

Research Reports received from corresponding Members.

Research Reports from the Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1st April 1940 to 31st March 1941).

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., London.

Edited the following book:—

The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591-1603 (Hakluyt Society; 1940).

2. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalainagar.

Wrote the following books:—

(1) 'Ananda Ranga Pillai—The Pepys of French India' with a foreword by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. (Madras, 1940)—(pp.XXV+512).

(2) Section VIII of Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam by Narayana Kone. (Edited and Translated from the Tamil. In press).

(3) A History of Gingee and its Rulers. (Annamalai University, 1941).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Supply of Historical notes to the 'Sources of the History of the Carnatic'. (Madras University Islamic Series—Vol. III).

(2) "The Life of Pachaiyappa". (Pachaiyappa's Residential College Souvenir Publication).

(3) The Maratha Occupation of the Carnatic and its Significance. (Indian History Congress, Fourth Session, Lahore).

(4) The first years of Maratha Rule in the Lower Carnatic. (Kane Commemoration Volume, Bombay).

(5) The First Indian Courtiers of the French (I. H. R. C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

(6) Some Aspects of Chola Civilisation (Special Christmas Number of the South Indian Railway Magazine).

(7) The Madras Sepoy and his Services in the Past (New Review, May, 1941, Calcutta).

(8) The South Indian Sepoy and his Value in History. (The Indian Review, Dec. 1940)

(9) South Indian Rural Life in the Past (New Review, 1941).

Attended to the following historical work:—

(1) Rendered help to Mon. A. Lehuraux in collecting material for the location of the site of the commemorative choultry in memory of Nawab Nasir Jang Bahadur and of the probable site of Dupleix-Fathabad.

(2) Edited "The Nayaks of Tanjore" by V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A., M.Litt., published by the Annamalai University.

3. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

Wrote the following monographs:—

(1) Sri Vijaya (South Indian influences in Malaya peninsula and Archipelago). (To be published in Bulletin de L' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient).

(2) Historical method in relation to problems of South Indian History (To be published by the Madras University and is intended to be used as a guide to research workers in South Indian history).

Is engaged in preparing the following book:—

Cola art and architecture.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Cakravartiksetram (K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration volume).

(2) Tribhuvanam inscription of Kulottunga III (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume).

(3) India and China (Madras University Journal, Vol. XII, No. 1).

(4) Some Dutch documents on the seige of Jinji and the capitulation of Pondicherry (I.H.R.C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

(5) Cakravartin (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, No. 9).

(6) Nalanda—a monograph (Madras University Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 2).

(7) A Brahmi inscription from Gurzala (Epigraphia Indica).

(8) Lanka (C.R. Reddy Commemoration Volume).

(9) Origin of the Veda (Indian History Congress, fourth Session).

(10) Caturmahadvipas (Jubilee number of the Journal of Indian History).

(11) A Cave inscription from Pachmarhi (Epigraphia Indica).

(12) Twelve Telugu Coda inscriptions (in collaboration with Mr. M. Venkataramayya in Epigraphia Indica).

(13) Recent progress in Malayan archæology (Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1).

Translated some more sheets of Anandaranga Pillai's diary (unpublished so far) received from Professor Dubreuil and also of another manuscript of the diary of Tiruvengadam Pillai, nephew of Anandaranga Pillai. Got three volumes of Tiruvengadam's diary copied from the Madras Records Office and translated some portion into English. These will be edited and published in due course. (Please see also his research report in the I.H.R.C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

Has been continuing his work on the Mackenzie Manuscripts and has so far summarised 102 manuscripts in Tamil, 30 in Kannada, and 115 in Telugu.

4. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil. (Giessen), Ahmedabad.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Acarya Siddhasena Divakara (The Journal of the Bombay University 1941)

(2) Some Unknown Events in the Career of Venkoji. (I.H.R.C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

(3) Mughal Rule in Karnataka. (The Dr. A. C. Woolner Commemoration Volume, Lahore, 1940).

(4) A Kannada Letter from the Imperial Record Department (To be published soon).

(5) The Political History of Karnataka from the earliest times till the establishment of the Kingdom of Mysore. (Being the Chapter I of the History of Kannada-Nadu, published by the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore, 1940).

(6) A Note on the origin of the word "Bombay" (The Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, 1941).

Is engaged in making a list of manuscripts in the possession of persons in and around Ahmedabad.

5. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dacca.

Wrote the following book:—

Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, Volume I, 1765-1774 (To be published by Messrs. Longman, Green & Co., Ltd.)

Wrote the following paper:—

The Location of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat in Bengal (I.H.R.C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

Is engaged on researches into the Early Judicial System of the East India Company in Bengal.

6. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Haidar Ali's relations with the British (1760-67, I.H.R.C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

(2) Haidar Ali's relations with the Marathas (1769-70, Indian Historical Quarterly, December 1940).

7. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lucknow.

(1) Has completed researches on "Chandragupta Maurya and His Times (a picture of India in the Fourth Century B.C.)" on the basis of which he delivered Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University in Oct. 1940.

(2) Is also engaged in conducting researches of some of the post-graduate students of the Lucknow University on the History of Oudh and Revenue History of U. P. under the Company.

8. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lucknow.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) The Administration of Justice in Bihar and Bengal. (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol XXVI, Part I).

(2) Shah Alam at Allahabad (Journal of U. P. Historical Society, Vol. XII, Part II).

(3) Government's Frontier Policy. (Amrita Bazar Patrika, Puja Annual, 1940).

(4) Should Indian History be re-written? (Advance, Puja Annual, 1940).

(5) The Military Aspect of the North-West Frontier Problem (Hindusthan Standard, Puja Annual, 1940).

(6) Was the Abdali invasion of 1766-67 a menace to Bengal? (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX, Part II).

(7) Did the Bengalis betray the country to the English? (Bihar Herald, New Series, Vol. II, No. 30).

(8) Should Indian History be sugar-coated? (Pioneer, Feb. 1940).

(9) A Forgotten Treaty (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 3).

(10) Inlay work in Mughal Architecture (Indian History Congress, 1940).

(11) The North West Frontier Problem (Indian History Congress, 1940).

(12) Clive and the junior civil servants (I.H.R C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

(13) The United Provinces and the Reforms (Scholar, Annual Number, 1940).

(14) The Pros and Cons of a Forward Policy on the North West Frontier (Student, Vol. I, Nos 3 and 4).

(15) The United Provinces in the Pre-Reform Days (Modern Review, Vol. LXIX, No. 2).

Read the following paper from the All India Radio Station, Lucknow:—

History and Cryptography.

Is engaged in studying the manuscript records relating to the Company's administration in North India.

Is supervising the research work of a number of Ph. D. students in the Lucknow University.

Is collecting the unpublished historical material in the manuscript records of the Government of the United Provinces.

Is on the editorial board of the Journal of U. P. Historical Society.

9. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Benares.

Is engaged in writing the following book:—

Delegated Legislation in Indian Government.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) North-Western question of Indian History 1798-1830 (Calcutta Review Nov. 1940 and Feb. 1941).

(2) Fascist State (Published as Beechams Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. I).

(3) Administrative Courts in England (Indian Journal of Political Science, Oct. 1941).

(4) The Evacuation of the Island of Karrak, 1841-42 (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

(5) Anglo-French conflict in the Near East 1839-1842 (To be published in Aligarh Historical Research Journal).

(6) Contempt of Court in India (To be published by Beechams Press, Delhi).

Is engaged in guiding researches on the following which are intended to be submitted as thesis for M.A. Degrees in History and Politics:—

(1) The relations of British Government with the Indian States 1813-1857.

(2) The distribution of legislative powers in Indian Federation.

10. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Amritsar.

Wrote the following book:—

Louis Bourquin Un Francais au Service des Mahrattes (Libraire Ernest Lerous, Paris; Bibliotheque Publique, Pondicherry, 1940).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Nanak Panthis or the Sikhs and Sikhism of the 17th century (J.I.H. Vol. XIX, pt. 2, Sr. No. 56, August, 1940).

(2) Some new light on the Treaty of Bhyrowal (Dec. 16, 1846) thrown by the private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge (I.H.R.C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

(3) The Arrest and Release of Sardar Lahna Singh Majithia (Indian History Congress, 1940).

(4) *Sikh Ate Lohe De Khod* (Panj Darya May, 1940).

(5) *Guru Govind Singh da Ik Hukam Namah* (Panj Darya, October 1940).

11. Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), M.R.A.S., Patna.

Is engaged in Tibetan studies which are mainly of interest in connection with Ancient and Mediæval Indian History before 1200 A.D. Has found Tibetan sources which are likely to throw a new light on the history of Bengal and Bihar on the eve of the Muslim conquest (13th century) and the immediately following period.

Directs researches into unpublished records carried on by the staff of the History Dept. of the Patna College.

12. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Monghyr.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Jagbandhu Vidyadhar (Bengal Past and Present, 1940).

(2) Santal Insurrection in Chotanagpur (Bengal Past and Present, 1940).

(3) Scarcity in Bihar (I.H.R.C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

(4) Some Social Reforms (Indian History Congress, fourth session).

(5) Dreams in Jain Literature (Contributed to the Jain Vidya, Lahore).

(6) Onomatopoeia and its use in middle Indo-Aryan (Indian Linguistics, Vol. VIII, 1940-41, Part I).

Is engaged in examining—

(1) The records of collectors and Commissioners in Bihar.

(2) Social Condition of India in ancient and mediæval period (as depicted in Jain literature).

(3) A mass of Persian documents (deeds, grants, *Madad-maash* etc.) discovered in the possession of Sheikh Mohammad Abu Saleh alias Md. Khalil of village Mahuli, Monghyr.

13. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Bhagalpur.

Wrote the following book:—

The Adil Shahs of Bijapur 1489-1580 (To be published by the Calcutta University).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) An account of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur 1534-57. (J.B.O.R.S. Mar. 1940).

(2) Jahangir's letter to Khurram and its reply (Kane Memorial Vol. Indian Antiquary, Bombay).

(3) A chapter from Golconda history (Indian History Congress, Lahore Session).

(4) The Dastur-ul-Amal of the Bijapur Court (I.H.R.C. Procs, Vol. XVII).

(5) The Golconda Court Letters (J.B.O.R.S. Dec. 1940).

(6) Firuz Tugluq and his Bengal campaign (J.B.O.R.S. March 1941).

(7) Early career of Quli Qutab Shah of Golconda (Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1940).

Is engaged in editing:

Sirat-i-Firozshahi (portions are being published in J.B.O.R.S.). Is continuing the study of South Indian Muhammadan history specially relating to Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Bijapur (from 1580 onwards) and Bidar.

14. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Patna.

Is engaged in the preparation of the following works:—

(1) A thesis on Shah Alam II and the English.

(2) A thesis on Anglo-Dutch relations in India, 1740-1825 (almost ready for the Press).

(3) Selections from unpublished Bihar records.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) A letter of Shah Alam II to George III (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society).

(2) The Ostend Company in Bengal (Indian Historical Quarterly).

(3) Some unpublished English letters relating to the history of Bengal during the regimes of Shujauddin and Sarfaraz (I.H.R.C. Procs, Vol. XVII).

(4) Some unpublished letters relating to the Roman Catholic Church at Patna (Bengal: Past and Present).

(5) Restoration of the Dutch Settlements in India, 1816-1817 (Bengal: Past and Present).

(6) The First Two Anglo-Mysore Wars and Economic Drain on Bengal (Journal of Indian History, Madras).

(7) Correspondence of George III with some Indian Princes (Special issue of the Searchlight, dated the 16th April, 1941).

Examined the following documents:—

(1) Some records of the Imperial Record Department (in English) relating to the Dutch in India during the 18th and 19th centuries.

(2) Correspondence between Raja Shah Mull, custodian of the Rohtas Fort, and the English East India Company during the mid-eighteenth century,—now preserved by a descendant of the said Raja at Tilothu in the Shahabad District of Bihar.

(3) Some records in Persian and Urdu regarding the early history of the Patna College and now preserved in the office of this College.

Has traced the date of establishment of the Patna College as the 9th January, 1863, with the help of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.

15. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B., Patna.

Has been continuing his researches on "The Sharqi Dynasty of Jaunpur" and "Muslim Architecture in Bihar" and has consulted the following Persian Manuscripts:—

(1) Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizam Uddin Ahmad.

(2) Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul-ul-Qadir Badauni.

(3) Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi by Mohammad Qasim Firishta.

Has also obtained from the British Museum (Cat. No. OR 188) copy of a complete manuscript history of Jaunpur by Khyr-ud-din.

16. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Peshawar.

Wrote the following books:—

(1) Sources of Indian History (Hindu and Muslim Periods.)

(2) Mediæval India under Muslim Kings, Volume I (Arab Rule in Sind).

Engaged in writing the following:—

(1) Mediæval India under Muslim Kings, Volume III (The Ghurids and the so-called Slave Kings).

(2) Peshawar: Past and Present (Historical and Descriptive).

Examined the following collections:—

(1) Pre-British historical documents in possession of Mr. Pir Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A. (N.-W. F. P.), Peshawar.

(2) Some Persian MSS. in the library attached to the *Madrasah Rafi-ul-Islam*. Bhanamari, Peshawar.

(3) Some Pushto MSS. in the library of the Edward's College, Peshawar.

Is engaged in corresponding with the following persons in connection with historical documents in their custody:—

(1) Hon'ble Lieut.-Col. Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Khan, Chief of Hoti, District Mardan.

(2) Raja Haidar Zaman Khan of Khanpur, District Hazara.

(3) Khan Bahadur Muhammad Zaman Khan of Akora, District Peshawar.

Transcribed and translated some of the documents in the custody of Mr. Pir Bakhsh Khan mentioned above (A note on some of these documents will be found at the end of these reports).

Prepared (for the consideration of the N.-W. F. P. Government) a scheme for the establishment of a Provincial Records Office at Peshawar after consulting Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and other experts.

17. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Delhi.

Is engaged in re-editing or re-writing the Asaru-us-Sanadid. This book was written by Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan (the founder of the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College, Aligarh, now the Aligarh Muslim University) on the history and archæology of Delhi. Has traced a collection of ancient official documents in the possession of one Maulvi Hifz-ur-Rahman. (The owner calls them "Edicts", but they appear to be old official documents). These documents have not yet been examined.

Delivered a presidential address (Mediæval India Section) at the fourth session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore in 1940.

18. Dr. T. G. P. Separ, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab), Delhi.

Carried out researches on "Lord William Bentinck's administration, 1828-1835" in the Imperial Record Department.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Lord William Bentinck (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX, Part I).

(2) The Administration of the Delhi Territory 1803-1857 (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX, parts 2 and 3).

(3) Local Records, an experience and a suggestion (I. H. R. C Procs. Vol. XVI).

19. Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.

Traced certain documents relating to the grant of inams and jagirs in Dodballapur, Bangalore, by the Mughal Emperors, Bijapur Sultans and Peshawas. These are in the possession of the family of Sir Deshpande Madhava Rao, B.A., B.E., Bangalore District. These have been collected and are being examined. A note on some of these documents forms a paper for the Mysore Session of the Commission.

20. Mr. R. V. Podaval, B.A., Trivandrum.

Examined the palm leaf documents preserved in the archives of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple, Trivandrum. A note on these documents will be found at the end of these reports.

21. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., M.R.A.S., Indore.

Prepared a list of Athalye collection (900 documents in Marathi) and placed it before the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The list was translated into English and printed in the Procs. Vol. XVII as Appendix J. Will read a paper based on some of these records at the Mysore Session.

22. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

Is engaged in examining the Athalye collection.

23. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Jodhpur.

Wrote the following paper:—

Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur and Maharaja Sujansingh of Bikaner (I. H. R. C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

Discovered 65 documents[1] in the possession of private individuals in Jodhpur. These are in Marwari language and script and relate to the period 1803 to 1843 A.D. Out of them 30 relate to Jagirs, 20 contain correspondence throwing light on the contemporary local affairs and 10 relate to a dispute between the Jodhpur and Jaipur rulers over the marriage of Krishna Kumari, the daughter of Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur. These documents also furnish a description of some prominent persons like Muhta Surajmal Singhi, Indraraj Singhi and others.

24. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj.

Wrote the following paper:—

Gopiballabhpur Farman of Badshah Ghazi Abdul Fateh Muhammad Nasiruddin Shah. (I. H. R. C. Procs. Vol. XVII).

A note on his archæological researches will be found at the end of these reports.

25. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux, Chandernagore.

Has moved the Archæological Department for undertaking the exploration of the site in Puttanandal village, Taluq of Tuidivanam (South Arcot) which is believed to contain the foundations of the commemorative column raised by the French Governor Dupleix on the site of the murder of Nawab Nasir Jung. Beneath this column were buried a number of medals, photos of which have been obtained from the "Cabinet des Medailles" of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. The discovery of these medals would establish beyond doubt the site of the proposed city of Dupleix-Fathabad. (Please see Research Report, pages 10-13. I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVII).

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[1] Out of these 65 documents the most important collection is in the possession of Mr. Mutha Rikhabdas Ajitmal of Sojat, the discendant of Mutha Surajmal who was the Diwan of the late Maharaja Mansinghji of Jodhpur.

26. Cavaliero Panduranga S. Pissurlencar, Goa.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Diplomatic Relations of the Portuguese with Haidar and Tipu. In Portuguese. (Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama).

(2) Historical Fragments. Luso-Dutch Rivalry in India. In Portuguese. (Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama).

(3) Hindu Cooperars of Alphonso of Albuquerque. In Portuguese. A paper read before the History Congress at Lisbon. (Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama).

(4) Some Incidents of Social History of Hindus in Goa. In Marathi. (Bharat Mitra, Goa).

27. A Note on the Historical Documents in the North-West Frontier Province—I.

BY MR. S. M. JAFFAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

Introductory.—The North-West Frontier Province is remarkably rich in records of rare historical importance. A huge mass of MS. records, relating to it, was recently transferred to the custody of the Imperial Record Department, but some documents of the same type must still be in the archives of the Provincial Government. They do not, however, fall within the purview of this Note. They will be described in detail by the Provincial Record Office, when established at Peshawar.* Those forming private property lie scattered all over the Province. Some of them form the most precious and long-preserved heirlooms of old aristocratic families and some form the proud possessions of individual collectors. Unfortunately, this literary wealth is not easily accessible to research scholars. Some of it lies in the leather bags of private persons who are aptly described as "proverbial shy-birds", too reluctant to show it to its seekers for various reasons and some of it is most carefully preserved and jealously guarded by its owners. In short a search for historical records is invariably accompanied by curious inquiries and considerable inconvenience, and consequently involves a great waste of time and energy. Many documents must inevitably lie obscure, exposed to the constant ravages of time, insect pests and other destructive agents, if some suitable steps are not taken to wheedle them out of their hiding places.

Pir Bakhsh Collection.—In this note I have taken up some of the documents which are at present in the custody of Mr. Pir Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A., (N.-W. F. P.), who was kind enough to show them to me at his residence, much to his inconvenience. They consist of four ***Firmans***, two private letters, one ***Waqfnamah***, one ***Kursinamah*** and two sale deeds. All of them relate to Peshawar proper and are in Persian language, written in a beautiful ***Nastaliq*** hand-writing. At places they are torn and the consequent *lacunae* have to be restored only conjecturally, but conjectural restoration does not in any way detract from the subject-matter of the documents. The text of the documents, the texture of paper, the quality of ink, the style of hand-writing and above all the impressions of the seals of Kings, ***Qazis***, ***Muftis*** and other responsible officials of the State sufficiently point to their genuineness.

* A scheme for the establishment of a Provincial Record Office at Peshawar is under the consideration of the N.-W. F. P. Government.

I. *Mughal Firman* (2'-9" × 1'-6") of Emperor Shah Jahan, issued on the 2nd of *Sha'ban*, the 24th year of his accession under the orders of his son, Sultan Murad Bakhsh, to *Shuja' at-Sha'ar* Allahwardi Beg at Peshawar, requiring him to render all possible help in transporting through the territory under his jurisdiction the royal treasure, consisting of five *lacs* of rupees, sent from Attock Benares in the custody of two Government officials, *viz.*, *Shuja'at-Sha'ar* Fatehullah and Chatar Bhoj to *Shuja'at-Sha'ar* Shaz Khan, officer in charge of *Thana* Dhakka. It bears two *Tughras* or monograms and two seals. One of the seals is of Murad Bakhsh and the other of Shah Jahan, the latter having the name Abdul Latif under the name of the Emperor. The dates in the seals are too dim to be deciphered without difficulty.

II. *Mughal Firman* (2'-9" × 1'-5½") of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, issued on the 7th of *Muharram-ul-Haram*, 43rd year of his reign under the orders of his son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah to confer a grant of 1½ *Qulbas* of land situated in Begram (Peshawar) on a savant, *Mashikhat-Ma'ab Shaikh* Muhammad Taqi *bin Haqaiq wa Ma'arif Agah Shaikh* 'Abdul Latif *Qadiri*, who commanded great respect and had a large number of dependants attached to himself, for purposes of his and his sons' maintenance, exempting the grant from payment of Government dues of all kinds and enjoining upon the officials of the State not to interfere with it in any way. Like the first *Firman* (I), it has two *Tughras* or monograms, one of Emperor Aurangzeb 'Alamgir and the other of his son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah, giving the full names and titles of the Emperor and the Prince. It has but one seal, that of Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah. The year in the seal is not legible. The seal and the monograms are fixed on pieces of paper and pasted on the paper of the *Firman* which is mounted on a piece of cloth of equal size.

III. *Durrani Firman* (1'-9" × 11½"), issued by Ahmad Shah *Durrani* (1747—1773 A.C.) on the 21st of *Safar-ul-Muzaffar*, '99 A.H. (?) to confer a perpetual grant of land situated in Begram (Peshawar) on *Shaikh* Muhammad Taqi *Qadiri*, referred to in *Firman* No. II, and *Hafiz* Ahmad Yar *Qadiri* with such concessions as exemption from payment of State dues and official interference for all times to come in order to invoke the blessings of the said saintly donees. It has eleven seals, one on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The one on the obverse is of Ahmad Shah *Durrani*. It reads: "*Ba hukmi Ahmad Shah Durrani*". The rest of the seals are of *Qazis*, *Muftis* and others. The year of this Firman, as already indicated, is incorrect. It cannot be 1199 A.H., because Ahmad Shah *Durrani* died in 1188 A.H., *i.e.*, about eleven years before it.

IV. *Sikh Firman* (8" × 6"), dated the 1st *Phagan*, S. 1892, issued by the then Sikh ruler (Ranjit Singh) from Lahore to his most trusted servant, Avitabile, at Peshawar, ordering him to release the land called Dharam Arth, belonging to *Faqir Shaikh* Bodha son of *Shaikh* Sikandar Shah according to the *Sanads* of previous rulers, and to renew the usual water rights, etc., so that he might enjoy its income and pray for the prosperity of the exalted Government. It bears two tiny seals which, though different in size by 2 : 1, have the same contents: "*Akal Sahai Taraf*............ *Singh*". The word before *Singh* in both the seals is not quite legible, but it must be *Ranjit*, for Ranjit Singh was the Sikh ruler at that time. The contents of both the seals are in Gurmukhi.

V. *Private Letter* (10"×8"), dated the 4th *Muharram-ul-Haram*, 1183 A.H. from an important Government official, whose seal on it is too dim and damaged to be deciphered except the word '*Muhammad*' which is fairly legible, to his brother, Allah Yar Khan, expressing his delight at the receipt of Allah Yar's letter, conveying his good wishes to him, referring to the pressure of Government work and his political pre-occupations on account of the disturbances in the neighbourhood of Qandhar, pleading his inability to send detailed information on that account, and sending five *Firozas* or turquoises as presents per bearer of the letter. It ends with greetings to all his relatives and the members of the Kakkezai family.

VI. *Letter* (5"×4"), closely written on both sides of the paper, dated the 1st *Safar-ul-Muzaffar*, 989 A.H. It is from one Said (or Sayyad) Wali Khan to some highly respectable persons. It gives an ocular account of the advance of an Imperial army, consisting of several thousands, under the command of an *Amir* as far as Kabul and Ghaznin. It refers to the conquest of a beautiful country, the construction of roads and highways, the dissemination of justice, the pacification of the people, the chastisement of the recalcitrant Afghans of Swad, Bajaur, Tirah and Bangash, who were a great source of trouble to travellers from Turan, the punishment of the ill-natured Baluchis and other brutes of the desert who constantly tormented the travellers from Iran, the inevitable accident (death?) of Hazrat Shah Iliyin, the confusion in Iran, the arrival of a messenger with the soothing news that the disturbances had subsided, the Qandhar campaign, and the slackness of the Mirzas and lack of unity and co-operation among them. It may be pointed out here that the date of this letter is exactly the same as that of the expedition undertaken by Emperor Akbar against Kabul.

VII. *Kursinamah* or pedigree table (1'-4"×10½") of Faqir Muhammad 'Ali, a descendant of Shaikh Muhammad Taqi, referred to in the preceding *Firman* (No. II) and the following sale deeds (Nos. VIII and IX). It goes as far back as Hazrat Adam. Other prominent links in it are *Hazrat* Ibrahim, *Hazrat* Ismail and *Hazrat* 'Ali. It has the year '1120 A.H.' and the word 'Kakkezai' on the top of it.

VIII. *Sale Deed*, dated the 15th *Zilhij*, 1153 A.H., executed by Abdun Nabi *Bin* Haji Ismail *bin* Muhammad in favour of *Shaikh* Muhammad Taqi *bin Shaikh* 'Abdul Latif *bin Shaikh* Barkhurdar in respect of six plots of land, measuring 85 *Jaribs*, situated in Begram (Peshawar) for a sum of one thousand, one hundred and forty rupees of the current coin. The sale was confirmed by *Qazi* 'Abul Qasim Khan who styled himself as *Khadim-i-Shara'* and whose two seals are affixed to the document. There are six other seals. They are of *Qazis*, *Muftis* and marginal witnesses. While giving the boundaries of the land sold, the deed mentions four famous canals *viz.*, *Jui Bara*, *Jui Khani*, *Jui Devisai* and *Jui Ali Mardan Khan*. 'Ali Mardan Khan, it will be recalled, was a leading public spirited official of the Mughal Period, whose remarkable works of public welfare are still to be found in India as well as in Afghanistan.

IX. *Sale Deed*, having the same date, same parties, same number of plots, same boundaries of land and same seals as the preceding sale deed (No. VIII), but the land sold consists of 64 *Jaribs*, the consideration money is four hundred and seventy rupees of the current coin, and the seals are more legible. Two seals of *Qazi* 'Abul Qasim Khan *Khadim-i-Shara'* bear

the date 1148 A.H. one of Lutfullah *Mufti* has 1154 A.H., one of Ghulam Muhammad witness 1135 A.H., one of *Mir* Muhammad Hashim witness 1138 A.H. and one which reads "*Al-i-Rasul am Sayyad am Faqir am*" 1138 A.H. Three of the seals are broken, but the contents of the parts which are intact are quite legible.

X. *Waqfnamah* or deed of endowment, dated the 27th *Rajjab*. 1242 A.H. whereby the executant, Qasim 'Ali Khan, created a big *Waqf* or endowment, consisting of considerable immoveable property of the kind of shops, houses, *hammams*, wells, mosques, etc., in or in the vicinity of Kissa Khani in Peshawar for the welfare of the public, entrusted its management to *Fazilat-Panah Mullah* 'Abdul Hadi *bin Mullah* Ghulam Raza, appointed him as Khatib of the Jumma and *Id* prayers in the *Masjid-i-Kalan* founded by him in Kissa Khani, authorised him to spend the income of the endowed property on his own requirements after defraying the expenses in connection with the repairs and maintenance of the *Waqf* property, invested the guardianship of the *Waqf* in the said Mullah and his sons, should the latter be good and pious, and empowered the *Qazi-ul-Islam* to entrust the management of the *Waqf* to some competent person in case the said *Mutawalli* (guardian) died without leaving a son. The deed ends with a note of warning to the *Mutawallis* concerned, requiring them to be honest and earnest in the discharge of their duties, directing them not to treat the *Waqf* as their personal property and forbidding all from asserting claims of ownership on it; and finally reminding them of the Day of Judgment and the awe of the Almighty. This deed bears the impressions of eight seals, three of which are of Muhammad Shah. One of these three bears the date 1215 A.H. Of the remaining five one is of Muhammad Hasan *Shaikh-ul-Islam Khadim-i-Shara'* and another of Hafiz Nur *Mufti-i-Shara'*. The deed throws some light on the origin of the *Masjid* of Qasim 'Ali Khan and its endowments, makes a mention of Kissa *Khani*, the old fort of Begram and the *Takiyas* of *Sayyad* Shah Wali Qattal and *Faqir* Rahmatullah Shah. It affords a brilliant testimony to what Musalmans of means in Muslim India used to do for the sacred cause of religion and for the welfare of the public.

28. A Note on some Palm leaf documents preserved in the Archives of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple at Trivandrum.

By Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Trivandrum.

The State of Travancore has a considerable wealth of old palm leaf documents having great historical interest. Some of them date back to the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and are preserved in the archives of the Sri Padmanabhaswami temple at Trivandrum the capital of the State. Till A.D. 1878 when paper began to be largely used, all the documents were written on cadjan leaf called "Ola", a material of great durability. These documents are tied up in bundles called "Churunas", each of which generally contains about 500 to 1,000 cadjan leaves. The older records are written in Vattezhuttu, a script which was largely prevalent in South India in ancient times, and Kolezhuttu or Malayazhma, a later form of the above. There are a few records written in Tamil and in Malayalam characters also. The most important of the Travancore documents are kept in three places (1) the "Chellamvaka" of the palace of H. H. the Maharaja, (2) the Huzur Central Records and (3) the temple of Sri Padmanabha, the tutelary diety of the rulers of the State.

On a general examination of the records of the Sri Padmanabhaswami shrine, it is found that they number over 2,200 "Churunas" or bundles. The transactions relating to the various affairs of the temple in the old days are recorded in these documents which form regular Chronicles called "Granthavaries". The oldest of the documents go back to the 14th Century A. D. Many of the records throw a flood of light on the geneological history of the ruling kings of Travancore from the 14th to the 18th centuries A. D. and also on the political, social and economic conditions of the State during that period.

39. A Note on the Archæological Researches done by Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj during 1940-41.

1. Supervised the Archæological conservation work of the temple of Khiching.

2. Has been studying—

(i) the Punch-marked coins of which a hoard was found in Mayurbhanj during the year and (ii) the Published inscriptions of the Samavamsi Kings, called the Kesari dynasty in the *Madala Panji* of Jagannath temple of Orissa.

(Proposes to publish a memoir on this subject in due course.)

3. Has found some new materials on the history of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa from a comparative study of the Ganga inscriptions and Muhammadan historical accounts of the period.

4. Made an inspection tour to several places in the Districts of Midnapore and Balasore for checking the references found in early British records to Mayurbhanj and the following places deserve special notice:—

(a) *Kiarchand.*—The votive temples built of laterite stones at *Kiarchand* in Midnapore were not identified before (and so in the Gazetteer of the Midnapore District P. 202 a different story has been published on these antiquities).

(b) *Kaisari.*—At this place three important Oriya inscriptions, two belonging to Raja Man Singh and one to Kalyan Malla, the Mughal Governors of Orissa, have been found in the Sarvamangala temple. There are two other Persian inscriptions in this place belonging to the 17th century A.D.

(c) *Nangaleswar.*—There are no images of Siva and Parvati at this place as recorded in the District Gazetteer of Balasore at page 204.

(d) *The sites on the river Subarnarekha.*—This river has changed its course so considerably that all the old sites on its banks are no longer traceable. The site of the old fort at Pipli is no more in existence near Shah Bandar. The village Shahabandar was on the left bank of the river, but now it is on the right bank due to the change of the course of the river and there are villages now on the old river bed where there is a small nulla about 20 feet wide. The Renell's map sheet No. 7 shows a temple on the right bank of the river near the sea-side, but due to the change of the course of the river, it now stands on the left bank.

GIPD—L466 [illegible]—[illegible]-41—550.

APPENDIX D.

Relevant extracts from the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission relating to the Best Method of Preservation of Records. (Pages 5-6 of Part III, Volume XVII.)

Preservation of old records is one of the problems which has been engaging the attention of the Imperial Record Department for some time past. In the absence of any scope for conducting researches on the subject the department sought the advice of several learned institutions in India and the Record offices of England and U. S. A., where extensive investigations have been made about all the cognate problems. It appears that deterioration of paper is caused by—

(1) Chemical changes brought about by moisture and atmospheric gases,

(2) Acid fumes condensing on dust particles,

(3) Ordinary wear and tear,

and the ideal process of repair should be one which takes all these factors into account and adds to the strength of the paper and retard the process of deterioration due to (1) and (2).

It has been found that the reinforcing of brittle records with chiffon or Japanese tissue paper now in vogue in this country does not entirely serve this purpose. The National Archives of U. S. A. concluded after a thorough investigation that cellulose acetate foil, if laminated by a hydraulic press, adds most to the life and strength of old papers. This method entirely eliminates the need of adhesives and adequately protects the paper so treated from the harmful effects of atmospheric gas and rough handling.

Another serious problem that confronts an archivist is that of preventing the ravages of insect pests. Constant warfare has to be waged against their inroads. The cellulose in paper and fabric attracts some species of voracious insects and others are particularly fond of such book components as glue, starch, etc. Laborious researches conducted in U. S. A. have now satisfactorily established that the most effective way to combat these pests is to fumigate the papers affected in a vacuum vault. Manuscripts have to be placed in a gas-tight steel chamber where a large proportion of the air has to be removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. The fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvæ within a short time. Bundles containing records need not be opened when they are placed in the vacuum chamber, as they have to be during ordinary fumigation.

A hydraulic press of the type required for the purpose of lamination can be obtained from Messrs. R. D. Wood Company, Philadelphia, P.A., at a cost of $7.555 or Rs. 26,000 including freight charges. The operating cost of this machine and the recurring expenditure on cellulose products is said to be very small. Compared to Japanese tissue paper and chiffon, cellulose acetate foil is very cheap. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30″ × 40″ costs Rs. 35 per ream,

or annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon ('lisse' quality 383|368) 40″ wide costs about 2*s.* 1*d.* a yard, *i.e.*, about Rs. 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Tosa B or Mino AA) is about $4·50 per ream. While Japanese tissue paper costs 5 to 6 times more than cellulose acetate foil, chiffon costs 5 times as much as Japanese tissue. With the introduction of the hydraulic press and cellulose acetate foil, the general outturn of laminated sheets will greatly increase, resulting in actual saving in the near future, so that the initial expenditure of Rs. 26,000 is perfectly justified.

A fumigation chamber (4½′ × 5½′ × 11′) suitable for the vacuum fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of $3,600, *i.e.*, Rs. 13,000 including freight charges. The operation of the chamber is easy and inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

It seems desirable that lamination of records with cellulose acetate foil and vacuum fumigation should be introduced in all organised Record Offices in India.

Note Recorded by Dr. B. S. Baliga, on the Resolution No. IV of the 17th Session of the Commission dealing with "Methods of Preservation of Archives".

I have to oppose that part of the Resolution which relates to lamination and to suggest a simpler and less costly method of fumigation. Lamination, so far as I know, has been recommended only by the National Archives of America. In the second annual report of the Archivist of the United States (1935-36) it is stated that in the process of lamination—which, of course, the American Archivists regard as superior to the method of mending with chiffon, for the reasons stated in the Resolution—the document is placed between two sheets of very thin cellulose acetate foil, which being thermoplastic, adheres to the paper upon the application of heat and pressure. The report goes on to say that "documents so treated are practically impervious to gases, and if necessary, may be cleaned with soap and water. Tests of the permanence of treated records indicate that they will be relatively unaffected by the normal process of deterioration" (*vide* pp. 42-43). In the third report (1936-37) it is pointed out that lamination can only be done under expert supervision, "under the supervision of some one equipped with the requisite technical knowledge of the composition of paper, inks, gases, and repair materials, and of the application of moisture, heat and pressure upon different kinds of paper and ink" (*vide* pp. 12-13).

I submit that this technical method, this work of experts, is a thing of very recent growth, the future behaviour of which cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. The "National Archives of the United States" was only established in 1934. (The Act establishing it was passed on 19th June 1934). The first lineaments of the lamination process, which was introduced into these archives, we begin to observe only in 1935-36. Five years is indeed too short a period to enable us to garner any results of practical experience.

Both British archive practice and British archive theory are opposed to all new chemical processes which cannot be said to have stood the test of time. It can be safely asserted that, in the matter of archive preservation, they eschew all "innovation" or "laboratory test". Mr. Hillary Jenkinson, the present Secretary of the Public Record Office, London, who, until recently was in charge of the Repairing Department of that office, and who besides being the author of the well-known book "Archive Administration", is also the Secretary of the Technical Section of the British Records Association, gives us an emphatic warning "against the employment of any trade preparation of unknown composition or any other scientific short cuts" (British Records Association Progs. No. 1, p. 11). "No laboratory test" he says "can tell us what the effect of time will be on materials" (*Idem*) and the "unique character of archives makes it unjust for anything in the nature of experiment in regard to them except where all known methods have failed to arrest decay" (Archive Administration, 2nd Edition, p. 69). It is signified that in his enlarged and revised edition of 'Archive Administration', published in 1937, he ignores the lamination process altogether and recommends the use of pure silk Gauze (*Idem*, p. 70), or, as we call it, chiffon, for protecting and strengthening old and fragile documents.

Turning to the particular qualities of celluloid preparations, of which cellulose acetate foil is one, the general opinion of the Technical Section of the British Records Association is that such preparations are definitely harmful to

the documents. In the first bulletin of the Technical Section, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, in reply to a question, states that " it is dangerous " to use dissolved celluloid for strengthening delicate paper or paper which has been weakened by damp (*vide* p. 2). Mr. G. Herbert Fowler, the Chairman of this Technical Section an eminent authority on archives, the author of the " Care of County Muniments " and Chairman of the Bedfordshire County Records Committee, proceeds a step further and declares that " ordinary celluloid, a solution of which has largely been used on documents, is believed to have a comparatively short life " and that " on decomposition it may yield a nitrous acid vapour which would be by no means inert towards either ink or parchment ". He adds that " nothing which is charged, even to a slight degree, with any of the active inorganic acids, sulphuric, nitric or hydrochloric, and may give off an acid vapour should be permanently in contact with a document ". The moral he draws is " that we should use only such materials and methods as have stood the test of time in other employment " (*vide* Archive Administration, 2nd Ed., p. 3).

In the third bulletin for September 1938, Mr. G. S. Heaven, the Managing Director of the British Cellophane Limited, Somerset, England, observes that " it is a very unsafe thing to use any modern plastic material for attachment to ancient documents " and he includes cellulose acetate among such plastics. In this connection he refers to certain points which at once make us think whether lamination might not prove positively harmful and dangerous to the documents in course of time. He remarks as follows : " On the assumption that no plastic material can adequately protect the document unless there is adhesion, then the question of temporary and permanent relative expansion arises .... the fibrous paper and the non-fibrous colloid will behave so differently as to endanger the document to be protected ". There is no modern plastic, including cellulose acetate, he says, " which could be guaranteed as safe, as even if they are non-hygroscopic, shrinkages or expansions must be developed " (*vide* pp. 5-6). There can be no doubt therefore that if these expansions and shrinkages of the cellulose acetate foil are to take place, the document protected would, in course of time, get totally mutilated.

Finally we have the considered opinion of the whole Technical Section of the British Records Association, pronounced so recently as October 1939 (please see Bulletin 7), that lamination is unsuitable to the records. On examining a sample of a sheet of paper subjected to the process of lamination adopted in repairing the records of the United States of America, they expressed the opinion " that adoption of the process would not be suitable in this country (England) especially where parchment, rag papers and papers of similar fibrous bases are in question " (*vide* p. 1). And as the paper used in India, under the East India Company's administration, was largely imported from England, I have no doubt that they would have regarded lamination quite as unsuitable for our early records. My submission, therefore, is that in view of the novelty of the experiment which cannot be said to have stood the test of time, in view of the repeated warnings given by eminent archivists in Great Britain not to resort to any chemical methods for the preservation of archives, save those that have been found successful by experience. and in view of the harmful effects of all celluloid preparations, including celluloid acetate foil, which have been pointed out, we are not justified in recommending the substitution of lamination to chiffoning in all recognised archives in India.

As to the second part of the resolution, which relates to vacuum fumigation, another American archive method, I have no objection to offer. It would be a good thing indeed if the Government could spend, as it suggested, Rs. 13,000 at the outset in procuring the fumigation chamber. But, of course, each local government will have to decide whether it has under its custody such a considerable quantity of moth-eaten and moth-infested records, as would demand the expenditure involved in purchasing the chamber. So far as the Madras Record Office is concerned, almost all volumes of the old records upto 1800 have been repaired, reconditioned with chiffon and rebound into handsome volumes. Since reconditioning has been done with a special paste* containing a percentage of arsenic, a substance which gives a sufficient protection against the ravages of insects and borers, these reconditioned records require no fumigation. The process of reconditioning the Company's records subsequent to 1800 and other miscellaneous records is now carried on under a definite programme. A portion of the old Collectorate records, which have been transferred to this office, has also been repaired. Only some minor series of records, therefore, which show signs of ravages of borers, have to be fumigated. The question, therefore, is, whether, instead of obtaining the costly fumigation chamber, we may not adopt some simpler, less costly, and, perhaps, as effective a method of fumigation. Such a method, I suggest, is possible, and has been recommended by Mr. Jenkinson in his book 'Archive Administration' (Second Edition).

This is what he observes. "In his choice of methods for dealing with the pests when precautions for their exclusion have proved inadequate, the Archivist is limited by the nature of his materials; he obviously cannot use heat nor, in general, a liquid application. Remain the possibilities of vaporization and various materials have been suggested. In regard to these it must be clearly stated that we have at present (at most) only laboratory tests to assure us that they will have no undesirable result at some future date on the materials exposed to them. With this reservation English opinion is at present recommending the use of paradichlorbenzene crystals, in the proportion of one pound per ten cubic feet. The crystals may be laid at the bottom of a large box and the volumes, etc., placed on grating above them; the box is then kept closed (all joints being carefully sealed with vaseline or some other luting) for not less than 10 days.

"This treatment can be used also to deal with larvæ of moths, whose ravages especially on leather are not perhaps of frequent occurrence but are particularly frightening when they do happen" (Archive Administration, 2nd Edn., p. 221). This method, in my opinion, can be tried where documents to be fumigated are not very numerous.

***Formula.*

Dextrine	5 lbs.
Oil of Cloves	1½ oz.
Saffrol	1½ oz.
White arsenic	2½ oz.
Water	10 lbs

Note on the utility of Lamination and Fumigation as methods of preserving records, by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

Before discussing the criticism of Dr. Baliga I must express my obligations to him for the care with which he examined my note. It is only by constant examination and re-examination of scientific theories and authenticated facts that we can expect to arrive at the right solution of our problems. We should not forget that no method of preservation in vogue at present is absolutely perfect and science has not yet been able to devise so far any means of safeguarding manuscripts from natural deterioration and decay for all time to come. But that does not mean that we should refrain from fresh experiments though every care should be taken not to expose any record to unnecessary risk. Without experiments progress is not possible and the archivist who first used chiffon for strengthening his records deliberately made an important experiment. We must be guided by reason, and blind faith in sweeping generalisations even when they come from a leading authority cannot but lead to stagnation.

Lamination.

The process of lamination consists essentially, of heating cellulose acetate foil to a plastic state and pressing it into the pores of paper, thus forming a homogeneous unit when cooled. A document to be repaired is placed between two slightly larger sheets of thin cellulose acetate foil, which, being thermoplastic adheres firmly to the paper upon the application of heat and pressure in a hydraulic press.

Dr. Baliga is not in favour of lamination process mainly because ' it is a thing of recent growth, the future behaviour of which, cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty '. He does not therefore prefer cellulose acetate foil to chiffon. Let us examine his arguments in the light of recent experience.

1. As a protective coating, chiffon has been in use in the Imperial Record Department since 1914 and the experience so far gained does not preclude the necessity of better repairing materials. Our conclusion is also corroborated by the National Archives as will be seen from pages 42-3 of the second Annual report of the Archivist, 1935-36. It is stated " All the procedures commonly used for this purpose (repairing) involve the manual application of an aqueous adhesive and coarsely woven silk fabric (chiffon). This treatment increases the durability (resistance to the wear and tear of handling) of the document but does not improve its permanence qualities (resistance to other deteriorating influences such as light, heat and acidic gases). Moreover, the operations involved are tedious and delicate and require skill obtainable only by long training. The ideal repair process is one in which the document is sealed permanently against the harmful gases of the atmosphere, in which no adhesive is necessary, and which may be applied rapidly and easily by workers of average intelligence and ability ".

(ii) Surveys made in the National Archives having shown that many of the records are in poor condition, an investigation of the various methods of repairing and re-inforcing documents and manuscripts was made. The result of the investigation has since been published in the form of a report by the National Bureau of Standards. Section IX of the report deals with repairing. As regards chiffoning the report says " Because of the type of adhesive used

materials so treated may be rendered more susceptible to attack by fungi and insects which prey upon paper " (*vide* page 24 of the report).

(iii) As to Dr. Baliga's objection that lamination has been in use for too brief a period for its future behaviour to be correctly appraised it may be pointed out that science in this respect is not so helpless. An accelerated aging test can easily demonstrate what the ultimate results of the new process will be twenty-five or fifty years hence and although the new method of lamination is admittedly of recent origin the scientists in the Bureau of Standards took the common precaution of subjecting it to the accelerated aging test. If we have to wait for half a century before taking advantage of the recent discoveries of science the deterioration of the papers to be preserved may go too far in the mean time.

(iv) Dr. Baliga seems to think that cellulose acetate foil is a celluloid product. Once there was a tendency to use dissolved cellulose and its compounds, of which celluloid was the most common, for protecting brittle documents either by immersing it in or by spraying it with the solution. It was against this method that Mr. Kimberly, Chief of the Division of Repair and Preservation, National Archives gave a vigorous warning as did the British experts, Messrs. Hilary Jenkinson and G. Herbert Fowler. *Cellulose acetate is different from either celluloid or cellulose xanthate. It contains none of the objectionable inorganic acids* and has actually been found from the aging test to improve the permanence qualities of the documents after lamination. In the light of the result of experiments made by the National Bureau of Standards the remarks of Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, quoted by Dr. Baliga in this connection, are obviously beside the points.

(v) Mr. G. S. Heaven has raised technical issues of real importance when he observes that with adhesion the question of temporary and permanent relative expansion arises. This important question must have been taken into full consideration by the experts at the National Bureau of Standards. The factors which cause such relative variations are : changes of temperature and humidity and chemical changes of the substances. Because cellulose acetate foil is practically non-hygroscopic and because in lamination (as opposed to sizing in which a document is immersed in a plastic solution) greater cohesive forces come into play, relative shrinkages and expansions are minimised. However, it has to be emphasized that such changes occur, more or less, in all archive materials and are responsible for their deterioration. The question thus becomes one of relative advantage. It is now widely recognised that air-conditioning secures the greatest insurance against such changes, and by keeping the documents in an air-conditioned building—and this we have to do for proper preservation—we can, for all practical purposes, do away with the objections raised by Mr. Heaven.

2. Dr. Baliga contends that lamination is not more economical and better than chiffoning under Indian conditions. This statement is also hardly tenable as will be evident from the facts stated below :

(i) A few documents (of which duplicates are available) of the pre-mutiny period belonging to the Imperial Record Department were sent to the National Archives for lamination and report. In returning the documents after lamination the following observation was made :—

" No difficulty was encountered in laminating these papers nor do we believe that the pressure necessary exerts any deleterious effect upon the permanence of the records."

Mr. Kimberly in a subsequent communication regarding the suitability of Lamination to all-rag papers asserts :—

" It is my understanding that the statement of the Technical Section of the British Records Association to which you refer is founded upon the idea that rag papers and papers of similar fibrous bases possess sufficient permanence in themselves so as to render the use of a preservation process such as lamination unnecessary. *That this is not necessarily so has been repeatedly shown by the work of the National Bureau of Standards on the preservation of records, as well as by our experience with such papers in The National Archives* ".

" The lamination process can be applied satisfactorily to any known type of paper and if properly applied will increase the resistance of that paper to natural aging regardless of the fibrous content of the paper. The National Bureau of Standards has recently conducted an extensive research into the preservation of records by lamination with cellulose acetate sheeting in which specimens of lamination by the process used in The National Archives, as well as specimens laminated by processes involving the use of adhesives, were tested. The test results were eminently satisfactory in so far as the heat and pressure method of lamination is concerned ".

(ii) The Archæological Chemist in India critically examined the method of lamination as well as the documents laminated by the National Archives. He strongly recommended the adoption of lamination in the Imperial Record Department ' in view of the outstanding merits of the method '. He also asserted in this connection that the new process was applicable to all sorts of paper and was not only the best but also the cheapest. Lamination is being done commercially today by the Pyro-glass Company of Neburgh, New York.

(iii) The conclusion of Mr. Kimberly of the National Archives, who has carried out extensive research work on the preservation of records in collaboration with Mr. Scribner of the National Bureau of Standards, is recorded as below :

(a) " Newsprint treated in this manner (laminated) was found to be very stable to the heat test and to the action of light from a carbon arc. Moreover, no impairment of legibility was caused, nor was there an objectionable increase in bulk, as the thickness of newsprint was increased only 0.0005 in. by this treatment........Other workers engaged in similar researches abroad concur in the findings.

(b) " The so called laminating process, using cellulose acetate foil, yields a product which is *infinitely more satisfactory from the standpoint of increased resistance to deterioration.* Documents laminated with cellulose acetate foil by means of heat and pressure alone, resist the accelerated aging test very well and are very resistant to attack by insects and molds. They retain the flexibility of the untreated paper and are easily legible."

(c) " *Cellulose nitrate sheetings which include celluloid, are relatively unstable* and may have a deteriorative effect on papers brought in contact with them ".

(iv) The comparative advantages and costs of chiffon, Japanese tissue paper and cellulose acetate foil as a repairing material are dealt with in detail below :—

(a) The reinforcing of old and brittle documents with Japanese tissue paper or Chiffon (silk gauze) increases their resistance to handling but does not protect them from general deterioration. The Japanese tissue paper ordinarily available in the market impairs the visibility and the repaired documents quickly turn brown and opaque. Besides chemical action on the paper, the

adhesive used in fixing them may render the documents more susceptible to attack from insects, fungi and bacteria. The legibility and flexibility may also be affected by treatment with them. Japanese tissue paper is less transparent than Chiffon and, in other respects too, is less suitable at least in Indian climate.

(b) Chiffon is superior to Japanese tissue paper, and therefore, preferable in all respects except cost. It is more transparent, more permanent, easier in application and removal, and more strengthening as a repairing fabric. Chiffon becomes opaque and brittle in about 25 years while Japanese tissue paper m[illegible] become opaque and brittle in 5 years. The manual application of Japanese tissue paper or Chiffon, in which the operations involved are tedious and delicate, requires skill obtainable by long training. The restoration of opaque documents, previously repaired with Japanese tissue paper, is extremely difficult while chiffon can be removed more neatly in a nice roll whenever required. In the absence of a better and cheaper method, repairing with chiffon is advisable provided an unlimited supply of good quality chiffon is available.

(c) Compared to Japanese tissue paper or chiffon, cellulose acetate foil is the cheapest. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30 in. × 40 in. costs Rs. 35 per ream, *viz.*, annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon ('Lisse' quality 383|368) 40 in. wide costs about Rs. 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Tosa B or Mino AA) is about $4.50 per ream. Calculated on the basis of pre-war prices, chiffon costs five times higher than Japanese tissue while Japanese tissue costs four times higher than cellulose acetate foil. A team of 24 menders, whose wages amount to Rs. 8,640, are not able to repair more than 50,000 documents per annum. But the cellulose acetate foil can be applied rapidly and easily by workers of average intelligence under proper supervision, and thus the task of treating millions of brittle documents can be simplified, once the optimum pressure and temperature are ascertained. Thus with a six opening hydraulic press the net cut-turn per annum will be 3,00,000 sheets, which is six times greater than the manual out-turn of 24 menders. It is needless to say that the cost of manual labour and the repairing materials will be correspondingly reduced.

The facts explained above will, it is believed, justify our recommendation for the adoption of lamination in preference to repair of brittle documents with chiffon.

Fumigation.

Before considering the suitability of vacuum fumigation from the point of view of preservation of records, it seems necessary to describe briefly what vacuum fumigation is and where it differs from ordinary fumigation. In vacuum fumigation commodities are placed in a gas-tight steel chamber, and a large proportion of air is removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. It is very effective because the fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices of papers and kills the insects with their larvæ and eggs within a short time. Lack of oxygen renders the insects more susceptible to a lethal gas. The bundles containing brittle records need not be opened, as they have to be for ordinary fumigation. This procedure permits smaller dosages and shorter exposures, a feature which demands special notice where speed is essential. For treating a huge quantity of records infested with insects and fungi, vacuum fumigation is ideal.

2. In addition to reducing the dosage and the length of exposure, this method offers further advantages. At the end of a fumigation the removal of the absorbed and adsorbed fumigants can be speeded up by the process known

as air-washing, which consists in drawing a high vacuum and breaking it with air. High concentration of absorbed gas, and the consequent inconvenience to the workers while unloading, is thereby avoided. All fumigants are more or less poisonous, but the use of a vacuum fumigatorium makes the detection of any leakage rather easy and as such operators are quite safe. The operation of a vacuum fumigatorium is inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

The fumigant, commercially known as 'Carboxide' is a mixture of nine parts of carbondioxide and one part of ethylene oxide (C_2H_4O) which has been shown to be harmless to paper, inks and other record components by tests performed at the National Bureau of Standards[1]. Carboxide, which is used in concentrations of 30 lb./1000 cu. ft., is sold in 30 and 60 pound cylinders at prices ranging from 14.5 to 16 cents. per pound. Ethylene oxide can be purchased in cylinders containing 75 or 195 pounds @ 42 cents. a pound, f.o.b. the factory.

3. Moth eaten volumes and bundles are spread out on the grating of an air-tight cabinet for fumigation by paradichlorobenzene. The process is quite simple. Paradichlorobenzene crystals are kept at the bottom in a thin layer, 1 lb. being allowed for every 10 cubic ft. Volumes are taken out after 10 days. This method is, however, ineffective at low temperature since insects remain dormant below 60°F. and are little affected by insecticides, and paradichlorobenzene fumes have no effect on the eggs of the insect pests which are generally protected by a hard shell. It is only in Vacuum fumigation that the hard shell of eggs burst under the action of an external vacuum and speedy penetration by a fumigant becomes possible.

4. Coming to the comparative operating cost of vacuum fumigation and *p*-dichlorobenzene fumigation let us consider a chamber 11 ft. by 5½ ft. by 4½ ft. (275 cubic ft.) in either case. 'Carboxide' will cost about Rs. 20 per 1,000 cu. ft. while *p*-dichlorobenzene of the required purity will cost about Rs. 1-8-0 per lb. (*i.e.*, Rs. 150 per 1,000 cu. ft.). In 10 days fumigation by *p*-dichlorobenzene would mean the treatment of not more than 50 cu. ft. of records at a cost of Rs. 42 for the fumigant (28 lbs.) only. By vacuum fumigation with 'Carboxide' at least 2,000 cubic ft. of records can be treated in 10 days at a cost of Rs. 100 only. Nok 2,000 cubic ft. of records could be fumigated by *p*-dichlorobenzene in not less than 400 days with a minimum expense of Rs. 1,680. Thus we find that vacuum fumigation is about 40 times more efficient in speed but 17 times less costly. The advantages of *p*-dichlorobenzene fumigation are, at least in a tropical climate, more apparent than real. Vacuum fumigation is undoubtedly the ideal method of dealing with household moths and fungi on an extensive scale. A vacuum fumigation chamber 4½ ft. × 11 ft. × 5½ ft. (275 cubic feet) suitable for the fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, 37, van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of $3,600, *i.e.*, Rs. 13,000 (@ $1 = Rs. 3-3-0) including freight charges.

5. The question of vacuum fumigation has been widely discussed both in America and Europe. Happily there is no difference of opinion between American and English experts about the superior advantages of this method. Some details on the subject are given below :—

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(1) Weber, C. G., Shaw, M. B., and Back, E. A. "Effects of fumigants on Paper" National Bureau of Sandards Research Paper, R-P, 828. September, 1935.

(i) The vacuum fumigation unit in the Huntington Library, California, has been in use since 1932 and has proved admirably effective (see T. M. Liams. in the Library, Quarterly II, P. 375 : 1932).

(ii) The British Records Association (Technical Section, Bulletin 10, p. 4) says "The efficiency, speed and convenience of vacuum fumigation render it ideal for the treatment of archival material wherever a sufficient volume of work is available to justify the initial cost of installation."

(iii) Dr. Plenderleith (Research Laboratory, British Museum) is of opinion that "*The Vacuum fumigation process is doubtless the most effective method of dealing with book worm on any extensive scale*, and a gaseous mixture of ethylene oxide and carbondioxide has been demonstrated by Mr. Kimberly (National Archives, Washington, D. C.) and others to be a safe and satisfactory insecticide where archives are concerned."

(iv) The larger Scandinavian Museums, the Nordiska Museum, Stockholm and the National Museum, Copenhagen use vacuum fumigation in the treatment of textiles which resemble paper in many respects. This shows how much more care and vigilance is necessary in a tropical climate where various insects get a genial temperature and humidity and multiply prodigiously.

(v) Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, whom Dr. Baliga acknowledges as a leading authority on the subject, admits that insect pests are not so common in England and that in certain parts of the world the prevalence of the danger justifies special treatment. (See Archive Administration, 1937, pp. 219—21.)

(vi) "Libraries in England being generally free from book worms, the installation of expensive plants for fumigating books in this country is unwarranted. The process of vacuum fumigation is applied in the British Museum but only to ethnographical materials." (See British Record Association, Technical Section, Bulletin 11, pages 5-6, October 1940.)

6. Dr. Baliga has no objection to the adoption of the process of vacuum fumigation in the Record Offices in India except on the ground of cost. Fumigation by *p*-dichlorobenzene is, in his opinion, less costly but equally effective.

(a) The question of comparative cost has been fully dealt with in para. 4 *ante*. It will be seen that his statement is not borne out by facts. It may well be said that a vacuum fumigatorium will involve a greater capital expenditure, but this appears to be thoroughly justified in view of the substantial saving that will result in the recurring running expenses for fumigating the records. Well authenticated facts establish beyond doubt that fumigation other than by vacuum process is a false economy when a large quantity of records is to be tackled, particularly in a tropical country like India, where the moist heat is specially favourable to insect life.

7. The ordinary process of fumigation by paradichlorobenzene exposes the brittle documents to a risk of damage as the contents of the bundles will have to be spread out inside the chamber for the lethal gas to act on insects and borers. From an ordinary fumigation chamber of a large size, it is not possible to drive out speedily the absorbed and adsorbed gases with the result that unloading becomes delayed and difficult, if not unsafe, for the working crew.

8. Dr. Baliga seems to think that rebound and reconditioned volumes are practically immune to insect pests on account of the white arsenic in the Dextrine paste. Fumigation according to his way of thinking is of temporary urgency. But every page is not necessarily repaired when the volume is reconditioned

and the poisoned paste therefore offers no protection to the volume as a whole. Insects on the other hand come from outside after the volumes and bundles have been fumigated and eggs unaffected by paradichlorobenzene are hatched in due course. Fumigation should, therefore, form part of the normal routine work of the record office. Arsenic moreover does not necessarily keep away insect pests for all time to come. Sometimes minute fungi ferment the paste and release volatile arsenic compounds. Such fungi not only affect adversely the durability of the paper but renders the paste absolutely harmless to the insect by removing the poison. I may mention in passing that the Dextrine paste has been in use in this department for the last 27 years and the formula will be found in our Staff manual. (See p. 31, 2nd Edition, 1922.).

9. From the facts and figures given above it is evident that the vacuum fumigation is cheaper and more effective than the fumigation by *p*-dichlorobenzene, suggested by Dr. Baliga.

On a Sulph-Arsenical Insecticide, named 'Sulph-Arsenio' and useful for preserving books from the ravages of insects.

By K. SITRAMA IYER,

College of Science, Trivandrum.

To a meeting of the joint session of different Scientific Societies held at Bangalore on the 20th March 1935 under the chairmanship of Dr. G. J. Fowler, I demonstrated the simple process of preparing the above Insecticide and talked out the possible uses of the same, particularly mentioning "Preservation of Books." There was an interesting discussion after the talk. Prof. V. Subramaniam of the Indian Institute of Science referred to the poisonous nature of Arsenic compounds and to the common practice of readers wetting the finger tip at the tongue when turning over the leaves of a book. Sastravaidyapravina Dr. S. Subba Rao remarked that, considering (1) in the present insecticide the Arsenic is coupled with Sulphur and (2) the quantity is small and put only between the cover and the fly leaf of the book, there is no sufficient room for any serious anxiety, provided it could serve the desired purpose of preserving the book. Fortunately, so far there has been no case of casuality amongst either the people who treated the books with this material or its readers. The first books that were treated have been under observation for the last over three years. They are still having the beneficial effect of the treatment which, it is hoped, may last for at least five years, when the treatment may again be repeated. Early this year, there was a report from one of the Sub-Registrars that his registers were very badly attacked by some insects and that immediate relief should be secured. At the suggestion of Dr. K. L. Moudgill those damaged registers were treated with the above insecticide. The attack has stopped and the Sub-Registrar seems to have been completely satisfied. The confining of the treatment of books with this solution to the part between the covers and the first leaf of the book is for the following reason : The small insects easily creep into the space between cover and first leaf and lay eggs ; the larvæ are developed. The larvæ are the most destructive. They begin attack in the direction both of cover and of the interior of the Book, in due time, drilling right through the book. Between two books, their hold is not secure and therefore they do not thrive. If the space between leaf and cover is made unwholesome by this treatment, the larvæ are not able to thrive and to commit the havoc.

As regards its application for palm-leaf manuscripts, I have not yet made any trial in this direction. But there is no reason why it should not be possible to secure the same benefit with this treatment. For this purpose, the manuscripts are loosely packed in a shallow trough either of iron or copper sheet, enough of the book solution, after diluting it to an equal volume of water, is poured in just to cover the manuscripts. The manuscripts are left there for about an hour, then taken out and kept to dry for a day or two and put back in their original places. This process gives the leaf a wash with a weak alkaline liquid which would make it less liable to crumble and thus add to its keeping quality. The rack or the almirah in which the manuscripts are kept can also be painted with the same solution.

The economic aspect of the treatment may be understood to be satisfactory from consideration of the cost of the two common commercial materials used in the preparation, *viz.*, (1) Arsenious Oxide, (2) Sodium sulphide. In normal times, Arsenious Oxide was selling at about Rs. 20 per cwt. and Sodium sulphide at Rs. 10 per cwt. 1 lb. of Arsenious Oxide with 1½ lb. of Sodium sulphide with enough of water to make 10 gallons of the book-solution or 20 gallons of the palm leaf manuscript solution, and costing about only 5 annas for the Chemicals used, would be sufficient to treat about 100 × 700, *i.e.*, 70,000 volumes of a medium size book or bound journal. The real cost is only that of the labour of treating with the material.

The author of the preparation has no ambition to reserve to himself the right of making it, and would be happy to leave it free to all book-lovers.

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APPENDIX E

Original letters of Peshwas and others.

[BY RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A.]

The following are translations of six-letters, commencing from 1735 A.D. and ending with 1798. Out of them two are of Bajirao I and Sawai Madhavrao, one is by Ahalyabai Holkar, one by Tukojirao Holkar, one by Laxmibai Shinde and the last one by Daulatrao Shinde.

I.

To Ranoji Shinde from Bajirao Ballal Pradhan. Blessings San Salasin Maya Alaf (1735 A. D.). Vithal Trimbak has from before the Majum of Sardeshmukhi[1] of Pargana Padadur. He has been confirmed in it in the present year. Therefore you should take account of the Majum and you should credit in the accounts of the Mahal of Padadur, the amount of Rs. 200 which has been settled on him as his salary for this year. Dilakhar. What more to write?[2] (End of the writing seal.) (The big seal of Bajirao.)

(Registered.)

II.

To Balaji Janardan C/o Mahadji Shinde.[3] From Madhavrao Narayan Pradhan. San Tissa Samani Maya Va Alaf, (1788 A.D.) Ramrao Appaji, who is in the service of Tukaji Holkar has reported that he possesses the village of Palsi, Pargana Parner in Inam. However Balaji Janardan from Jamgaon sends attachment on cultivators of the former village and in every other manner gives trouble. At present Krishnaji Valunj, a cultivator of the village was accused of theft, was arrested and taken away, and took from him any amount of material. On inquiry as no evidence of theft was found against him he was released after four months. But orders should issue to return the things recovered from him. Hence this letter is written so that if any complainant against Ramrao Appaji is made it should not be entertained and the things taken away from Krishnaji should be restored to him. Let no complaint again come Take note.[4] (Seal of the end of the writing.)

III.

To Eukoba (Tukojirao Holkar) from Ahalyabai Holkar. Blessings. Know the welfare of this place and be writing yours. Further; cloth and covers of (or with) records on camels have been sent to you with Apaji Ramrao. After they reach there Camels should be sent back. Hence this letter to you Therefore when cloth and covers reach you all the camels should be sent back on way to this place. Despatched on the 5th Jilhej San Sittishan Maya va Alaf (1795). What further to write. Blessings (Mortab Sud.).

From "5th Jilhej" different handwriting.

(1) Majum of Sardeshmukhi :—Keeping of the account of Sardeshmukhi.

(2) The words from "what more" are in the hand-writing of Bajirao.

(3) The addressee should not be confused with the famous Nana Fadnis, who has the same name; but who was he?

(4) The words from "Take note" are in the hand-writing of the sender.

IV.

To Ramrao Appaji, from Tukoji Holkar. Bowing. It is requested that knowing the welfare of this side you should be writing yours. Rajeshri Hari Sadashiv Jog has been given in payment of the loan taken from him a bill of exchange on the payments from Taluka Alampur. Accordingly the amount should be paid. Therefore you should order the Mamladar of the said Taluka to arrange to remit the amount soon to Jog. No complaint should come about this again. Dated 15th Rabilakhar San Saba Sitan Maya va Alaf (1796 A. D.). What more to write. (Mortab Sud.) (and the big seal of Tukoji Holkar).

(The words from "What more" are in the hand-writing of Tukojirao.)

V.

(The Seal of Mahadji Shinde.)

From the camp of Lakshmibai Shinde. To horsemen of the Paigah, Shilledars, Mogal and Pathan and men of the battalions. San Tissa Maya va Alaf (1798 A. D.). It has been reported that these people give great trouble for forage etc. to Palsi. Upon that this command is issued. That no trouble should be given to the aforesaid village for these things. If any orders have been issued in this respect they should be cancelled. No demand should be made. If any complaint is received about it, it will not be tolerated. Know this. Dated 13th Rajab (Mortab Sud).

VI.

To Ambaji Ingle, from Daulatrao Shinde. (After complementary sentences) Badwaha in Prant Malwa is in Jahagir to Ramrao Appaji C/O Holkar. It has been reported that you have caused disturbance in that Mahal by sending a requisition with a cavalryman. Therefore this letter is being addressed to you. Consequently you should cancel order regarding the requisition and recall the cavalry that you may have sent. If the cavalry has recovered anything for expenses, the amount should be returned and no interference be made in the Mahal. Let no complaint about this come again. Despatched dated 14th Rabilaval San Tisa Sitian Maya va Alaf (1798-99). What more[5] to write? This is the request. (Mortab Sud). (The Seal of Daulatrao Shinde.)

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[5] The words from "What more" are in the hand-writing of Daulatrao Shinde

APPENDIX F(I)

Rules for the supply of copies and information to the Public and for Regulating Access to the Records in the Civil Secretariat, United Provinces.

1. Persons wishing to obtain information or copies of records from the Record Room should apply in the prescribed form (*vide* form No. 1 appended to these rules) to the Assistant Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Secretariat Administration Department, stating their occupation and the object for which the information or copies are required. In the disposal of such applications the instructions in paragraph 411 of the Manual of Government Orders and paragraph 319 of this Manual should be kept in view. The Assistant Secretary may, if necessary, consult the department which deals with the subject matter of the papers required before disposing of the application.

2. Access to mixed records relating to British India and Indian States placed in the Secretariat Record Room can only be given with the prior sanction of the Chief Secretary to Government, United Provinces, to whom the Crown Representative has delegated his authority to permit access to such documents.

3. A *bona fide* research scholar may, at the discretion of the Assistant Secretary, be allowed to examine the records personally in the Record Room and each case will be considered on its merits on receipt of an application in the prescribed form (*vide* form No. 1 appended to these rules). The privilege of inspecting any records personally (by the research scholar) will be limited to the records of the period from the earliest time down to the year 1880.

4. The Assistant Secretary may, at his discretion, supply such information as he considers unexceptionable to persons applying for information from the records on payment of the following fees:—

(1) Search fee—

(a) Index for a year at As. 8.

(b) Specified document at As. 8 each.

(2) Transcription fee—

(a) Transcription covering a foolscap sheet in double spacing at As. 4 each sheet.

(b) Comparison of typescripts with originals at As. 2 each foolscap sheet.

(c) Duplicate and triplicate copies at As. 3 each sheet.

(3) Examination fee—

Scrutiny of each batch of 10 pages of typescript—Rs. 2.

The charges detailed above are cumulative and not alternative. *Bona fide* research scholars will not be required to pay the examination fee mentioned in item (3) above.

5. Reocrds may be inspected only within the Record Room and in the presence of the Assistant-in-charge of the Record Room. Copies or extracts from records shall not be taken out of the Record Room nor shall any use be made of any information from the records without the written permission of the Assistant Secretary.

6. All extracts taken from the records for historical research must be submitted daily to the Assistant Secretary through the Assistant-in-charge of the Record Room with a list of the documents from which excerpts have been taken in the prescribed form (*vide* form No. 2 appended to these rules). The research scholar will be solely responsible for the accuracy and authenticity of the excerpts taken from the records. The excerpts will be certified as true copies by the Assistant Secretary when the fees for comparing are paid at the prescribed rate. Such of them as the Assistant, Secretary considers unobjectionable will be released. If, however, any research scholar feels that the decision of the Assistant Secretary is not reasonable he may apply to the Deputy Secretary, Secretariat Administration Department, through the Assistant Secretary for the release of such extracts as the Assistant Secretary may have withheld provided that he pays in advance fees for typing and examination at the prescribed rate (*vide* rule 4).

7. Any research scholar who uses the documents released by the Assistant Secretary for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit with the Assistant Secretary one copy of each work free of charge immediately after publication.

8. The fees prescribed in rule 4 should be deposited in advance with the Treasurer of the Secretariat who will deposit them in the Treasury without undue delay. All copying work shall be done in the issue Section.

Form No 1.

Form of application for admission to the Record Room in the Civil Secretariat. United Provinces.

To

The Assistant Secretary to Government*

United Provinces,

Secretariat Administration Department,

Lucknow.

SIR,

I beg to apply for admission to the Record Room in the Civil Secretariat for inspection of records. I promise to comply with the rules and conditions in force there.

1. Name
2. Title
3. Designation
4. Profession
5. Domicile
6. Subject of search/Object for which information is required/......... (for research scholars).
7. Period for which admission is sought for
8. Recommended by†
9. Signature and Date

*All applications from representatives or subjects of Indian States shall be submitted through the local Political Officer.

†Not necessary in case of members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Professors or Readers of recognised Universities.

10. **Address**

Particulars of records to be consulted.

	Department.	Period.	Remarks.
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

Form No. 2.

Detailed list of excerpts taken from records
by

Date and number of Consultation.	Particulars of the excerpts	Remarks.

APPENDIX F(II.)

Rules regarding the access of the public to the records of the Government of Baroda.

Whereas it is expedient to make provisions regarding the duties and conduct of persons coming for examining the records of the Baroda Government for historical research, His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur has been pleased to enact as follows :—

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary.

1. These Rules may be called " Rules regarding the access of the public to the records of the Government of Baroda."

Title.

2. These Rules shall come into force on the first of Chaitra Shuddha, Samvat 1987, corresponding to 20th March, 1931 A. D.

3. These Rules shall apply only to cases where documents are required for *bona fide* historical research.

Application of the Rules.

4. Unless there be something repugnant in the (क) subject or (ख) context, the following terms have the following meanings :—

(क) 'Raj Daftardar' means an officer appointed from time to time by the Huzur for conducting the affairs of the records of the Government of Baroda.

CHAPTER II.

Hours of admission to the Records of the Government of Baroda.

5. The hour of admission shall be (क) 12-0 to 17-0 hours when the offices are held in the noon, and (ख) 7-0 to 11-0 hours when the offices are held in the morning.

Hours of admission.

CHAPTER III.

Making and addressing of applications.

6. Persons desiring to examine the records of the Baroda Government (क) shall apply in writing to the Raj Daftardar (Kothi, Baroda) ; and (ख) shall state therein (1) their (क) office, (ख) profession, (ग) titles, or (घ) other qualifications, and

(2) the object for which they wish to examine them.

7. (1) Applications from students of recognized Colleges shall be accompanied by a certificate from the Principals.

(2) Applications which are not received according to sub-section (1) shall not be considered.

(3) Permission to inspect the records will remain valid for only two months from the date on which it is granted. If the work is not completed within this period a further application will be necessary for permission.

8. (1) All applications shall be disposed of by the Raj Daftardar in accordance with the Rules drawn up from time to time by the departments to which the records belong.

(2) Provided that in the case of records belonging to individual departments the Raj Daftardar shall secure the previous consent of the heads of these departments.

9. The Raj Daftardar may (क) refuse any application, or (ख) accept it with such modifications as he deems necessary.

CHAPTER IV.

Inspection of records.

10. (1) Records may be inspected (अ) only within the premises of the Record office, and(आ) in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff.

(2) In any particular case the Raj Daftardar may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure (अ) the preservation, and (आ) proper treatment of records.

11. (अ) (1) No information, and

(2) no copies of documents shall be given ; and (आ) no person shall be permitted to make a copy of any (1) document, or (2) part of it without reference to the departments concerned.

(इ) No person shall take copies or extracts from the records out of the office building ; nor shall he make any use of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Raj Daftardar.

12. (1) No (अ) volume, or (आ) paper shall be delivered to any person using the Record office until he has signed receipt for the same.

(2) (अ) Records shall be given back to the Assistant-in-charge as soon as they are done with ; and (आ) the receipt referred to in sub-section (1) shall then be returned.

13. (1) No person shall have more than two (अ) files or (आ) volumes, out at one time.

(2) Documents in a fragile condition shall be handed over (अ) singly, or (आ) subject to such conditions as the Raj Daftardar may deem necessary to impose for their safety.

14. Large volumes shall be (अ) placed on desks ; and (आ) handled as little as possible.

15 No person shall (क) lean on any of the documents, or (ख) put one document on top of another, or (ग) place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

16. No mark of any description shall be made on any record.

17. (1) With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an inkstand shall not be allowed.

(2) (क) If (अ) (1) the volumes, or (2) documents are such as can be placed on book-rests, a fountain-pen may be used for the purpose of taking (आ) (1) notes, or (2) extracts; and (ख) in all other cases (1) notes, or (2) extracts shall be taken in pencil.

18. Any person who (अ) (1) uses the records for purposes of historical research, and (2) publishes (क) papers, or (ख) works based on those records shall deposit in the Record Department one copy of each of (आ) (1) the papers, or (2) works immediately after publication.

19. No person (क) shall chew (1) pan, or (2) other like substance while working in the record office and (ख) shall place any articles of food on the tables meant to be used for keeping (1) records, (2) documents, or (3) other papers.

20. No fire in any form shall be allowed in the Record rooms.

CHAPTER V.

Penalties.

21. (1) If any person (अ) (1) contravenes any of the provisions of these Rules, or (2) disobeys any order of the Raj Daftardar, the latter shall have powers to order the person (आ) (1) to leave the record office, or any other place where the person is asked to inspect the record, or (2) to do any other act under these Rules, and if necessary, to remove him by force.

(2) The Raj Daftardar shall have the powers also, to assess any damages done by such a person and to recover the same from him as Government dues.

CHAPTER VI.

Miscellaneous.

22. If a search is to be made by the Record Room staff the applicant shall have to pay fees according to Rule 199 of the Rules under the Land Revenue Code.

23. An appeal shall lie to the Huzur against any order passed under these Rules by the Raj Daftardar, Baroda, 19th March 1931.

C. V. JOSHI,
Raj Daftardar.

APPENDIX G.

The Historical Exhibition, 1942.

The Historical Exhibition organised by the University of Mysore in connection with the eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Jagan Mohan Palace. The Dewan of Mysore opened the Exhibition and the proceedings of the ceremony will be found on pages 33-35. 400 copies of the list were very kindly supplied by the University of Mysore for incorporation in the Proceedings volume for this session.

S. N. SEN,
Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission.

GIPD—L798ExR—6.6.43—400.

List of Exhibits

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Exhibition Committee desire to express their thanks to the Imperial, Provincial and States Record Departments and other exhibitors for kind and ready participation in the Exhibition. Descriptions of exhibits are printed almost exactly as they were contributed.

Lists of exhibits received after 19th January 1942 will be issued as supplements.

Mr. F. McD. Tomkinson, Manager, the Wesley Press and Publishing House is particularly to be thanked for printing the list of exhibits at very short notice.

CONTENTS

[1] These exhibits are on view in the Victoria Jubilee Hall.

List of Exhibits

THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT

Public Consultations

1. Copy of a Farman confirming the Company's possession in the Carnatic. Written on the 24th of Safar of the 6th year of the Julus. And the contents of the Zimn. (9th September, 1765, No. 10.)

2. Copy of a Farman relating to the grant of the five *northern* Circars in the Deccan to the East India Company. Written on the 24th of Safar of the 6th year of the Julus. And the contents of the Zimn. (9th September, 1765, No. 11.)

3. A statement of the fifty lakhs of rupees to be paid by Shuja-ud-daulah. A statement of Shah Alam's debt to the Company. These statements are in the handwriting of Lord Clive. (9 September, 1765, No. 13.)

4. Letter from Mr Alexander Campbell submitting certain regulations for the establishment of a Gold Currency. (2nd June, 1766, No. 1, *b*.)

5. Minute by Mr Hugh Watts regarding the establishment of a Gold Currency. (9th June, 1766, No. 1.)

6. Letter from Lord Clive intimating the payment by Shuja-ud-daulah of the balance of his obligation to the Company by the Treaty concluded at Allahabad on the 16th August, 1765. (23rd June, 1766, No. 1.)

7. Notice issued under the orders of the President and Council of Fort William, dated 30th June, 1766, regarding the establishment of Gold Currency and coinage of Gold Mohurs. (20th July, 1766, No. 12.)

8–10. List of presents made by the Peshwa and the Ministers at Poona to Lieut.-Genl. Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell. (11th August, 1777, Nos 2, 3 and A.)

11. Translation of an address, dated 13 December, 1788, from the principal members of the Greek Church in Bengal to the Court of Directors, eulogising the administration of Warren Hastings. (9th January, 1789, No. 21 and K.W.)

12. Correspondence with Mr. C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, on the subject of the establishment of fixed and regular

dak between Western India and the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. (22nd April, 1789, No. A.)

13. Regulations relating to payments in silver and gold coins. (13th July, 1795, No. 5.)

14. Minute of the Governor-General recommending that Lieut. J. Baillie be nominated to translate the law doctrines of the sect of Mussalmans called Shias, begun under the superintendence of the late Sir William Jones. (26th January, 1798, No. 1.)

15-20. Correspondence relative to the repairs of the Taj. (30th July, 1823, Nos. 35 and 36; 4th December, 1823, Nos. 27, 28, 30 and 31.)

21. Copy of the minute by the Hon'ble Mr. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay on native education, dated 2nd February, 1835. (7th March, 1855, No. 15.)

22. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, the Hon'ble Mr. A. Ross and the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr H. T. Princep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department; there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr Princep's minute by the Hon'ble Mr T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. (7th March, 1835, No. 19 and K.W.)

23. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny of 1857, together with its translation. Received from Mr. Wynyard, then judge at Gorakhpur. (7th August, 1857, No. 137.)

24. Correspondence relative to forming and preparing an experimental plantation of mulberry trees near Mussoorie for rearing silk worms. (23rd July, 1858, Nos. 65-68.)

25. Principles laid down by the Court of Directors for the guidance of public officers in respect to matters concerning the religion of the people of India. (17th September, 1858, No. 31.)

26. Proclamation of the assumption of the Government of India by the Queen. (5th November, 1858, Nos. 1-8, 11-12 and 49.)

27. Royal Act of Amnesty, Pardon and Oblivion, which by Command of the Queen, has been proclaimed to the people of India. (26th November, 1858, Nos. 75-92.)

28. Superintendent, Mathematical Instrument Makers' Department, Calcutta, requested by the Commissioner of Pegu and Agent to the Governor-General for the supply of a number of sets of standard weights and measures to be distributed in the Rangoon Bazars. (11th February, 1859, No. 19.)

29-30. Correspondence relative to the proposal for commutation of money payment to the 'Adhikari of Math Juggernath Bullab' (for purchasing food for distribution to poor pilgrims) to an equivalent grant of land. (6th August, 1858, Nos. 35-37 and 2nd March, 1860, Nos. 2-3.)

31. Proposal for the repeal of the provisions of the Bengal and Madras Codes vesting the general superintendence of the endowments for the support of mosques and temples in Revenue officers of Government. (28th August, 1860, No. 130.)

32. Governor-General's Minute, dated the 2nd February, 1863, stating his intention to pass the summer season at Simla. (4th February, 1863, Nos. 10-16.)

33. Minutes by H.E. the Governor and the Hon'ble Messrs Maltby and Pycroft on the subject of improving the system of agriculture in the Madras Presidency. (K.W. to progs, 20th June, 1864, Nos. 37-47.)

34. A report upon the Exchequer standards of weights and measures furnishing an account of the standards of different periods. (1st September, 1864, Nos. 1-4.)

35. A circular issued by the Government of India to all Provincial Governments and Administrations on the subject of conserving and photographing architectural structures or their remains and other works of art in India. (6th September, 1867, No. 41.)

36. Human sacrifice in certain districts of the Central Provinces. (30th May 1868, No. 141.)

37-38. Act for the prevention of the murder of female infants. Suppression of female infanticide among the Rajputs. (7th May, 1870, Nos. 1-4 and A and 20th August, 1870, Nos. 96-98.)

Home Department: Judicial Consultations

39. Papers relative to the establishment of a Penal Settlement at Port Blair. (15th January, 1858, Nos. 15-27.)

Home Department: Education Consultations

40. Calcutta University office removed from the Civil Engineering College. Two rooms required by the university—one for the writers and another for the meetings of the Senate. Proposal to hire a house at Rs. 125/- per mensem. (7th August, 1860, Nos. 5-9.)

Political Consultations

41. Governor-General's minute about despatching the jewels of Raghunath Rao to the Peshwa, as desired by the latter, by land route from Calcutta to Poona under the charge of an European officer accompanied by a suitable escort. (28th February, 1794, No. 24.)

42. Letter from the Governor-General to the Peshwa intimating that as a token of the Company's esteem, Raghunath Rao's jewels, which were deposited with the Government of Bombay, were being sent to him (Peshwa) through an European officer, who was instructed to deliver them into the hands of Sir C. W. Malet. (28th February, 1794, No. 25.)

43. Instructions to Lieutenant Michie for proceeding to Poona with the jewels of the late Raghunath Rao. (31st March, 1794, No. 8.)

44. A statement showing the strength and composition of Colonel De Boigne's Troops. (7th April, 1794, No. 3.)

45. Instructions issued to Major William Palmer on the death of Maharaja Mahadji Sindhia to be particularly attentive to the ceremonies which may be held in the provinces where Maratha influence and power are established. (7th April, 1794, No. 4.)

46. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to the Governor-General intimating the demise of his father, Maharaja Mahadji Sindhia, on the 12th February, 1794, and the conferment on the writer after the period of mourning, of a *khillat* by the Peshwa investing him with the authority of his late father over the latter's dominions. (7th April, 1794, No. 5.)

47. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Major Palmer. Reports the melancholy news of the death of Maharaja Sindhia and investiture of the writer by the Peshwa in the late Maharaja's place. Expresses his hope that Major Palmer will always try to promote the friendship existing between the Company and the House of Sindhia. (7th April, 1794, No. 6.)

48. From the Peshwa to the Governor-General informing the latter that on the death of the Maharaja Sindhia, Daulat Rao Sindhia has been confirmed in the superintendence of the affairs of Hindustan. (7th April, 1794, No. 7.)

49-52. Governor-General's minute and connected papers relative to the measures taken for examining the possibility of extension of commercial intercourse to Nepal. (10th November, 1794, Nos. 29-32.)

53. Minute of the Governor-General relative to the pro-

position of the Raja of Travancore for entering into an alliance with the Company. (25th September, 1795, No. 8.)

54. Instructions issued to the Hon'ble Mr Jonathan Duncan for settling the terms of a perpetual alliance with the Raja of Travancore. (25th September, 1795, No. 9.)

55. Appointment of the Hon'ble Mr Jonathan Duncan as Minister on behalf of the Company's Government to the Raja of Travancore. (25th September, 1795, No. 10.)

56. Minute of the Governor-General recommending the Marine Board to charter a vessel for transporting 6,000 bags of rice and 60,000 gallons of spirit for the use of Admiral Elphinstone's Squadron. (2nd November, 1795, No. 4.)

57. Governor-General's minute relative to the letters of congratulation received from Indians of rank to Warren Hastings on the favourable conclusion of his prosecution. (5th February, 1796, No. 17.)

58. Nawab Nusrat Jung's request for the battalion of sepoys stationed at Dacca to attend his retinue during Id festival. Governor-General suggests that the Collector should arrange for two companies of *Sebundies* on such occasions. (28th March, 1796, No 25.)

59. Governor-General's survey of the political occurrences subsequent to the death of the Peshwa and of the state of affairs at Poona, Hyderabad and Seringapatam. (27th June, 1796, No. 13.)

60. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England via Red Sea. (11th September, 1812, Nos. 7-9.)

61. Letter of condolence from the Governor-General to Parsoji Bhonsla on the death of his father, Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla II and of congratulation on his accession to the masnad. (4th May, 1816, No. 83.)

62. List of presents sent by the Governor-General to Maharaja Parsoji Bhonsla on his accession to the masnad and to Appa Sahib on his appointment to the Regency. (25th May, 1816, Nos. 49-52.)

63. Accounts furnished by R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, respecting the extent of revenue and army of the State of Nagpur. (17th August, 1816, No. 23.)

64. Proposal made by Appa Sahib to raise a battalion of sepoys after the European manner under British officers approved by the Governor-General. (9th November, 1816, Nos. 31-32.)

65-67. Suppression of slave trade in the dominions of Maharaja Sindhia. (21st January, 1831, No. 65; 24th September, 1832, Nos. 26-29; 13th June, 1833, No. 32.)

68. Indigenous method of manufacturing paper in the

Himalayan tracts (Nepal, etc.), in the early part of the 19th century. (13th January, 1832, Nos. 18-20.)

69. Report on the method of bleaching paper manufactured at Darjeeling by Dr. W. B. O'Shanghnessy, M.D., Chemical Examiner of Calcutta, in the early part of the 19th century. (29th November, 1841, No. 147-8.)

70-71. Arrangement for the introduction of experimental tea cultivation in Mysore and other places. (20th April, 1835, Nos. 114; 15th June, 1835, No. 130.)

72. Notice prohibiting the prevailing practice in Mysore of selling women who offend against the rules of their caste. (11th July, 1838, No. 78.)

73. Report on the arms and ammunition found in the armoury of His Highness the Raja of Mysore. (21st November, 1838, Nos. 117-9.)

74. From the Resident at Mysore, dated 6th January, 1841. Reports the establishment of a free school at Mysore by H.H. the Raja of Mysore and also brings to the notice of the Governor-General the charitable hospital maintained by the Raja of Mysore at his own expense. The Governor-General conveys an expression of the satisfaction with which it is seen that he devotes a portion of his personal resources to laudable objects of general utility. (25th January, 1841, Nos. 50-51.)

75. Proposal of H.H. the Raja of Mysore to build a new house within a mile of his palace for the accommodation of the Resident, disapproved by the Governor-General. (21st March, 1842, Nos. 55-6.)

76. Valuation of the Mysore jewels received from the Resident at Mysore. (30th November, 1835, Nos. 1-2.)

77. Construction of a bridge across the Shimsha river, near the town of Maddur, between Bangalore and Seringapatam. (7th August, 1847, Nos. 239-42.)

Foreign Department: Miscellaneous Records

78. Minute by the Governor-General (Lord Minto), dated the 19th October, 1807, respecting the mode of treatment to be accorded to the families of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan (removed to Bengal) and the pension to be fixed on them for their maintenance. Governor-General's observations that they are 'entitled to all the considerations which belong to illustrious birth and to the tenderness which is due to misfortune, especially in a vanquished enemy'. (For. Misc. Vol., No. 121.)

79. Memorandum of the principal persons in the Courts of Indian Powers, 1840. (For. Misc. Vol., No. 340.)

Secret Consultations

80-81. Report from J. M. Hatch, Bogra, Bengal, dated 8th January, 1773, relating to a band of *sannyasi* plunderers marching with two thousand and one hundred horses and eighty-bullocks laden with ammunition. The *sannyasis* rode away quietly on receiving Rs. 1,200 paid from the Government Treasury. President's minute regarding the measures to be taken for suppressing the *sannyasis*. (21st January, 1773, Nos. 3 and 5.)

82. Letter from Warren Hastings stating that (1) he has concluded an agreement with the Vazir by which the districts of Kora and Allahabad are ceded to the latter on condition of his paying fifty lakhs of rupees to the Company; (2) that the Vazir has engaged to pay the whole expense of the Company's forces that may march to his assistance at his requisition in future; and (3) that he has obtained a renewal and formal confirmation of the Vazir's former engagements with Raja Chait Singh. (23rd September, 1773, No. 3.)

83-84. Letters from Colonel A. Champion and Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah relative to the war against and the victory over the Rohillas. (9th May, 1774, No. 1-2 and 7.)

85. Appointment of Messrs. John Stewart, Secretary and William Redfearn, Persian Translator, to scrutinize the *farmans* granting the privileges enjoyed by the French at Chandernagore. (9th May, 1774, No. 13.)

86. Translation of a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah, written just before his death, requesting the English to support his son, Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. (6th February, 1775, No. 5).

87. Letter from Sir Edward Hughes to the Governor-General, dated 20th March, 1782, giving an account of his encounter with the French Fleet. (1st April, 1782, No. 1.)

88. A list of the French Fleet. (1st April, 1782, No. 2.)

89. Letter from E. W. Fallowfield, Cuddalore, to the Governor-General, dated the 6th March, 1782. States that the report of the defeat of Tipu Sahib's detachment has been spreading everywhere. Supplies information about French troops and armaments. (1st April, 1782, No. 7.)

90. Letter from the Select Committee, Fort St. George, to the Governor-General, dated 19th March, 1782 suggesting an attack upon Haidar Ali in the Bednore country. (1st April, 1782, No. 16.)

91. Letter from John Sulivan, Tanjore, to the Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated 1st February, 1782, reporting

that the Raja of Tanjore has agreed to pay two lacs of rupees. (1st April, 1782, No. 17.)

92. Translation of an agreement by the Raja of Tanjore to pay to the Company 2 lacs of pagodas. (1st April, 1782, No. 18.)

93. Letter from John Sulivan, Tanjore, to the President and Governor of Fort St. George, dated 22nd February, 1782, stating that the garrison there is strong, the Raja of Tanjore manifests warmest zeal, there are 3,500 men under General Meadows, reinforcements are also expected, and hence the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite cannot have any adverse effect on the general state of the war. (1st April, 1782, No. 19.)

94. Letter from the Select Committee, Fort St. George, to the Governor-General, dated the 23rd March, 1782, describing the state of affairs in Madras; landing of the French troops at Porto Novo; movements of Haidar Ali; scarcity in the settlement, etc. States that unless peace is concluded very soon with the Marathas there is every reason to apprehend the most fatal consequences to the British interests in the Madras Coast. (1st April, 1782, No. 34.)

95. Letter from the Select Committee, Fort St. George, to David Anderson, Esq., at the Court of Poona, dated the 15th March, 1782. States that Haidar Ali who is in possession of the greater part of Carnatic has been joined by 3,000 French troops. British troops are inadequate to oppose the combined forces. Requests speedy conclusion of a peace with the Marathas. (1st April, 1782, No. 35.)

96. From the Select Committee, Fort St. George, to John Holland, Esq., Resident at the Nizam's Court, dated the 17th March, 1782, describing the critical state of affairs of the Company in Madras and urging him to endeavour immediately to conclude a treaty with the best obtainable terms. (1st April, 1782, No. 36.)

97. Statement, dated the 18th March, 1782, showing the stock of grain in Madras and the quantity required for daily consumption in the town and for the monthly consumption of the garrison. (1st April, 1782, No. 37.)

98. Parole signed by five French officers, taken prisoners of war by Sir Edward Hughes, dated the 19th February, 1782. (1st April, 1782, No. 38.)

99. Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Governor-General, dated the 22nd March, 1782, attributing the total destruction of the detachment under Colonel Braithwaite, to the military command of this expedition being issued not by the Commander-in-Chief but by the Government of Madras. States

about the critical condition of the Company's affairs—the French having joined Haidar Ali with 3,000 Europeans and 500 Coffries trained in artillery. (1st April, 1782, No. 41.)

100-101. A letter from the Resident at the Court of the Vizier of Oudh, dated the 9th May, 1782, despatching to the Governor-General an agreement entered into by the Vizier at Chunar in September, 1781, under which a monthly sum was to be set apart for the expenses of his person and household and the remainder of the revenue was to be left in a public treasury under the management of his ministers and the inspection of the Resident for the discharge of his Military and Civil disbursements. (23rd May, 1782, Nos. 1-2.)

102. A letter addressed to the Bombay Select Committee from Fort William, dated 16th May, 1782, recommending them to set on foot an expedition against Haidar Ali's dominions from the coast of Malabar as there were no other means for terminating the war in the Carnatic. (23rd May, 1782, No. 5.)

103. A letter from Sir Edward Hughes, dated the 12th September, 1782, giving an account of the operations of the squadron under his command and reviewing the circumstances under which Trincomalee fell into the hands of the French. (3rd October, 1782, No. 1.)

104. An account of the encounter between the English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes and the French fleet on the 3rd September, 1782, off Trincomalee on the island of Ceylon. (3rd October, 1782, No. A, Enclosure to Serial No. 103.)

105-106. Abstract account of supplies from the Bengal Government to the Presidency of Fort St. George from the 31st July, 1780, to the 1st May, 1781, and from the 30th April, 1781, to the 1st September, 1782. (3rd October, 1782, Nos. 4-5.)

107. A report from a French deserter describing the condition of the garrison at Cuddalore, consisting of 800 French and 3 battalions of sepoys living on a rationed diet of rice only, there being scarcity of provisions. (3rd October, 1782, No. 11.)

108. Letter from Willian Lewis and others, Tellicherry to the Governor-General, dated 13th March, 1789. Apprise the strength of the garrison at Tellicherry and submit information about Tipu Sultan's conduct. (15th April, 1789, No. 1.)

109. Translation of a correspondence from Tipu Sultan and an officer under him, dated 8th March, 1789, alleging that the King of Cottiote and some other principal persons are fugitives at Tellicherry and demanding their surrender. (15th April, 1789, No. 4).

110. Translation of a letter from the linguist at Calicut reporting the movement of Tipu Sultan and that he left some people to surround the woods for seizing the heads of his rebellious subjects. (15th April, 1789, No. 6.)

111. Minutes of a conference with a *Buxey* of Tipu Sultan on the surrender of fugitives, a list of the principal persons among them being furnished. Demand of the Sultan for the withdrawal of the English from Durmapatam received by them from Raja Odeonnan in 1734. (15th April, 1789, No. 9.)

112. Copy of a letter from the commandant of the garrison at Tellicherry communicating the intelligence received by him about the strength of the army of Tipu Sultan. Recommends payment of the promised reward of Rs. 200 to the informer. (15th April, 1789, No. 12.)

113. Copy of a letter from the same relating to the measures considered necessary for the defence of the garrisons. (15th April, 1789, No. 13.)

114. Minute by the Governor-General in Council recording that in view of the danger from the Tipu Sultan who looks forward for an opportunity for regaining his lost possessions, European troops cannot be spared from India for an expedition for reducing the French settlements of Mauritius and Bourbon. (9th May, 1794, No. 12.)

115. Minute by the Governor-General on the ships engaged for the transport of troops from Calcutta to Madras—charges being 30 rupees for each European and 25 for each 'native' (Bears the signature of the Governor-General.) (23rd June, 1794, No. 2.)

116. Governor-General's observations on the possibility of hostilities breaking out between the Nizam and Peshwa and on the activities of Tipu Sultan. Stresses that the principle of neutrality should be strictly adhered to by the English power and their army should be augmented. (29th December, 1794, No. 2.)

117. The Governor-General records his opinion on the general effect of the British administration in India and the benefits conferred on the 'natives' of India, by the British rule—the rising generation expected to be trained to new habits and to accommodate their sentiments to the practices and principles of the established administration. Makes observations on the measures necessary for the maintenance of internal security. Reviews the strength and political conditions of the different powers in India and takes into consideration the possibilities of

an invasion of the British possessions by any country power or European power. (22nd June, 1795, No. 1.)

118. Minute by the Governor-General laying down instructions about taking possession of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsurah. (24th July, 1795, No. 6.)

119. Governor-General's minute on the steps to be taken in connection with the entry of a large body of Tipu's troops into the Currumballa district. States that hostility with Tipu at this juncture would be very embarrassing. Suggests that any claim on the part of Tipu to Currumballa or Wynaad should be received with every disposition to concede whatever he may be able to establish as his right. (22nd February, 1796, No. 1.)

120. Governor-General's observations on the report of Tipu's military preparations and his infantry and regular cavalry having crossed the river Cavery and encamped with their guns near the Carighat Hills. (4th August, 1797, No. 8.)

121. Report of Captain Wade (Political Agent, on a mission to Lahore and Bhawalpur), dated 31st December, 1832, of his conversation with Maharaja Ranjit Singh on various topics, including the scheme for opening the navigation of the Indus and the Sutlej. Draft of the articles of a convention on this subject. (23rd April, 1833, No. 14.)

122. Lt.-Col. Wade reports the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 27th June, 1839; His Highness's declaration, nominating Kharak Singh as his successor and appointing Dhian Singh to the Vizaraut; bestowal by him, in charity, of money, jewels and other property to the value of fifty lacs of rupees; His directions to send the well-known Kohinur jewel to the temple of Juggernath and other events connected with his death. Instructions by the Governor-General to Colonel Wade to secure the allegiance of the Sikh Sardars to Maharaja Kharak Singh. (4th December, 1839, Nos. 78-80.)

123. From Lt.-General Sir John Keane, dated 23rd November, 1839, forwarding to the Governor-General an extract of a letter from Captain Burn about General Avitabile (acting under the orders of the Lahore Government), showing the highest degree of friendship and hospitality to the British troops returning from Peshwar to Ali Musjid. (4th May, 1840, Nos. 40-43.)

124. From John Lawrence, Esquire, dated Lahore, 11th September, 1846, giving an account of his interview with the Maharani who declared that the existence of the Darbar, her life and that of the Maharaja (her son) depended upon the continuance of the British troops at Lahore. Makes some remarks on

the state of parties and future administration of Lahore. (26th December, 1846, No. 1043.)

125. Capture of Tantia Topi's family by Sindhia's Subah of Bhind. (24th September, 1858, No. 123.)

Public Works Department: General Consultations

126. Purchase of Writers' Buildings (Calcutta) by the Government of India at Rs. 7,75,000. (14th March, 1862, Nos. 38-40, A.)

127. Proposal for the construction of a new High Court House at Calcutta. (January, 1863, No. 5 A.)

128. Reports by Colonel A. Cunningham, Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India of the archæological operations carried on by him during 1861 and 1862. (January, 1863, Nos. 60-64.)

129. Daily report submitted by (the then) Major-General A. Cunningham, in his own handwriting of his occupation and duties for the month of December, 1862. His discovery near the modern town of Kashipur of the site of an ancient city (mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang), the construction of which is attributed to the Pandus. (February 1863, Nos. 17-19.)

130. Daily report (in his own handwriting) of the occupation and duties of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India for January, 1863. His description of two life-size human statues of red stone and two statues of elephants in black stone, found in the palace of Delhi. (April, 1863, Nos. 31-33.)

131. Madras Irrigation Company authorised to use surplus water of Mauri Tank by arrangement with Mysore State. (January, 1863, No. 92.)

132. Construction of a civil hospital in the Cantonment of Bangalore at an estimated outlay of Rs. 49,832. (April, 1863, Nos. 38-42.)

133. Correspondence relative to the comparative cost of machine-made and hand-made bricks. (July, 1863, Nos. 23-27A.)

134. Purchase of St. Paul's School premises for the Calcutta Museum, for the sum of Rs. 1,30,000. (November, 1863, Nos. 1-3 A.)

Agricultural Consultations

135. Revised project for carrying out dams at Mauricunway, Chittledroog Division, Mysore. (20th June, 1862, Nos. 17-22 A.)

Ecclesiastical Consultations

136. Proposed construction of St. James Church at Calcutta at an estimated cost of Rs. 2,00,000. (25th July, 1862, Nos. 1-2 A.)

Public Works Department

137. Proposed dredging of the river Hooghly for improving its navigation. (Commn. December, 1862, Nos. 37-40.)

Finance Department

138. Minute by the Right Hon'ble Mr Wilson on the expendiency of introducing a Paper and Gold Currency into India. (Accts. January, 1860, Nos. 1-2.)

Persian Documents

139. *Farmans* relating to the English trade in India, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations. (Misc. Vol., No. I.)

140. From Mir Murtaza Khan (Mir Saidu), a grandson of Mir Jafar Ali Khan. Says that Rs. 5,000 was fixed for his monthly allowance when he was young and had no encumbrances. Now that he is a married man he requests the Governor-General to increase his allowance in order to enable him to meet his enhanced expenses. Bears the seal of the Khan. (22nd February, 1779, No. 29.)

141. From Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (3rd November, 1784, No. 86.)

142. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor-General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis. (14th November, 1785, No. 94.)

143. From Madhu Rao Narayan Peshwa. Congratulates the Governor-General on his safe arrival from England to Calcutta on 18th *Zulqada* (12th September, 1786), as the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. Sends cloths and jewels as presents through Gulab Raj. (27th February, 1788, No. 139.)

144. From Haidar Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a *nazr* of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be

distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of Haidar Beg Khan. (12th August, 1789, No. 175.)

145. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor-General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (8th March, 1790, No. 50.)

146. From Tipu Sultan. In reply to Governor-General's offer to send to the Sultan's camp the corpse of Bahadur Khan who fell fighting gallantly at Bangalore, says that the body may be handed to the local Mussalmans for burial. Bears the seal of the Sultan. (23rd March, 1791, No. 78.)

147. From Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot. Intimates that about 500 of Tipu's horses plundered all the places in the neighbourhood of Poonamallee and that no step was taken by Sir Charles Oakeley (the Governor of Madras) to repel them. Says that great loss has been thereby sustained by the Nawab's subjects and requests that suitable measures may be adopted to check similar depredations in future. (29th January, 1792, No. 49.)

148. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *vakils* to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. (12th February, 1792, No. 114.)

149. From Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Farnavis on 12 *Rajab*, 31st December, 1797. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (5th February, 1798, No. 88.)

150. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Approves of the suggestion made by Col. Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu, who has concluded a secret treaty with the French, it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. 1798 A.D. (20th September, 1798, No. 361).

151. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (10th February, 1799, No. 19.)

152. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Expresses his gratitude to the Governor-General on being released from his confinement and placed on the *masnad* of his ancestors after the victory of the English over Tipu at Seringapatam. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (12th July, 1799, No. 198.)

153. From Purnaiya Dewan. Notifies the accession of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III of Mysore to the *masnad* of his ancestor and states the fidelity and zeal with which he means to fill the station of Dewan to the Raja. (12th July, 1799, No. 200.)

154. From Purnaiya Dewan. Says that Col. Close, the Resident, presented the Raja of Mysore with a *khillat* on the occasion of the completion of his new house in the fort of Mysore. Adds that he proposes to accompany the Colonel to visit the country, shortly, for its improvement and that he will report the result hereafter. (10th June, 1800, No. 169.)

155. From Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Offers congratulations on the conclusion of treaty of peace between England and France and on the release of Egypt from the hands of the French. Sends a present of certain articles on the occasion. (28th December, 1802, No. 548.)

156. From Nawab Sadat Ali Khan. Has learnt with grief that Mr Hastings is leading a life of misery in England. Proposes therefore to make an allowance of Rs. 2,000 per month on him merely to relieve him of his distress. (20th June, 1803, No. 240.)

157. From Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. In reply to the Governor-General's letter of 6th June relating to the Nawab's serious illness. This was the last letter from the Nizam, he having died on 6th August. (14th July, 1803, No. 264.)

158. From Azim-ud-daula, Nawab of the Carnatic. Congratulatory on the success of the British army over the Mahratta Confederates. (8th November, 1803, No. 508.)

159. From Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Ruler of Lahore. Says that in accordance with the Governor-General's instructions the Maharaja will accord every possible assistance to Mr Elphinstone when the latter passes through his territory on his way back from Peshwar. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (28th July, 1809, No. 400.)

160. From Ghulam Rasul Khan, son of the Nawab of Karnal. Announces his marriage, and transmits an offering of some jewels and cloths on the occasion. (28th March, 1812, No. 197.)

161. From Maharaja Ling Rajinder Wader of Coorg. Congratulatory, in reply to the Governor-General's letter of 23rd November, notifying the conquest of the Island of Java and its dependencies and his Lordship's return to Fort William. (23rd April, 1812, No. 239.)

162. From His Majesty Akbar II. Informing that he has sent him [the Governor-General] by the hands of the officers

deputed to wait on him a sword belonging to his ancestor, Emperor Aurangzeb, which he requests his Lordship will accept. (10th December, 1814, No. 892.)

Documents in Other Oriental Languages

163. Letter (in Bengali) from Rani Marich Mati, the aunt of Nazir Deo, to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis. Complains against various oppressions committed by Sarbananda Gosain, the Rajguru of Cooch Bihar Raja family, on Nazirdeo's family. (Persian O.R., 9th March, 1787, No. 134.)

164. Letter (in Chinese language) from the Teshu Lama to the Governor-General, received on 28th June, 1793. Narrates the particulars of the campaign against Nepal and notifies the subsequent conclusion of peace. Expresses satisfaction at the contents of his letter. Desires that the Chinese language of Lhasa may be the medium of communication between them. Bears a seal. (Pers. OR. 1793, No. 305.)

165. Letter (in Bengali) from Baro Barua and Choladhara Phukan, ministers of the Raja of Assam. Complains against the misdeeds of Captain Welsh, deputed by Lord Cornwallis to restore Gaurinath to his throne. (Persian OR., 5th March, 1794, No. 27.)

166. Letter (in Oriya) from the Raja of Baud (in Orissa) to the Commissioner at Cuttuck, received on 23rd April, 1804. Says that he would acknowledge no authority other than the English as his overlord. (Pers. O.R., 1804, No. 218.)

167. Letter (in Marathi) from Ram Krishna Keshaba, *carcoon* of Appasahib Patbardhan, son of Senapati Parasuram Bhau, Patbardhan, Tajgaon. Informs his master of an assault by the Kolhapuri Chauhan upon the villages of Bagebari and Dhupdal, where shots were exchanged from both the sides. (Pers. O.R., August, 1804, No. 417.)

168. Letter (in Burmese with translation in Dutch) from the Viceroy of Pegu. Says that a certain vessel of Padao Miozage which sailed from Pegu for Bengal having met with bad weather at sea, lost its masts, yards, etc., and got the damages repaired. Requests that the cargo in the vessel may be sold at the current price of Bengal for the purpose of defraying the repair charges and that should the proceeds of the sale be insufficient for the purpose the vessel may be allowed to return to Pegu. The balance due shall be paid by the writer (the Viceroy) himself. Dated, Rangoon, 2nd February, 1809. (Pers. O.R., 6th March, 1809, No. 180.)

169. Letter (in Burmese with a Persian translation) from

the King of Pegu. Requests that 5,000 *visas* of saltpetre and 200 guns may be sent to him. (Pers. O.R., March, 1809, No. 233.)

170. General Ochterlony forwards for the consideration of the Governor-General a letter (in Sanskrit) from Amar Singh Thappa. (Pers. O.R., 4th January, 1815.)

Specimens of Repairing Work done in the Imperial Record Department

171. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effects of repairing documents with white tracing paper. (H.D. Pub., 9th October, 1806, No. 35.)

172. The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and repaired with chiffon. (H.D. Pub., 11th November, 1782, No. 6.)

173. Specimen of repair with Japanese tissue paper. (P.C. 14th March, 1823, No. 45.)

174. Specimen of a chiffon repair. (P.C., 29 March, 1823, No. 36.)

175. Document laminated with cellulose acetate foil (done by the National Archives, Washington, U.S.A.). P.C., 2nd June, 1825, No. 24 (12 sheets). A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding. (Beng. Pub. Cons., 1758, Sl., No. 9.)

176. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. (This book was hopelessly damaged by larvæ.) (Annals of the College of Fort William.)

THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

Note showing Details of Manuscript

Persian Manuscript Diary (12″×7½″) of the Oudh kings from the reign of Saādat Alī Khan (1798-1814) to Ghazi-ud-din Haidar (1814-1819), written by Munshi Suraj Bhan Waqia Nawis, containing:

1. Letter from Her Highness Bahu Begam, wife of Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Vazir of Oudh and the mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula Bahadur to Their Excellencies the Governor-General of India and the Resident and their reply.

2. Letters from His Majesty Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, King of Oudh, to the Governor-General of India and the reply.

3. Commercial and political engagements between the East India Company and the kings of Oudh.

4. Other important events which occurred on the day or month of the years in the days when the kings of Oudh were rulers, such as, sending gifts to London, giving money to the East India Company, Coronation of the kings of Oudh.

This book was included in the Library of Nawab Rukn-ud-daula, son of the late Nawab Saādat Alī Khan, who died as a State prisoner at the time of the Mutiny in 1857.

List of Manuscripts

1. Story of Bhoj Raj in Persian.
2. Tajik-e-ra-Dakhan.
3. Roznamah-i-Alamgir (Diary of Aurangzeb) and Kuliyet-i-Masnavi—a collection of Persian poems.
4. A manuscript containing an historical discourse of Alamgir's time.
5. A manuscript of Afzul Khan's history.
6. A Persian manuscript recording in chronological order the outstanding events in the history of Islam and based on a history called Tarikh Shahid-i-Sadiq.

List of Coins

1. Coin of Ali I, Adil Shah (copper).
2. Coin of Muhammad Adil Shah (copper).
3. Coin of Ibrahim II, Adil Shah (copper).

THE PATNA MUSEUM

Paintings of the Patna School, 19th Century A.D.

1. Portrait of a woman holding a hand-fan in her right hand. Painting on ivory. Size, 3″ × 2½″.
2. Portrait of a woman with a white dog on her lap and a squirrel on her left shoulder. Painting on ivory. Size, 3¼″ × 2¾″.
3. Portrait of a woman, seated, holding *hukka* in her right hand and a flower in her left. Painting on ivory. Size, 3¼″ × 2½″.
4. Bust of a woman with curly hair. Painting on ivory. Size, 2″ × 1¾″.
5. Portrait of a woman, seated, holding *hukka* in her right hand, in reclining posture. Painting on ivory. Size, 3¼″ × 2½″.

6. Bust of a woman holding ***hukka*** in her right hand. Painting on ivory. Size, $2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

7. Portrait of a princess, seated, wearing crown and holding ***hukka*** in her right hand. Painting on ivory. Size, $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.

8. Painting on paper of a male and a female going on pilgrimage (Tirtha Jatra). Size, $7'' \times 5''$.

9. Painting on paper of a mendicant playing on a stringed instrument. Size $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$.

10. Painting on paper of a woman, seated, with a standing child (the child is caressing a dog) and a female attendant. The lady is holding ***hukka*** in her right hand. Size, $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$.

11. Four-handed goddess Kali standing on the prostrate Mahadeva. Painting on ivory. Size, $6'' \times 5''$.

12. Krishna with Gopis. Painting on paper. Size, $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM, BIJAPUR

List of Coins

Adil Shahi Coins

1. Copper Coin of Ali I, Adil Shah.
2. Copper Coin of Muhammad Adil Shah.
3. Copper Coin of Ibrahim II, Adil Shah.

Bahamani Coins

4. Copper Coin of Muhammad Shah, Bahamani.
5. Copper Coin of Firoz Shah, Bahamani.
6. Copper Coin of Ahmad Shah I, Bahamani
7. Copper Coin of Ahmad Shah II, Bahamani.

Mughal Coins

8. Copper Coin of Akbar, (Narnol mint).
9. Gold coin of Emperor Akbar, square type (Agra mint, in the 12th year after adoption of Din-i-lahi).

Vijayanagar Coins

10. Gold. Varaha of Sadasiva Raya.
11. Gold. Three Swami. (Varaha.)
12. Gold (Kodur Treasure-trove, Varaha (Nellore District). Gold coin assigned to the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I (about 618 A.D.) bearing the legend, 'Katachitra,' or 'Katachinu' in Pallava-Chalukyan.

East India Company Arcot Rupees

13. Silver Rupee of East India Company, Arcot (Madras mint).

14. Silver East India Company Arcot Rupee (Calcutta mint).

15. Silver East India Company Arcot Half-Rupee. (Madras mint).

List of Paintings

1. Portrait bust (11″ x 8″) of Ali II, Adil Shah, painted in profile. He is shown wearing a gray coat and a yellow turban, and holding a white flower.

2. Portrait (8″ x 6¼″) of Chand Bibi, wife of Ali I, Adil Shah, in profile, seated to the right. She is shown holding a *sherbat* flask in her right hand and a small cup in her left; wearing orange coloured *payjamah* striped with gold, a gold embroidered *angiya* and a *peshwaz* and jewels and ornaments of various description.

3. Portrait (12½″ × 8″) of the mother of Ali II, Adil Shah, who was an Abyssinian. She is shown sitting to the right in a garden pavilion. Seated opposite to her is a maid with a lute. Near her are placed refreshments. In the foreground is a bubbling fountain with swans and gold fish swimming in the water; in the background is a row of trees and flower beds.

4. Portrait (10″ × 7″) of Rambhavati, mistress of Muhammad Adil Shah. She is shown standing after bathing on a low stool set with gems, wrapping a diaphanous mauve coloured sari round her person; water pots in the background (which is unfinished).

5. Portrait (6½″ × 3½″) of Taj Sultana Begam, wife of Ibrahim II, and Zahra Sultana, her daughter promenading.

6. Portrait (5½″ × 3″) of Sultan Muhi-ud-din Pir of Baghdad, a highly honoured Muhammadan saint, draped in green.

7. Portrait (8¼″ × 5¼″) of Malik Ambar Habshi of Ahmednagar, in profile, standing to the right. He wears Mughal court-dress, holds in front of him a long sword, and has a *katar* stuck in his girdle. The name is written in Persian characters on the top.

SHARADASHRAM, YEOTMAL

Stone and Copper Inscriptions

1. An impression of an inscription on stone, found at Kayar, in Berar. It is in Brahmi characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. It is an aphorism of the Jain religion.

2. An impression of the copper plate of Vindhyśakti Vakataka of the 4th century A.D. It was found in Berar. The major portion is in Mahārāṣṭri of the period and a section is in Sanskrit.

3. An impression of an inscription of the 5th or 6th century A.D. from the temples at Markanda, C.P.

4. An impression of the stone inscription of the 11th century A.D. from Dongargaon in Berar belonging to Jagaddeo Paramar of Dhara in Sanskrit.

5. An impression of a stone inscription in the Bhadranaga temple at Bhandak, in C.P. It is in Marathi of the 12th century A.D.

6. An impression of the copper plates unearthed at Sirsa in Berar. They belong to Govind III, Rastrakuta of the 9th century A.D.

Antiquarian Finds

7. Photos of the seals found at Mahurzari in C.P. The seals belong to the Gupta period, i.e., the 4th century A.D.

8. Photos of the temples at Markanda in C.P. The inscriptions show that the temples are earlier than the 5th century A.D. General Cunningham remarks that the architecture and the statues therein are superior to those of Khajuraho Temples.

Documents of the Mughal Period

9. *Wasalat* (revenue statement) giving the income of the villages in the *jaghir* of one Kamuruddin Khan in Berar. (1536 A.D.)

10. *Dharmapatra* (a grant) to one Nagthakur of Darwha in Berar in modiscript. (1540 A.D.)

11. *Ek Harfi* (revenue statement) of Pergana Papal in Berar in 1681 A.D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.

12. *Ek Harfi* of Perganah Ner in Berar. (1698 A.D.)

13. *Ek Harfi* of Pergana Darwha in Berar in Persian. (1686 A.D.) Each page of the statement bears the seal of Aurangzeb.

The Nizams of Hyderabad

14. A *sanad* issued by Chinkilid Khan, father of the founder of the Nizam's State, to one Sadaghis Pandit of Talegaon in Berar.

15. A Persian manuscript containing *Gulistan*, *Bostan* and the *Dewan* of the first Nizam. It is valuable for its caligraphy. It was written in the regime of Nabob Namdarkhan of Ellichpur.

The Marathas and the Rajas of Satara

16. *Sanads* and orders issued by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhoji Bhonsle, Sultanji Nimbalkar and several other *sardars*.

17. A list of *darbar* expenses in 1743 A.D., No. 5 in the reign of Shahu Maharaj.

The Rajas of Nagpur

18. *Sanads* and orders of Raghuji I and II, Janoji, Mudhoji and Sabaji, Nos. 5.

The Coin Cabinet

19. The cabinet contains Sassanian coins found in Bërar, copper coins of Bahmani kings, Mughal emperors and the Nizams of Hyderabad. Thirty in number.

17-12-1940

THE BARODA STATE

The State Record Department

1. Statement (copy) showing the territories in Gujerat kept by the Peshwa in the partition of Gujerat between him and the Gaikwad. 1751 A.D.

2. Letter from Peshwa Madhavrao II to Fattesingh Gaikwad informing him the glad news of the accession of Shahu II on the throne. Dated 17-12-1778.

3. Letter, dated 16-7-1791, from Tukoji Holkar to Manajirao protesting against Sevaram's invasion of Dongarpur State as being against the usual practice and requesting him (Manajirao) to arrange to return the bonds or cash taken by Sevaram from the Dongarpur chieftain. It bears the seal of Tukojirao Holkar.

4. Letter from Govindrao Gaikwad to the Peshwa, expressing his agreement with certain conditions imposed on him by the latter. Dated at Yervada, near Poona, 20-11-1793.

5. Letter, dated 17-4-1795, from Daulatrao Shinde to Govindrao Gaikwad informing him that a Brahmin culprit named Bhavanishanker has fled to Rajpipla limits and requesting him to warn the Raja of Rajpipla to hand over the three persons kidnapped and the property looted by Bhavanishanker from Shukla-teerth in the Broach Pargana. It bears the seal of Daulatrao Shindhe.

6. *Sanad* from Maharaja Govindrao Gaikwad to Anandrao Mahadeo for the village of Jafarpur. This is in Gujerati. Date 29-12-1798.

7. Articles of agreement between the East India Company and Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad dated at Cambay, 6th June, 1802. Signatures of Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay; Raoji Apaji, Dewan of Baroda; A. Walker, the Resident; and Sayad Kamal-ud-din Husain and seals of the Company and the Maharaja.

8. Office copy of the will and testament of Gangadhar Shastri Patwardhan, dated 9-12-1813, the original being deposited with the Resident. The writer's fear expressed at the end that perhaps he would soon join the gods came strangely true by his murder on 14-7-1815. An English abstract of the will accompanies.

9. *Kharita* dated 19-2-1819 from the Company to Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad informing the latter of the exemption from the payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 4 lakhs payable to the Peshwa by the Gaikwad.

10. Passports for persons. Obverse side. The reverse side contains a Marathi translation of the English contents on the obverse. Dated 5-12-1821.

11. Passports for persons. The reverse side contains a Marathi translation of the English contents on the obverse. Dated 5-12-1821.

12. Passport for property issued by the Resident at Baroda to the Maharaja of Baroda. Dated 28-2-1822.

13. A monster petition to Maharaja Sayajirao II, Gaikwad, from the noblemen, merchants and other gentry of Baroda beseeching him to dissuade Veniram Aditram Himmat-bahadar from his intention of leaving the ministership of the State and going on pilgrimage. The petition contains nearly 400 signatures. Dated 4-11-1836.

14. *Sanad* from the Supreme Government of British India to His Highness the Maharaja Khanderao Gaikwad granting the House the right to adopt a successor on failure of natural heirs. Date (not given on the parchment) 11-3-1862. Seal of the Government.

15. Covering letter in Marathi from the Governor of Bombay to His Highness the Maharaja Khanderao Gaikwad accompanying the *sanad* of adoption. Date 17-4-1862.

16. Newspaper cuttings. 1823 A.D.

17. Newspaper cuttings. 1867-70 A.D.

The Oriental Institute

18. Shahuraj Kirtipratha Manjari Sarga I by Kavindra Govind Nevaskar. (Marathi). Date not given.

19. Shivapuran, being a part of the Anupuran by Kavindra Govind Deodatt Nevaskar. (Pages not in order.) Sanskrit. Date not given.

20. Shivakavya by Purushottam Pandit of Poona. Shake 1743 (1821 A.D.).

21. Bhaskarvilaskavya by Jagganatha, written by Upendra. Date not given.

22. Sanskrit poem, Bhalana Vamsa Varnanam, from Anahilpur. Date not given.

23. Rajvamshavali. Date not given.

The State Record Department

COINS

24. Silver Rupee, Anandrao Gaikwad, (1800-1819).

25. Silver Rupee, Sayajirao II, Gaikwad, (1819-1847).

26. Copper pice, Sayajirao II, Gaikwad, (1819-1847).

27. Silver Rupee, Half-Rupee and Quarter-Rupee, Ganpatrao Gaikwad, (1847-1856).

28. Copper pice and Half-pice, Ganpatrao Gaikwad, (1847-1856).

29. Silver Rupees and Half-Rupees, Khanderao Gaikwad, (1856-1870).

30. Copper Pice, Khanderao Gaikwad, (1856-1870).

31. Silver Rupee, Half-Rupee and Quarter-Rupee, Malharrao Gaikwad, (1870-1875).

32. Copper pice, Malharrao Gaikwad, (1870-1875).

33. Copper Half-Anna, pice and pie, Sayajirao III, Gaikwad, (1875-1939).

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, JODHPUR

Historical Letters

1. Two photographs of a letter, dated 11th day of the dark half of Vaisakh, V.S., 1775, of Maharana Sangramsingh of Udaipur, addressed to Maharaja Ajitsingh of Jodhpur, congratulating him on installing Rafiuddarjat upon the throne of Delhi and abolishing the tax, called *jazia*, imposed on Hindus and removing the restrictions at their sacred places.

2. Two photographs of a letter of Maharana Arsi (Arisingh) of Udaipur, dated 11th day of the dark half of Vaisakh, V.S., 1827, addressed to Maharaja Bijaysingh of Jodhpur for presenting him the district of Godwar and requesting early help to subdue the internal intrigues of Mewar.

3. Letter of Maharana Arsi (Arisingh) of Udaipur dated 12th day of the dark half of Vaisakh, V.S., 1827, addressed to Maharaja Bijaysingh of Jodhpur, thanking the Maharaja for his letter and requesting early help.

4. Two photographs of an old Imperial *sanad*, dated 9th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 17th year of his reign, (i.e., 7th August, 1775 A.D.), granted by Emperor Shah Alam II to Maharaja Bijaysingh of Jodhpur, mentioning the grant of Raisina (New Delhi) as the hereditary *jagir* to the said Maharaja.

SARASWATI NIKETAN, INDORE

Historical Letters

1. Letter from the Peshwa Bajirao I to Ranoji Sindhia (1735) regarding the appointment of Vithal Trimbak as the accountant of Pargana Padadur.

2. Letter from Madhavrao Narayan Peshwa to Balaji Janardan (Nana Fadnavis) (1788) regarding a dispute over the possession of the village, Palsi.

3. Letter from Ahalyabai Holkar to Tukojirao Holkar (1795) intimating the despatch of certain records under cover of cloth with Appaji Ramrao.

4. Letter from Tukoji Holkar to Ramrao Appaji (1796) ordering the payment of a loan taken from Hari Jog.

5. Letter from Lakshmibai Sindhia to horsemen of the Pagah battalion (1798) ordering them not to trouble the villagers for forage, etc.

6. Letter from Daulatrao Sindhia to Ambaji Inglia (1798-99) ordering him to evacuate the Mahal with his cavalry and not to disturb the peace of the place.

FROM S. C. GOSWAMI, ESQ., I.S.O., B.A., B.T.,

Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Circle

1. A *farman* relating to a land-grant given to the temple of Umananda at Gauhati.

THE MYSORE PALACE

The Exhibits are on view in the interior of the Jaganmohan Palace

THE MYSORE RESIDENCY ARCHIVES

Records of Historical Interest, 1799-1865

1. Catalogue of the Library of Tippu Sultan (in Persian), prepared by Major Ogg, in January, 1800.

2. Letter, dated the 14th September, 1800, from Colin Mackenzie to Sir Barry Close, Resident in Mysore, invoking his help in gathering historical information about the Mysore State.

3. *London Gazette Extraordinary*, dated the 10th October, 1801, announcing the conclusion of peace between England and France.

4. Letter, dated the 7th August, 1804, from Lord William Bentinck to the Resident in Mysore.

5. Letter, dated the 27th December, 1804, from Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, to Major Wilks.

6. Letter, dated the 10th April, 1806, from Mountstuart Elphinstone to Major Wilks.

7. Copy of the Minute of the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 19th December, 1806, recording the grounds on which it was decided to station permanently British Forces in Bangalore.

8. Orders of the Government of Madras issued in April, 1807, constituting a committee to enquire into the unhealthiness of Seringapatam.

9. Proclamation, dated the 9th August, 1809, issued by the Government of Madras in connection with the 'White Mutiny'.

10. Letter, dated the 13th October, 1814, from Lieut.-Col. Marriott to the Resident in Mysore, regarding land tenure in Bangalore.

11. Orders of the Quartermaster-General, issued in 1815, on the question of land tenure in Bangalore.

12. Orders of the Government of Madras, dated the 7th January, 1817, regarding the Pindaree menace.

13. Statement, dated the 2nd July, 1817, bearing the signature of Arthur Henry Cole, Resident in Mysore.

14. Letter, dated the 2nd January, 1818, from Sir Thomas Munro to Arthur Henry Cole.

15. Letter, dated the 24th June, 1819, from Sir John Malcolm to the Resident in Mysore.

16. Letter, dated the 8th November, 1819, from the Abbé Dubois to Arthur Henry Cole.

17. Letter, dated the 3rd August, 1820, from the Abbé Dubois to Arthur Henry Cole, requesting him to forward a copy of his work on *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, to the Court of Directors.

18. Copy of the Abbé's letter dated the 3rd August, 1820, to the Court of Directors, presenting them with a copy of his work.

19. Letter, dated the 1st November, 1820, from Prince Yaseen, one of the sons of Tippu Sultan, to Arthur Henry Cole.

20. Sketch prepared in 1822, showing the site for the Royal Artillery at Bangalore.

21. Letter, dated the 10th January, 1823, from J. Jollie to Arthur Henry Cole, regarding coffee cultivation in the Mysore State.

22. Memorandum of instructions (copy) drawn by Sir John Malcolm in 1821, for the guidance of his assistants.

23. Circular letter, dated the 26th January, 1825, from the Court of Directors, prohibiting the Company's servants from engaging in trade.

24. Letter, dated the 14th August, 1834, from the Imperial Government to the Resident in Mysore, bearing the signature of Sir Charles Trevelyan.

25. Letter, dated the 12th September, 1842, bearing the signature of Sir Mark Cubbon.

26. Letter, dated the 6th July, 1850, from Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III to Sir Mark Cubbon, inviting him for his birthday celebrations.

27. Letter, dated the 29th October, 1853, from Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III to Sir Mark Cubbon, regarding the celebration of the anniversary of His Highness' 60th birthday.

28. Copy of letter from Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III to Lord Canning, expressing His Highness' gratification on the suppression of the Mutiny of 1857.

29. Copy of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and the covering letter to the Resident from the Imperial Government.

30. Copy of *Kharita*, dated the 31st December, 1858, from Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III to Queen Victoria, congratulating her on her assuming the Government of the territories of India.

31. Letter, dated the 3rd May, 1860, from the leading citizens of Bangalore Cantonment to Sir Mark Cubbon, inviting him to witness the celebrations arranged by them to give expression to their feelings of joy in that his resignation was not accepted by the Government.

32. Address presented to Sir Mark Cubbon by the citizens of Mysore, in February, 1861.

33. Address presented to Sir Mark Cubbon by the citizens of Coorg, in February, 1861.

THE GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL LIBRARY MYSORE

Historical Manuscripts

1.	*Chikkadevarājara Vaṁśāvaḷi*	TIRUMALARYA	No. K. 112.
2.	*Chikkadevarāya Saptapadi*		„ K.A. 48.
3.	(*a*) *Keladi Nripa Vijaya*	LINGANNA ...	„ K. 26.
	(*b*) *Keladirāyara Vaṁśāvaḷi*		„ K.A. 265.
4.	*Rājendra Vijaya* ...		„ K. 352.
5.	*Kampilarāyara Charitre*...		„ K. 387.
6.	*Kumararāmana Sāṅgatya*	NANJUNDAKAVI	„ K. 12.
7.	*Kumaṭirāmana Kathe* ...	GANGAKAVI	
8.	*Kadirerāyara Pūrva Vrittānta*		„ K.A. 126.
9.	*Veṇupurada Kshatriyara Vaṁśāvaḷi*		„ K.B. 424.
10.	*Bukkarāyara Charitre* ...		„ K.A. 127.
11.	*Bijjalarāja Charitre* ...	DHARANINDRA	„ K.A. 125.
12.	*Hole Honnuru Kaipiyattu*		„ K.A. 274.
13.	*Mysuru Doregala Purva Vamsabhyudaya* ...	THIMMAPPA ...	„ K.A. 273.
14.	*Kollapurada Sāmantarajacharitam*	PĀRĪSWARA ...	„ K.A. 266.
15.	*Biligi Arasara Charitre* ...		„ K.A. 268.
16.	*Rājāvali Kathe* ...	DEVACHANDRA	„ K.A. 65.

17.	*Bhujabali Charitre* ...	PANCHABANA ...	„	K.A. 240
18.	*Jñānabhāskara Charitre* ...	NEMANNA ...	„	K.A. 235
19.	*Māṇikyaswami Charitre* ...	NAGAPPA ...	„	K.A. 235
20.	*Mahākoṭīswara Charitre*...		„	K.A. 231
21.	*Rudra Bhārata* ...	CHAMARAJA ...	„	K.A. 190
22.	*Vajrakumāra Charitre* ...	BRAHMAKAVI ...	„	K.A. 235
23.	*Arthasastra*	CHANAKYA ...	„	3230.
24.	*Arthasastra with Bhavasāmitīka*		„	3231.

GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, BANGALORE

Historical Letters, etc.

1. Takid (order) of Dewan Purniah in Kannada.

2. Takids on yekke leaf (1838 A.D.) produced by Inamdars of Chikkaballapur.

3. Specimen of a Kadjan or Kadita (180 years old.)

4. Cubit measure (20 inches long) used under Dewan Purniah for survey of Inam lands.

·5. Palm leaf grant in Kannada issued by Sivappa Naik of Bednor.

6. Autograph letter of the Duke of Wellington.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE

Copper Plates—Originals

1. KADAMBA.—Vijayasiva Mandhatri Varma, *c.* 5th Century, Old Kannada characters, Sanskrit language. (Ref. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 29.)

Records the gift of land in the village Kodmala.

2. KALINGA GANGA.—Devendra Varma, *c.* 700 A.D. Old Kannada characters, Sanskrit language. (Ref. *E.C.* IX, Dl. 140.)

Records the grant of Sidhata village for the worship, incense and offerings of Paramesvara-Paramabhattaraka, to Ratuka, a resident of Palukosu.

3. GANGA.—Marasimha, 962 A.D. Old Kannada characters, Sanskrit language. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1921, p. 18.)

Records the gift of a village named Bagiyur and gives a complete genealogy of the Ganga dynasty.

4. PUNNATA.—Skandavarma, about 500 A.D. Kannada characters, Sanskrit language. (Ref: *M.A.R.* 1936, p. 126.)

Gives the genealogy of Punnata kings and records the gift of a village named Muttalaviyur while encamped at Dhavalapura.

5. Rashtrakuta.—Prabhutavarsha, 812 a.d. Old Kannada characters, Sanskrit mostly and a few lines in Kannada. (Ref. *E.C.* XII, Gubbi, 61.)

Records the gift of a village for a Jaina temple at Saligrama.

6. Chalukya.—Vinayaditya, 692 a.d. Old Kannada characters and Sanskrit language. (Ref: *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 571.)

Refers to a war between the Chalukyas and Pallavas and records the grant of a village, Salivoge.

7. Chola.—Rajendra Chola, 1079 a.d. Tamil and Grantha characters, Tamil language. (Ref: *E.C.* III, Tn. 94.)

Records the grant by the king in the 15th year of Kulatur in Nikarili-Cholamandala to one Cholandan, who, having taken its possession constructed a temple and a tank.

8. Santara.—Vinayaditya Santaraja, *c.* 700 a.d. Old Kannada characters and Sanskrit and Hale Kannada language. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1908, p. 6.)

Records a grant made by the daughter of the Mandalika of Kilkunda and the wife of the Yuvaraja of the Kasyapa gotra and the Lunar race.

9. Hoysala.—Vishnuvardhana, 1117 a.d. Kannada characters and Sanskrit language. (Ref. *E.C.* V, Belur 71.)

Records the consecration of the great temple at Velapura, etc.

10. Vijayanagar.—Harihara II, 1376 a.d. Nandi Nagari characters, partly Sanskrit and partly Kannada language. (Ref. *E.C.* IV, Yedatore 46.)

Records the grant of an agrahara called Bukkarajapura.

11. Vijayanagar.—Saluva Immadi Nrisimha, 1493 a.d. Nagari characters and Sanskrit language. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1924, p. 96.)

Gives the genealogy of the Saluva Dynasty of Vijayanagar and records the grant of the village Chakenahalli to Brahmins.

12. Vijayanagar.—Krishnadevaraya, 1519 a.d. Nandi Nagari characters and Sanskrit language. (Ref. *E.C.* V, Chennarayapatna 167.)

Records the grant of the village Sanaba to a Brahmin named Basavadikshita, the royal preceptor.

13. Mysore.—Kanthirava Narasaraja, 1639 a.d. Deva Nagari characters and partly Sanskrit and partly Kannada language. (Ref. *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 198.)

Denotes the grant of Sejjagana-halli on the Kapila river to various Brahmans giving it the new name Narasarajapura.

14. KELADI.—Basappa Nayaka, A.D. 1702. Kannada characters and language. (Ref. *E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 117.)

Records the creation of an agrahara by Basappa Nayak of Keladi for learned Brahmans.

Lithic Records—Estampages

1. PRIVATE GRANT.—About 650-700, Sravanabelgola. (Ref. *E.C.* II (Rev) 31, 32.)

Tells us that Santisena muni renovated the Jaina faith which had greatly prospered under Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta and declined afterwards. Santisena died by Sallekhana on the mountain at Belgula. Records also a similar death of Singa Nandi Gurvadigal.

2. PRIVATE GRANT.—*c.* 650 A.D. (Ref. *E.C.* II (Rev.), 2.)

Records the death by *samadhi* of Jaina gurus Kanakasena and Baladeva-muni at Sravanabelgola.

3. GANGA.—Sripurusha, *c.* 800 A.D., Devarahalli. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1930, p. 176.)

The earliest lithic record giving the genealogy of the Ganga kings.

4. GANGA.—Ereyappa, *c.* 910 A.D., Chikka-Hansoge. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1914, p. 38.)

Death by *samadhi* of the Jaina teacher Elacharya and setting up of the *nishadhige* or tomb-stone for him by his disciple Ashtopavasa-kalneledevar.

5. GANGA.—Sivamara, Vijayapura. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1912, p. 36.)

Some grant to the twelve of Kiru-Pelnagara.

6. GANGA.—Nitimarga II, 933 A.D., Talkad. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1912, p. 37.)

Records the repairs of a tank at Talkad.

7. GANGA.—Gangavajra or Marasimha, *c.* 940 A.D., Sravanabelgola. (Ref. *E.C.* II, Rev., p. 138.)

Records the death of a warrior named Boyiga in a battle between the Ganga prince Gangavajra on the one side and Vaddega and Koneyaganga on the other.

8. CHALUKYA.—Vinayaditya Rajasraya, *c.* 685 A.D., Belgavi. (Ref. *E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 154.)

Records some grant by some official of Pogilli Sendraka Maharaja, Governor of Nagarakhanda.

9. CHALUKYA.—Ranapakarasa, *c.* 808, (Minor Branch) (Ref. 1909, p. 14.)

Tells us that Sriyappa and Aiyappa granted portions of their gardens to the eastern basadi.

10. CHALUKYA.—Jayasingadeva, 1036 A.D., Belgavi. (Ref. *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 126.)

Grant by Lakulisvara Pandita for the service of the Panchalinga temple at Belgavi.

11. KALACHURYA.—Sankamadeva, 1197 A.D., Belgavi. (Ref. *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 96.)

Records a grant by the king during his visit to Belligavi of the village Kiruballigave for the temple of Kedaresvara at Belgavi under the advice of the Saiva priest, Rajaguru Vamasakti.

12. HOYSALA.—Ballala II, 1200 A.D., Gijihalli. (Ref. *M.A.R.* 1918, p. 46.)

Certain gaudas of Gijihalli granted an Umbali to Jedara Dasimayya's son Kati Gauda for having built a tank near Murihindi.

13. VIJAYANAGAR. Harihara I, 1346 A.D., Sringeri. (Ref. *E.C.* VI, Sringeri I.)

Records the grant of some villages to the ascetic Bharati Tirtha of Sringeri by Harihara I and his brothers.

14. VIJAYANAGAR. —Bukka I, 1368 A.D., Haromuchchadi. (Ref. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 281.)

The minister Madhava Mantri, disciple of Kasivilasa Kriyasakti, made a grant of the village Muchchundi to Kasmira Brahmins.

15. MYSORE.—Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar, 1729 A.D., Mysore City.

Records construction of the Prasanna Krishnaswamy temple at Mysore by the king.

Numismatics

Original Coins of Vijayanagar and Mysore

Vijayanagar

Harihara.
Bukka.
Deva Raya.
Mallikarjuna.
Krishna Raya.
Achyuta Raya.
Tirumala Raya.
Venkatapati Raya.
Anonymous.
Vijayanagar Provincial Types.

Mysore

Kanthirava Narasa Raja.
Chikkadeva Raja.
Hyder Ali.
Tipu Sultan.
Krishnaraja III.

Architecture and Sculpture—Photographs

1. Belur, Kesava Temple.—S.-E. view.
2. — Narasimha pillar.
3. — Sculptured screen. Narasimha I.
4. — Carlike niche.
5. — Details of friezes.
6. — North doorway.
7. — East doorway.
8. — Bracket figure.
9. — Sukhanasi doorway.
10. — View of pillars in Nawaranga.
11. — Bracket figure.
12. Somanathpur, Kesava Temple.—East view.
13. — Perforated screen and detail of friezes.
14. — West view of tower.
15. — View of north tower.
16. — Ceiling.
17. — Venugopala.
18. — Janardhana.
19. — Wall details.
20. — Wall details.
21. Halebid, Hoysalesvara Temple.—North view.
22. — West view.
23. — Side view.
24. — East view—middle.
25. — South doorway.
26. — East doorway.
27. — Annapurna and other figures.
28. — Govardhanadhari.
29. — Arjuna shooting.
30. — Interior view.
31. — Ganesa.
32. — Narasimha and other figures.
33. — North-east view.
34. Kedaresvara Temple.—East view.
35. — West view.

36. Kedaresvara Temple.—South view.
37. — North view.
38. — Dancing Sarasvati.
39. — Annapurna.
40. Talkad, Vaidyesvara Temple.—South view.
41. — East doorway.
42. Belavadi, Viranarayan Temple.—S.E. view.
43. — Figure.
44. — Yoganarasimha.
45. — Ceiling.
46. Saligrama.—Jina figure.
47. Belgavi, Tripurantesvara Temple.—Sukhnasi doorway.
48. Kubatur, Kaitabhesvara Temple,—South view.
49. Madhugiri.—North-east view of hill with temples in the foreground.
50. — East view of hill.
51. Kausika—Kesava figure.
52. Harihar, Harihareswara Temple.—Interior temple of Navaranga.
53. Harihar—Navaranga doorway.
54. Harnahalli, Someswara Temple—Ceiling.
55. — Narasimha Temple—Ceiling.
56. Nuggihalli Narasimha Temple.—North view.
57. — Rati and Manmatha.
58. Hullekere, Kesava Temple.—Top of stone tower.
59. Nonavinakere, Gopalakrishna Temple.—Processional images.
60. Kampadahalli—View of bastis.
61. — Ceiling in Santinatha basti.
62. Vighnasante—Top of tower.
63. Sivaganga—View of hill.
64. Amritapura Amritesvara Temple—Turrets and friezes.
65. — Do
66. — North wall.
67. — Front view of tower.
68. Jinanathapur—Santinatha Basti: Wall.
69. Sravanbelgola—Gomata, Front view.
70. — Back view.
71. Hosaholalu, Narasimha Temple—Detail of wall.
72. Arsikere, Isvara Temple—South view.
73. — Wall.
74. — View of front pavilion and twin temples.
75. Heggere, Galageswara Temple—Sukhanadi doorway.
76. Sringeri, Vidyasankara Temple—North-east view.

77. Malavalli—Mud fort wall.
78. Nanjangud—View of tower.

Paintings and Photographs

1. Santanambuja—Family tree of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III.
2. Portraits of great personages (1)
3. Portraits of great personages (2)
4. Word and figure designs (1)
5. Do. (2)
6. Do. (2)
7. Elephant catching in Krishnaraj III's days.
8. Krishnaraj III's Vijayadasami procession.
9. Select portraits—Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad.
10. — Nawab Hyder Ali Khan.
11. — Tipu Sultan.
12. — Dost Muhammad Khan.
13. — Dewan Purniah.
14. — Kathi Gopalaraj Urs.
15. — Jaisingh of Jinjee.
16. — Sawai Madhava Rao of Poona.
17. — Ranjit Singh of Lahore.
18. — Viraraj Urs of Coorg.
19. — Narasappa, Khajana Bhakshi
20. — Dewan Venkate Urs.

Reviews of Photographs and Manuscripts

1. Jayarekhe of Tungoti—Reviewed in *M.A.R.* 1929, p. 47. Photo.

2. Paradarasodara Ramana Kathe—Reviewed in *M.A.R.* 1929, p. 35.

3. Sukti Sudharnava—Reviewed in *M.A.R.* 1931, p. 80.

4. Peixoto's manuscript on Hyder Ally (English)—*M.A.R.* 1937, p. 82.

5. Nallappa's Manuscript—Hyder Nama—Reviewed in *M.A.R.* 1936, p. 54.

Official Documents—Photographs and Originals

1. Moghul Sannad of Durga Kuli Khan in the matt at Avani. Published in *M.A.R.* 1929, p. 80. Photo.

2. Purnaiya's Sannad of 1805, giving permission for the sahagamana of a Brahmin lady of Talkad. Original with seal. Published in *M.A.R.* 1938, p. 179.

3. Purnaiya's sannad of 1813, making a grant for the Rameswara Temple at Palya. Unpublished.

4. Chitradurgada Paleyagara Charite or Jhampanna Nayak's Kaifyat. Copy made in the office.

Excavation Finds—Photographs

A. Chandravalli

1. Coins.
2. Beads.
3. Implements.
4. Other handiwork.
5. Natural objects.
6. Views (Album).

B. Brahmagiri

1. Miscellaneous photographs.
2. Chandravalli 15 and Brahmagiri 11—comparative study of sections.
3. Prehistoric sites in the Mysore State.

Architectural Drawings—Originals

Ground Plans

Kesava Temple—Belur
Hoysalesvara Temple—Halebid
Kesava Temple—Somnathpur
Somesvara Temple—Harnahalli
Kirtinarayana Temple—Talkad
Hariharesvara Temple—Harihar
Kaitabhesvara Temple—Kubatur
Panchalingesvara Temple—Govindanahalli

Ceiling Drawing

Amritesvara Temple—Amritapur

Pen Works

Kesava Temple, Belur—Ceiling.
— Doorway.
— Basement.
— Bracket figures.
— Copings.
— Scrolls, horses and elephants.
— Half view of niches.
Kedaresvara Temple, Halebid—Wall detail of.
Kesava Temple, Somanathapur—Ceiling.

Publications

1. *Epigraphia Carnatika.* Vols. 1 to 13.
2. *Architectural Monographs.* Vols. 1 to 3.
3. *Annual Reports.* (*a*) Old series, 1906–1928. (*b*) New series 1929–1940.
4. Guide books: *Seringapatam*, *Belur*, *Halebid*, *Talkad*, *Sravanabelgola* (English, Kannada and Hindi.)
5. *Bibliotheca Carnatica.* Available volumes.
6. *Mysore Gazetteer.* Old edition.

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT GOVERNMENT OF MYSORE

Letters, Pamphlets and Registers

1. Copy of the letter describing the conditions of partition of territory between Yeshavantha Rao Holkar and Dowlath Rao Sindhe.
2. Copy of the letter written by Appa Sahib to Srimanth Peshwa offering his services and requesting to be forgiven.
3. Copy of the letter issued from Holkar's camp at Aurangabad about the movements of his army and the instructions issued. (Incomplete.)
4. Narrative of Dowlath Rao Sindhe from 8th to 17th July 1804.
5. Letter of Madho Rao Sinde to Peshwa in Nagari characters.
6. Kannada Coorg *Kyfiath.*
7. Copy of list of weapons used by the rulers prior to Tipu.
8. Copy of Nagar Balaji Rao's letter expecting Marathi army.
9. Calcutta *Gazette Extraordinary* dated 26th November 1804 about firing 100 guns in honour of the capture of Yeshvantha Rao Holkar.
10. Copy of pamphlet in Hindustani describing the origin of Coorg and the attempts made by the people to adopt new system after Tipu's capture.
11. Copy of genealogical table in Hindustani tracing the descent of Tipu Sultan.
12. Copy of *sannad* appointing Purniah as Dewan of Mysore. (27th December 1807.)
13. Copy of *Istiharnama* regarding the partition of territory

between the East India Company, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Mysore (24th June 1799.)

14. Copy of *Hukumnama* said to have been issued by Tipu Sultan about the administration, signed by the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg on 16th March 1878. English Translation.

15. Copy of proclamation signed by the Officiating Secretary on 16th December 1842, about bringing to India the doors of the Somanatha temple taken away by the Afghans.

16. Bangalore Division Superintendent's order, dated 8th February 1808, to Bangalore Taluk Amildar to maintain all correspondence and accounts in Kannada from 1st July 1855, as per Commissioner's Circular.

17. Order dated 5th May 1831, issued by H.H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III, regarding suppression of Pallegars. Bears signatures of H.H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III and the Resident.

18. One bundle *Jari Inamati* accounts.

19. One bundle of Roznama (abstract of orders) issued to Amildars.

20. One bundle of *Shah Amal* (diaries of orders) issued by H.H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III.

21. One register containing orders issued by the Division Superintendent, Bangalore, to Amildar, Bangalore, 1834.)

Memoirs, Notes, Reports, etc.

1. Memoirs of Mysore—Volume I (1799).
2. Memoirs of Mysore—Volume II (1799).
3. Notes on Mysore by Colonel W. Morrison, Senior Commissioner (1634).
4. Report on the mismanagement of the Madras Commissiariat (1837).
5. General Sir Mark Cubbon's observations on Mr. Cotton's report upon the insurrection in Canara (1839).
6. The Mysore Treaty (1799).
7. Memorandum of Mysore Province.
8. Wellesley's Letters Volume I (1779-1800).
9. Letters from Wellesley ,, II (1800-1805).
10. Letters from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, London (19th April 1791 to 24th March 1792).

DEPARTMENT OF KANNADA, MYSORE UNIVERSITY

Charts, Maps, Portraits, etc.

1. Map of Karnataka.
2. Evolution of writing in India.
3. Evolution of the Kannada Alphabet.
4. The Oldest Kannada inscription: photograph of the Halmidi inscription of *c.* 450 A.D.
5. Portrait of Mr. B. L. Rice.
6. Portrait of Mr. R. Narasimhachar.
7. Portrait of Mr. Kittel.
8. Portrait of Mr. M. S. Puttanna.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE

Exhibits on view in the Museum at the Victoria Jubilee Hall

Antiquities from Mohenjo-daro. (*c.* 2750 B.C.)

A representative collection consisting of about a hundred antiquities has been received from the Director-General of Archæology in India. The antiquities consist of plaster of paris casts of seals and sealings, terra-cotta figurines of various types, variously shaped plain and decorated pottery, stone objects consisting of weights, knives, etc., faience and paste objects, copper and bronze implements, bangles, ivory and bone objects, shell objects, beads, spacers and so on.

Antiquities from Chandravalli. (*c.* 100 A.D.)

Over 6,000 antiquities have been unearthed at the excavations at Chandravalli. Of these a representative collection has been exhibited, consisting of large size bricks, stone objects, plain and painted potsherds, metallic implements, beads and coins. From the coins it is learnt that the town was thriving in the early centuries of the Christian era. The antiquities form an important source of information for the reconstruction of the history of Mysore about 1,800 years ago.

Prehistoric Antiquities

Lower paleolithic implements which could probably be assigned to about 30,000 years ago are found in the Geological Museum, Bangalore, and are comparatively rare in the Mysore State. But microlithic implements belonging to about 8,000 years ago are found in large numbers in Brahmagiri. Neolithic implements, however, are of common occurrence in several parts of the State. Cromlechs and dolmens belonging to the prehistoric Iron Age have also been discovered in several places. A few implements of the Neolithic and Microlithic periods have been exhibited.

Miscellaneous Antiquities

Among the miscellaneous antiquities exhibited, are to be found the following

(*a*) Mummy head and hand from Egypt.
(*b*) Equestrian votive images of Malnad chiefs.
(*c*) The flying head—a mode of suicide.
(*d*) Self-sacrifice to Bhairava—stone panel.

Coins

In the possession of the department there is a collection of over 5,000 ancient coins, a large number of which have been studied and catalogued. Among them a representative collection is exhibited. The coins belong to the Satavahana, Chalukya, Hoysala, Vijayanagar and Mysore dynasties. A few punch-marked coins and some specimens of the ancient coins from Tinnevelly are also exhibited.

Mounted Impressions of Stone Inscriptions

Mysore seems to be an inexhaustible mine of old inscriptions. So far over 16,000 inscriptions have been copied, of which more than three-fourths have been published in the Epigraphia Carnatica series and in the Annual Reports of the department. Of the thousands of estampages of inscriptions collected by the department, only a few are exhibited. They are the following:—

(1) The Brahmagiri Rock Inscription of Asoka.
(2) Malavalli Stone Inscription of the Satakarnis.
(3) Chandravalli Rock Inscription of Mayurasarma Kadamba.
(4) Talagunda Pillar Inscription of Santivarma Kadamba.
(5) Sravanabelgola Epitaph of the Jain Monk Nandisena.

(6) Atakur Inscription of Krishna III Rashtrakuta and Butuga II Ganga.

(7) An inscription of Bukka conciliating the Jains and Srivaishnavas.

Copper Plates

Numerous copper plate records have been collected by the department. They belong to the several dynasties that ruled Mysore in past periods. Descriptive labels are attached to the records.

Some Original Stone Inscriptions

Some of the actual stone inscriptions are found in the pyramid in front of the Jubilee hall and in the central hall of the building. The stone pillar near the pyramid has a Kannada inscription of Rajendra Chola. In the Museum is exhibited the Halmidi stone inscription which happens to be the earliest record in the Kannada language yet discovered.

Stone and Metallic Objects

Among these may be mentioned the broken Garuda image which belonged to the Chennakesava temple at Belur. The bronze image of Chandrasekhara has been brought from Talkad. The figures of the days of the Malnad chiefs have already been referred to along with the stone objects representing the flying-head and self-immolation panel under class IV.

Photographs of Important Monuments and Sculptures

The department has in its possession over 4,000 photo-negatives of important monuments and sculptures. About 100 select photographs have been exhibited along with some drawings. A list describing these is also kept for reference. Over 200 monuments have been conserved and studied in detail.

Some Interesting Manuscripts

The department is regularly reviewing important historical manuscripts in its annual reports. Some of the manuscripts are exhibited.

Important Publications of the Department

Some important publications of the department like the Epigraphia Carnatica Series, the Bibliotheca Carnatica Series, the Annual Reports, etc., are exhibited. Guide books on Talkad, Seringapatam, Belur, Halebid, and Sravanabelgola have been published.

Maps and Charts

The following Maps and Charts are exhibited:—

(1) Karnataka map.
(2) Evolution of the Indian scripts.
(3) Evolution of the Kannada alphabet.
(4) Photograph of an archæological map of Mysore.

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